



G Buchanan
august. 1577.

CR/93

THE
HISTORY
SCOTLAND,

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN

OF

GEORGE BUCHANAN;

WITH NOTES,

AND

A CONTINUATION TO THE PRESENT TIME,

BY JOHN WATKINS, LL. D.

VOL. I.

TO THE END OF THE REIGN OF JAMES V.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS AND OTHER PLATES.

LONDON:

HENRY FISHER, SON, AND P. JACKSON,

38, NEWGATE-STREET.

1903

PREFACE.

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OF the merits of BUCHANAN'S HISTORY OF SCOTLAND, as a literary composition, there has long been but one opinion among the learned. That accomplished judge, THUANUS, who was nearly his contemporary, says—"Buchanan, in his old age, began to write the history of his own country; and although, according to the genius of his nation, he sometimes inveighs against crowned heads with severity, yet the work is written with so much purity, spirit, and judgment, that it does not appear to be the production of a man who had passed all his days in the dust of a school, but of one that had been through his whole life conversant in the most important affairs of state. Such was the greatness of his mind, and the felicity of his genius, that the meanness of his condition and fortune has not hindered him from forming correct sentiments of things of the utmost moment, or from expressing himself concerning them with the greatest judgment."

The no less erudite and acute critic LE CLERC observes, that "the style of Buchanan is fine and pure, and the historian appears every where to speak the truth as far as it was known to him." Again, the same author says, "Buchanan has united the brevity of Sallust to the elegance and perspicuity of Livy; for these were the two authors that he chose principally to follow: and I do not believe that any modern writer hath better succeeded in imitating the historians of antiquity."

Bishop Burnet remarks, that "in the writings of Buchanan there appears, not only all the beauty and grace of the Latin tongue, but a vigour of mind and quickness of thought, far beyond Bembio or the other Italians, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the Roman style.—He is justly reckoned the greatest and best of our modern authors."

To these testimonies it is sufficient to add that of a man who was neither partial to Scotland, nor to the principles of Buchanan. Dr. JOHNSON, in his Journey to the Western Islands, says, "At an hour somewhat late we came to St. Andrew's, a city once archiepiscopal; where that university still subsists, in which philosophy was taught by Buchanan, whose name has as fair a claim to immortality as can be conferred by modern Latinity, and perhaps a fairer than the instability of vernacular languages admits."

The History of Scotland was the last performance of this great scholar, who, with it, ended his life, in the year 1582, when the first edition appeared at Edinburgh, in a folio volume, under this title, "*Rerum Scoticarum Historia*." From that time the work remained, on account of its free sentiments and strong facts, locked up in the language in which it was written, till the first year of the Revolution, when an English version, apparently by authority of government, was published at London, in one volume, folio.

In this state it remained till 1721, when Mr. William Bond was employed by the booksellers to revise the work for a new edition, in two octavo volumes. But though that gentleman professed to have corrected the translation by the original, it is evident on comparison that he did this very slightly, for the numerous errors which disfigured the folio were suffered by him to pass unamended, and they have been servilely copied in all the succeeding editions.

In preparing the history again for publication, the present Editor has compared the version throughout, with the Latin copy printed at Edinburgh in 1700; and also with the complete impression of Buchanan's works, in two vols. folio, in 1715, of which the learned Thomas Ruddiman was the superintendent. No CONTINUATION of the History, however, has hitherto been given in any edition. That now offered, it is presumed, will not be found unworthy, at least in respect to accuracy and impartiality, of a connexion with the standard performance to which it is appended.

EPISTLE DEDICATORY

JAMES THE SIXTH, KING OF SCOTLAND.

ON returning to my native country, after an absence of twenty-four years, I desired nothing more than to review my papers, which were dispersed and many ways injured by the iniquity of the times: for I found, that by the over-officiousness of my friends, to precipitate the publication of what was yet unfit to see the light, and the excessive liberty which transcribers take to censure the works of other men, they had altered many things, and corrupted others, according to their several humours.

But whilst I was endeavouring to remedy these disorders, the sudden and unexpected solicitations of my friends broke up my measures; all of them, as if they had conspired together, exhorting me to lay aside things of less weight, that rather delight the ear than instruct the mind, and apply myself to write the history of our nation, as a subject not only suitable to my age, and sufficient to answer the expectation of my countrymen; but deserving great commendation, and most likely to preserve one's memory to succeeding ages. Amongst other reasons, which I omit, they added, that though Britain be the most famous island in the world, and every part of its history contain most remarkable things; yet scarce one was to be found in any age, who durst attempt so great a work, or if he did, was able to accomplish it.

Neither was it the least inducement to this undertaking, that I hoped my pains herein would not be unsuitable, nor unacceptable, to your Majesty. For I thought it would be extremely wrong if you, Sir, who in your tender years have read the histories of all nations, and retain very many of them in your memory, should be a stranger at home. Besides, an incurable distemper having made me unfit to discharge, in person, the care of your instruction committed to me, I thought that sort of writing which tends to the information of the mind, would best supply the want of my attendance; and therefore resolved to send your Majesty faithful counsellors from history, that you might make use of their advice in your deliberations, and imitate their virtue in your actions. For there are amongst your royal ancestors men excellent in every respect, of whom posterity will never be ashamed; and, to omit others, your Majesty will hardly find in history, any hero worthy to be compared with our royal DAVID. And if the divine goodness was so liberal to him in those most calamitous and wicked times, we may with reason hope that your Majesty will be, as the prophet says, "a pattern of all those excellencies which mothers desire in their children when they give them their best wishes," and that this government, which seems to be hurried on to ruin and destruction, may be supported till the time shall come, when all sublunary things, having finished the course appointed them by God's eternal decree, shall reach their destined period.

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

Edinburgh, August 27th.

LIFE OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

(Said to be written by Himself, two Years before his Death.)

GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in the shire of Lennox, (commonly called the sheriffdom of Dumbarton,) in Scotland, situated near the river or water of Blane, in the year of our Lord 1506, about the beginning of February. The place of his birth was Killairn, a country town, and his family was rather ancient than rich. His father died of the stone, in the flower of his age, whilst his grandfather was yet alive, by whose extravagance, the family, already low, was now almost reduced to the extremity of want. Yet such was the frugal care of his mother Agnes Heriot, that she brought up five sons and three daughters to men and women's estate. Of the five sons, George was one. His uncle, James Heriot, perceiving his forwardness in their own country schools, took him from thence, and sent him in 1520 to Paris. There he applied himself to his studies, and especially to poetry; partly through a natural genius that way, and partly out of necessity, because it was the only method of learning propounded to him in his youth. Before he had been there two years, his uncle died, and he himself fell dangerously sick; insomuch that being in extreme want, he was forced to return to his friends. After remaining at home about a year to recover his health, he went into the army of French auxiliaries, then newly arrived in Scotland, to learn the military art; but that expedition proving fruitless, and those forces being reduced, by the deep snows of a very severe winter, he relapsed into such an illness as confined him all that season to his bed. Early in the spring he was sent to St. Andrew's, to attend the lectures of John Major; who, though very old, read logic, or rather sophistry, in that university. The next summer he accompanied him into France; and there fell into the troubles of the Lutherans, which sect then began to increase. After struggling with the difficulties of fortune almost two years, he was at last admitted into the College of St. Barbe, where he was professor of grammar near three years. During this time, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Cassilis, a young Scottish nobleman, being much pleased with his genius and discourse, entertained him for five years, and brought him back with him to his native land.

Afterwards, when he intended to return to Paris to his old studies, he was detained by the king, and made tutor to James Murray, his natural son. In the mean time, an elegy, written by him at his leisure, came into the hands of the Franciscans. In this piece he represents himself as solicited in a dream, by St. Francis, to enter into his order; but the poem contained one or two passages which reflected so very severely on the ghostly fathers, that, notwithstanding their profession of meekness and humility, they took the matter more heinously than men who had obtained such a reputation for piety among the vulgar ought to have done upon so small an occasion. Having no just grounds for their unbounded fury, they attacked him upon the article of religion; which was their common way of harassing those to whom they bore ill will. Thus, whilst they indulged their impotent malice, they made him, who was not well affected to them before, a greater enemy to their licentiousness, and rendered him more inclinable to the Lutheran persuasion. In the mean time, the king, with his consort Magdalen, came from France, not without exciting alarm among the clergy; who were afraid that the royal lady, having been bred up under her aunt the queen of Navarre, would attempt some innovation in religion. But this fear vanished at her death, which happened shortly after.

THE LIFE OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

Next there arose jealousies at court, about some of the nobility, who were thought to have conspired against the king; and his majesty, convinced of the treachery of the Franciscans, commanded Buchanan, without knowing of the difference between him and that order, to write a satire upon them. Buchanan was loath to offend either; and therefore, though he wrote a poem, it was but a short one, and such as might admit of a doubtful interpretation. In this he satisfied neither party: not the king, who would have had a sharp and stinging invective; nor the fathers, who looked on it as a capital offence, to have any thing said of them but what was honourable. Upon receiving a second command, to write more pungently against them, he began that production which bears the title of "The Franciscan," and gave it to the king. But shortly after, being made acquainted by his friends at court, that cardinal Beaton sought his life, and had offered the king a sum of money as a price for his head, he escaped out of prison, and fled to England. But there things were in such an uncertainty, that on the very same day, and almost in one and the same fire, the men of both parties (as well Protestants as Papists) were burnt; Henry VIII. in his old age, being more intent on his own security, than the purity or reformation of religion. This instability of affairs in England, seconded by his ancient acquaintance with the French, and the courtesy natural to them, drew him again into that kingdom.

On coming to Paris, he found cardinal Beaton, his bitter enemy, ambassador there; to withdraw himself from whose fury, at the invitation of Andrew Govea, he went to Bourdeaux. There he taught three years in the schools which were erected at the public expense. During that time he composed four tragedies, which were afterwards occasionally published: but the one written first, called the Baptist, was printed last, and next the Medea from Euripides. He wrote them in compliance with the custom of the school, to have a play once a year, that the acting of it might wean the French youth from allegories, to which they had taken a false taste, and bring them back as much as possible to a just imitation of the ancients. This affair succeeding, even almost beyond his hope, he took more pains in compiling the other two tragedies, called Jephthe and Alcestes; because he thought they would be more severely criticized by the learned. While thus engaged, he was not wholly free from trouble, being harassed between the menaces of the cardinal on the one side, and of the Franciscans on the other. The former wrote letters to the archbishop of Bourdeaux, to apprehend him; but, providentially, those epistles fell into the hands of Buchanan's best friends; and soon after, the death of the king of Scots, and the plague which then raged over all Aquitaine, dispelled that fear.

In the mean time, an express came to Govea from the king of Portugal, commanding him to return, and bring with him some men, learned in the Greek and Latin tongues; that they might teach the liberal arts, and especially the principles of the Aristotelian philosophy, in those schools which he was then building with great care and expense. Buchanan, on being applied to, readily consented to go for one; the rather because, seeing that all the rest of Europe was either actually engaged in war, or upon the point of being so, he thought that corner of the world would probably be the most free from tumults and combustions: besides which, he would have for his companions in the journey, not strangers, but acquaintance and familiar friends. Many of them had been his intimates for several years, and are well known to the world by their learned works, as Nicholas Grouchy, William Garent, James Teynus, and Elias Vinet. This was the reason that he not only consented to make one of their society, but also persuaded his brother Patrick to do the same. And indeed the matter succeeded very well at first, but in the midst of the concern, Andrew Govea was taken away from them by a sudden death, which proved very prejudicial to his companions. For, after his decease, their enemies, who had hitherto endeavoured to ensnare them by treachery, ran violently upon them as it were with open mouth; and their agents and instruments being equally inimical to the accused, they laid hold of three of them, and put them in prison; whence, after a long and loathsome confinement, they were called out to give their answers; and, after many bitter taunts, were remanded; but no one appeared in court against them. As for Buchanan, they insulted him bitterly on account of his being a stranger; and knowing also that he had very few friends in that country, who would either rejoice in his prosperity, sympathize with his grief, or revenge his wrongs. The crime laid to his charge, was the poem he wrote against the Franciscans; of which he had himself, before he went from France, taken care to give an account to the king of Portugal; neither did his accusers perfectly know what it was; as the only copy ever delivered was to the king of Scots, by whose command it was written. They farther objected his eating of flesh in

Lent; though there is not a man in all Spain, who does not use the same liberty. But the worst was, he had given some sly blows to the monks, which, however, nobody but a monk himself could well except against.

Moreover, they were grievously offended, because in a familiar discourse with some young Portuguese gentlemen, upon mention made of the Eucharist, he had said that, in his judgment, Austin was more inclinable to the Lutheran party than to the church of Rome. Some years afterwards, it appeared that two other persons, John Tolpin, a Norman, and John Ferrerius, a Genoese, had witnessed against him, their having heard, from many who were worthy of belief, that Buchanan was not orthodox as to the Roman faith and religion.

But to return: After the inquisitors had wearied themselves and him for almost half a year, at last, that they might not seem to have without cause vexed a man of some name and note in the world, they shut him up in a monastery for some months, there to be more exactly disciplined and instructed by the monks, who, to give them their due, though very ignorant in all matters of religion, were men otherwise neither bad in their morals, nor rude in their behaviour.

This was the time he took to translate the principal of David's psalms into Latin verse. At length he was set at liberty; and, on applying for a pass, and accommodations from the crown, to return into France, the king desired him to stay, at the same time allotting him a little sum for daily necessities and expenses, till some better provision might be made for his subsistence. But being tired out with delay and uncertainty, he embraced the opportunity of taking his passage in a ship then at Lisbon, and bound for England. He made, however, no long stay in that country, though fair offers were made him; for he saw that all things were in disorder under a very young king; the nobles at variance one with another, and the minds of the commons in a ferment, on account of their civil combustions. Upon this he returned into France, and as this was about the time when the siege of Metz was raised, he was importuned by his friends to write a poem concerning that event. He complied, though somewhat unwillingly, because he was loath to interfere with several of his acquaintance, and especially with Melin de Saint Gelais, who had composed a learned and elegant poem on that subject. From thence he was called over into Italy, by Charles de Cosse, marshal de Brissac, who then governed with credit the Gallician and Ligurian territories about the Po. He lived with him and his son Timoleon, either in Italy or in France, till 1560, being the space of five years; the greatest part of which period he spent in the study of the holy scriptures, that so he might be able to form a more exact judgment of the controversies in religion, which employed the thoughts, and took up the time, of most men in those days. Those disputes being a little silenced in Scotland, when that kingdom was freed from the tyranny of the Guises of France; he returned thither, and became a member of the reformed church.

Some of his writings, in former times, being as it were redeemed from shipwreck, were by him collected and published; the rest, which are still scattered up and down in the hands of his friends, he commits to the disposal of Providence.

Being at this time in the seventy-fourth year of his age, he still attends the education of James VI. king of Scotland, to whom he was appointed tutor in the year 1566, and now, quite broken with the infirmities of old age, he longs for the desired haven of his rest.

Thus far runs the narrative said to have been written by Buchanan; but in reality the production of Patrick Young: to which account it is necessary that some particulars should be added.

In 1561 our author returned to Scotland, and, though an avowed Protestant, he was admitted at court, where he assisted the unfortunate Mary in her studies. The parliament also appointed him one of the visitors of the universities; and the General Assembly employed him to revise the "Book of Discipline." In 1564 the queen settled upon him a pension of five hundred pounds, Scotch; which favour he repaid, by writing a libel entitled "*Detectio Mariae Reginae*." About the year 1566 he was made the principal of St. Leonard's College, at St. Andrew's, where for some time he taught moral philosophy; but in 1567 he was chosen moderator to the General Assembly of the church of Scotland. He was now closely connected with his former pupil, the earl of Murray, whom he accompanied to England; and while there he gained the particular favour of queen Elizabeth, by writing some encomiastic verses on her majesty, for which she rewarded him with several presents, and a regular pension of one hundred pounds sterling a year.

THE LIFE OF GEORGE BUCHANAN.

In 1570 Buchanan sustained a great loss by the assassination of his patron Murray: notwithstanding which, he still continued to be employed at court, and was actually appointed one of the members of the privy council, with the title of privy seal. He was also entrusted with the education of the young king, towards whom he never shewed much respect or lenity. One day, the little monarch being rather noisy at play, was told to be quiet. The youth, however, disregarded the injunction, and continued his sport, on which the tutor said, that if he did not cease he should have a good whipping. The royal pupil briskly replied, he should be glad to see who would bell the cat; alluding to the well-known fable of *Æsop*. Buchanan upon this threw away his book in a passion, and, snatching up the boy, gave him a severe flagellation. The countess of Mar, who was in an adjoining room, hearing the king cry, ran in, and inquired what was the matter. He told her that the master had whipped him; upon which, turning to Buchanan, he asked him how he dared to lift his hand against the Lord's anointed? He answered, "Madam, I have whipped his backside, and you may kiss it if you please."

In 1579, Buchanan published his famous political dialogue, "*De Jure Regni apud Scotos*," which he dedicated to king James. This performance was followed in 1582 by his great work entitled "*Rerum Scotticarum Historia*;" of which the following is a translation.—Buchanan, who had spent the last twelve or thirteen years of his life upon this History, just saw its appearance from the press, and died at Edinburgh December the 5th, the same year. It is said that when upon his death-bed he was told how much the king was offended with his two publications on the Government and History of Scotland, he coolly replied, "that he was not much concerned about it, as he was shortly going to a place where there were few kings." We are also told, that when he was dying he called for his servant, and asked him how much money there was in the house; and finding that it was very little, he ordered it to be given to the poor. The domestic, upon this, asked, "Who would be at the charge of burying him?" Buchanan replied, "that he was indifferent about that; for if he were dead, and they would not bury him, they might let him lie where he was, or throw his corpse where they pleased." He was accordingly buried at the expense of the city of Edinburgh; but in the common cemetery, without either pomp or monument.

During the residence of our author at Bourdeaux, he was employed in the education of Michael Montaigne, who, in his *Essays*, says, "George Buchanan the great poet of Scotland, and Marcus Antonius Muretus, the best orator of his time, were among the number of my domestic tutors. Buchanan, when I saw him afterwards in the retinue of the Marechal de Brissac, told me that he was about to write a Treatise on the Education of Children, and that he would take the model of it from mine."

The story just related of Buchanan's behaviour in his last moments, though characteristic enough of the man, appears somewhat doubtful, and to be nothing more than a transfer to him of the saying of *Demonax*, a cynic philosopher of antiquity. When the friends of the dying sage asked him how he would be buried, he replied, "O give yourselves no manner of trouble about that, for if you let my body remain where it is, the effluvia will provide an interment."

The countenance of Buchanan, though strongly expressive, was austere; and his manners corresponded with his appearance. In regard to his person, he was slovenly to an extreme; and he seems to have affected a philosophical contempt of dress.

Sir James Melvill, who was of the opposite party to him, and therefore cannot be supposed to be partial in his favour, tells us, that Buchanan "was a Stoic philosopher, who looked not far before him; a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in Latin poesy, much honoured in other countries, pleasant in conversation, rehearsing, at all occasions, moralities, short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, and inventing where he wanted. He was also religious, but was easily abused; and so facile, that he was led by every company that he haunted; which made him factious in his old days, for he spoke and wrote as those who were about him informed him; for he was become careless, following, in many things, the vulgar opinion; as he was naturally popular, and extremely revengeful against any man who had offended him; which was his greatest fault."

Donated by
SRI S. C. NANDY, M.A.
Maharajkumar of Cossimbazar.
1955

THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK I.



WHEN I first determined to record the achievements of our ancestors, and, after purging them from vain fables, to rescue them from oblivion; I thought it conducive to my purpose to trace from the very beginning, as much as distance of time and the deficiency of literary monuments would permit, the situation of the countries, the nature of the soil and air, the ancient names and manners, and the origin of the first inhabitants of the islands called of old, *BRITANY*; which are extended between Spain and Germany, in a long tract of land near the coast of France. As Albion and Ireland, two of these, far exceed the others in extent; therefore, of them I shall speak first; and afterwards, as conveniency serves, describe the site, and explain the names, of the rest.

The first in magnitude is Albion; which now alone retains the name of *Britain*, that formerly was common to them all. Concerning its length and breadth, other writers agree with Cæsar; namely, that from north to south it is 800 miles long; and that in the widest part, which, as some think, is where it looks towards France, or, according to others, from St David's head to Yarmouth, it is almost 200 miles. From thence it narrows by degrees, till we come to the borders of Scotland. The Romans, who as yet knew not the extremities of the island, believed it to be triangular; but when their knowledge extended farther, they found, that, beyond Adrian's wall, it gradually became broader, and ran out far to the eastward. This, in brief, concerning its dimensions.

The climate is more temperate than that of France, as Cæsar affirms; but that of Ireland is still milder. The air, which is seldom serene, is commonly darkened with thick mists; but the winters are mild enough, and rather rainy than snowy. The ground brings forth corn plentifully; and produceth, besides, all sorts of metals. It is also fruitful in breeds of cattle. They who inhabit the more remote and cold parts of the island, eat bread made of oat-meal, and drink a vinous or strong liquor extracted from damaged corn: though some boil whey, and keep it in hogsheds several months under ground, which last is counted by many, not only a wholesome, but a pleasant beverage. There was no controversy concerning the name of *Britain* among the ancients, except that the Greeks called it *Britannia*, and the Latins, *Britannia*. Other nations used these names indifferently, as they saw fit. Lately, however, some men have started up, not so desirous of truth as of contention, who hoped to make themselves famous, by opposing persons of the greatest eminence; imagining that thereby they must needs obtain a great opinion of learning amongst the vulgar, for daring to enter the lists against, and to combat with, all antiquity; and though the dispute was about a thing of no consequence, yet, because it concerned the name of their coun-

try, they thought it worth contending for with all their might, as if the ancient glory of the nation were at stake. They say, that these three ancient names of the island have their several assertors, *Prudania*, *Prytaneia*, and *Britannia*. Llhwyd* contends most strenuously for *Prudania*; Thomas Elyot, a British knight, for *Prytaneia*, but very modestly; while almost all others adhere to the name of *Britain*.

Llhwyd, in defence of what he asserts for *Prudania*, useth the authority of an old paper fragment, which nothing but mouldiness, and length of time have made sacred with him. Though he counts this proof firm enough of itself, yet he strengthens it by etymology, the verses of the old Bards, the country dialect, and the rust of antiquity. But, in the first place, I would ask, whence came that fragment, on which he lays the stress and weight of his cause? when and by whom was it written? or what says it in support of his assertion? Though the place, time, and author, are all uncertain, yet he deduces the antiquity of the manuscript from that very obscurity. An excellent proof this, where the certainty, credit, and authority of the testimony must depend on ignorance; and that which is made use of to explain the matter in controversy, hath more intricacy and weakness in it, than the cause which it is brought to defend. Who is the witness in this case? I know not, says Llhwyd. What is it that he offers for evidence? I know not that neither, he replies; but this I have heard, that in the fragment it is called *Prudania*. But, what is this *Prudania*? is it a mountain, or a river? a village, or a town? a man, or a woman? "Here I am again at a loss, (says he,) I do not know," but I conjecture that Britain is signified by the name. Well, then, let *Prudania* signify Britain; still what doth this fragment make for you? I would ask this question, Whether it affirms *Prudania* to be the true name of the island, or doth not rather upbraid their ignorance who ascribe that false name to it? Here, too, I am perplexed (says Llhwyd;) but this I am certain of, that it has the sound of a British word; and the force of the British language doth also appear, even in its very etymology; for *Prudania* is as it were *Prudeania*, that is, 'excellent beauty,' from *Pryd*, signifying form, and *cam*, white, the asperity of the word being somewhat mollified. But for that reason it should be called *Prudeamia*, not *Prudania*; which word the Bards do pronounce *Pruda*, in their country-speech. I shall not here observe how trivial, deceitful, and oftentimes ridiculous, this inquiry after the original of words is. I pass by Varro, and other learned men, who have been frequently laughed at upon this account. I omit also the whole *Cratylus* of Plato; and will only affirm before impartial judges, that a man may more easily prove, the word *Cambri* to be derived from *Canis* and *Brutum*, a dog and a brute, than you shall persuade me that *Prudania* comes from *Prudeamia*. For according to this fashion you may form derivations from any thing as you please. And, indeed, Llhwyd himself shews, what little confidence he puts in his own proofs, when he calls the Bards to his aid; a race of men, I allow to be very ancient, but of whom antiquity affirms that they committed nothing to writing. Of these, however, I shall speak more elsewhere.

Let us now come to the last refuge of Llhwyd: Cæsar, says he, being the first who mentioned the name of this island in Latin, called it *Britain*; and almost all Latin writers having trod in his steps, did not change the appellation. Here Llhwyd is guilty of a notorious falsehood, in saying that Cæsar was the first of the Latins who called it Britain; for, before Cæsar was born,

* Humphrey Llhwyd, Llhuyd, or Lloyd, was a native of the county of Denbigh in North Wales, and educated at Brazen-nose College, Oxford, where he studied physic, but it is uncertain whether he ever practised in that line. He devoted himself chiefly to antiquarian pursuits, and died in his native country, about 1570. The work on which Buchanan animadverts with such unmerciful severity, was printed at Cologne, in 1572, with this title, "*Commentarioli Britannicæ, Descriptionis Fragmentum*:" a new edition of it was published in London in 1731.

Sir Thomas Elyot was born in Suffolk, and bred at Oxford, after which, he became a favourite with Henry VIII, who employed him in several embassies, particularly to the emperor Charles V. He died in 1545. The work to which Buchanan alludes, is entitled, "*De Rebus Memorabilibus Anglicæ*."

Lucretius mentions the name of Britain; as Aristotle did amongst the Greeks, long before him; and Propertius, not long after him, when he saith,

Cogor et in tabula pictos ediscere mundos.

“ Our force of art in maps the globe describes,

“ Where painted nations meet our wond’ring eyes.”

This shews, that, in his age, maps or representations of the world made part of the furniture of houses. Now I would ask, do you think that Cæsar, who was so well skilled in all sorts of learning, never saw or read a description of the world? Or, can you be persuaded, that Britain alone, the greatest island in the universe, and then so famous both in the Latin and Greek monuments, was omitted in those maps? or, do you believe, that Cæsar, who was so inquisitive about the affairs of Britain, as to inquire what men inhabited that country then, and before his time; what plants and animals grew, or were bred therein; and what were the laws and customs of the country; do you, I say, believe, that he, who was so solicitous about those things, would neglect the name of the whole island? or, that he, who, with so great faithfulness and diligence, gave right names to the cities of the Gauls, would deprive the Britons of their ancient glory? Upon the whole, I see no reason why Llhwyd should think that the old name of the island was Prudania, upon which he values himself so much, unless words may contract authority from the rust of a worm-eaten paper. This is all I have to say to Llhwyd at present, who, by private witnesses, and his own dreams, hath thought fit to oppose himself against the opinion of all the learned men that now are, or ever have been, in the world.

As for Elyot, my task will be easier with him. He, being induced not only by probable conjectures, but also by some authors, and those not obscure, thinks that the island was sometimes called Prytaneia. He judged it not improbable, that an island abounding with plenty of all things, not only for the necessities, but the ornaments of life, should be so denominated. In this case, if we should weigh the reason of names, Sicily would rather deserve the title of Prytaneia, and some other islands also; which as far exceed Britain in fruitfulness, as they fall short of it in extent. Besides, in those authors, by whose testimony the name Prytaneia is confirmed, it easily appears that the orthography is vitiated. As for Stephens, there is the highest inconstancy in him. Under the word Albion, he says, professing to follow Martian, that it is the island of Brettain, but under the words Juvernia and Juverna, he writes Prætunica. Elsewhere, says he, in the ocean are the Brettish islands, whose inhabitants are called Brettains, but that Martian and Ptolemy, in these words, make P the first letter. If any one compare the places, without doubt he will find, that the writing is corrupted, and that Stephens himself was of opinion, that Bretania ought to have B for the first letter, and a reduplicate T in the middle.

Of this, Elyot, I believe, was not ignorant, and therefore, being content to notice, as much as was needful, what things men, greedy of praise, will bring together for the ostentation of their learning, he leaves the matter in dispute entirely to the judgment of the reader. But Llhwyd, that you may know his disposition more fully, of the three names of this large island, approves that most which hath the fewest assertors, viz. Prudania; and next to that he commends Prytaneia. But Britannia, which name, according to Pliny, grew famous through all nations, and was celebrated both in Greek and Latin monuments, he rejects altogether, as corrupted in tract of time, and fixed by Julius Cæsar; whom he falsely asserts to have first mentioned that appellative in Latin, and thereby drew others into the same error. But I can prove the antiquity of the word Britannia, by many clear and ample testimonies, if this were the matter in dispute; and shew that it was not corrupted by Cæsar, but delivered down to us, pure from hand to hand, by our ancestors, except that the ancients were wont to write it with a reduplicate. Whence it was, as I suppose, that Lucretius made the first syllable of the word long, in verse; but now the Latins leave out one T, which, however, is still retained in the word Britto. The Greeks, who write

Brettania, come nearest to the pronunciation of the country-speech, which the Britons themselves, and all their neighbours, still retain. For the neighbouring Gauls call all British women *Bretta*; and *Bretter*, with them, is to speak British: and a promontory in Gascony is commonly called Cape Breton; and both sorts of Scots, that is, the Albians and the Hibernians, speak so too; only with this difference, that they who delight in the German dialect, sometimes use the transposition of letters, and pronounce Berton for Breton. But Dionysius Afer in this verse,

Ὀκεανῷ κέχεται ψυχρὸς ῥόος* ἔνθα Βρετανοί,

mentioning the "Bretanes as inhabiting near the cold surges of the ocean," hath used a poetical license in leaving one τ out of the word *Βρετανοί*, as he hath also done in the elision of the letter ρ in *Σαραται* for *Σαρράται*. Here the consent of so many nations, almost from their originals, both among themselves, and with the ancients, as well Greeks as Latins, will have greater weight with me, than all the rubbish Llhwyd has raked out of the dunghill, and that which is good for nothing but to be laughed at, and to disparage the collector. Let him shew, if he can, what author ever wrote Prudania before Aristotle: but with all his labour, he will never be able to do it; seeing, that for some ages after him, the Bards committed nothing to writing. Away, then, with this vain-glorious, or, may I not rather say, senseless, boast of antiquity, of which no argument, nor the least vestige, can be found.

Amidst this diversity of opinions, and these various modes of speech, Llhwyd thinks it most advisable always to look to antiquity, and the ordinary dialect of a country, as to a pole-star; by which to direct the whole of his discourse. For my part, I would not much dissent from him, if that which was in ancient use, and therefore thought certain, could be always retained. But there are many causes to prevent this from being done.

First, Because, in every language, it is difficult to find out the most ancient words; and therefore it is more advisable, in this case, to follow the custom of the learned, than, by a vain and ridiculous labour, always to search after originals, as if it were for the source of the Nile; especially since the beginning of words depends not so much on the judgment of the wise, as on the caprice of the ordinary people; who, for the most part, are rude and uncultivated. Therefore, anxiously to inquire after the reason of such is labour in vain. For, as in the generation of all other things, which either grow naturally of themselves, or are invented by men for the use of life, the first conceptions are very imperfect, and the productions inconvenient and disagreeable, though afterward, by culture, they are improved, and rendered amiable by good management; so it is in language, which, taking its rise from men rough and unpollite, was at first harsh, rugged, and uncouth; until it gradually put off its natural rigour and unpleasantness, became more gentle and sweet to the ear, and more easily insinuated itself into the minds of men. Therefore, it is in this case, if in any, that I think something should be indulged to the custom of men more polished than others; and that such a pleasure, which is neither uncomely nor ungraceful, as far as it is not hurtful to men's manners, is not to be despised. But if any one is born with such an evil genius, that he loves the language of Cato and Ennius, better than that of Cicero and Terence; and when wheat is found out, would rather still feed on acorns, my vote is,—much good may it do him! But our dispute is not here concerning the purity and elegance of the Latin tongue; for it matters not how the Britons of former ages sounded their letters or words. My endeavour is, to shew how the Latins might learn the British, not how the British acquired the Latin pronunciation. For my part, I had rather be ignorant of the gibberish of the old Britons, than to forget the knowledge of the Latin tongue, which I imbibed with great pains when a child. And I have no other reason for lessening my disgust, when I find the ancient Scottish language dying away by degrees, but this consideration, which I own is very pleasing to me: That while we banish those wild barbarous sounds, we substitute harmonious ones from the Latin, in their room. If in this transmigration of languages, one must be given up for the other; of the two, let us pass from rusticity and barbarism,

to culture and humanity; and, by our choice and judgment, put off that uncouthness which accrued to us by the infelicity of our birth. Or if our pains and industry can avail any thing in this case, let us bestow them all in polishing, as much as we can, the Greek and Latin tongues, which the better part of the world hath publicly received; and if there be any solecisms or flaws adhering thereto, by the contagion of barbarous languages, let us exert our utmost endeavours to purge them away.

Besides, an over-anxious diligence about foreign names, especially in transferring them into another language, can never be observed, neither is it expedient that it should: for what tongue is there which hath not some letters and sounds, that cannot fully be expressed by the characters of another? What nation, besides the German, can pronounce the letter W? Who can give that sound to the letters D, G, P, T, X, and Z, in Latin, which the Spaniards, the Britons, and some of the Scots, do?

It is on account of this uncouthness of sound, as I suppose, that Pliny, reckoning up the cities of Spain, denies that some of them can be well pronounced in the Latin tongue. Some he calls ignoble, and of barbarous appellation; others, he says, cannot be so much as named without grating the ear. What, I beseech you, would Llhwyd do in this case, if he were to write the history of Britain in Latin? With all his stock of rusty barbarism, I believe he would hardly know how to pronounce the genuine names of the Britons; since he vexes himself so much how he should write his own name, whether Llhwyd, or Lhud, or else bare Ludd, none of which can be written, pronounced, or heard amongst Latinists, without disgust: now, if he retains the true sound, he will make, not a Latin, but a semi-barbarous oration; but if he bend foreign words to the sound of the Latin, he will commit as great a trespass, as Cæsar is said to have done in the word *Britannus*. What, then, shall we do to please so captious and morose a person as Llhwyd? Shall we call the island Prudania, rather than Britannia? Llhwyd himself, who is so severe a censor of others, will not exact this of us: he will permit it to be called Pradania, from Pruda; but if any one dare to pronounce and call it Britannia or Brettania, he directly accuses him of violating sacred antiquity, of corrupting and contaminating the ancient and sincere language, and of turning it from a robust and masculine sound, into an effeminate pronunciation. What shall we do in this case? May we not brighten some expressions, and rescue them from the gloom of antiquity, by changing their air? Or, if we must not change, yet may we not polish some rough words, and soften them a little from their harshness and barbarity, that they may sound like the speech of men? We see our ancestors have done this in the words *Morini*, *Moremarusa*, and *Armorici*; so that if we cannot make those words free of old Rome, at least we may give them a Latin garb and similitude. But I see Llhwyd will not allow us this liberty. He calls us back to the august antiquity of the Prudanians and dotards of old times, and forbids us to depart in the least from the Bards. But the ancient Greeks and Latins were not so tenacious; for when the stiffness of their ancient speech began to relax, there was none among them who would rather pronounce *Famul* and *Volup*, than the words *Famulis* and *Voluptas*, which were substituted for them; and moreover they took also a great liberty in translating Latin words from Greek, and Greek ones from Latin. Who ever blamed the Latins, for turning *Polydeuces* into *Pollux*, *Heracleis* into *Hercules*, *Asclepius* into *Æsculapius*? Or, who hath reproved the Greeks for calling *Catulus*, *Cattus*; and *Remus*, *Romus*? Nay, what did the Greeks do, in translating barbarous words into their own language? Did they ever scruple turning *as*, a Punic termination, into *as*, at the end of words? If a man pronounce *Annibas* for *Annibal*, does he therefore tread under foot the majesty of history? Shall he be said on that account to corrupt the truth, or do a notorious injury to the Punic language? Observe how the study of humanity and politeness, amongst the ancient Saxons, and the Danes, who passed over later into Britain, differs from Llhwyd's uncouth and slovenly affectation. These people, being rude, and ignorant of all learning, when they came among men who used a barbarous and broken kind of language, were so far from suffering themselves to be infected with their solecisms, that, on the con-

trary, on tasting the sweetness of the Latin tongue, they pared away much of the roughness that had been brought upon it; besides which, they rendered some harsh words so smooth, as to make them less offensive to the ear, such as Oxonia and Rossa, for Oxenfordia Oxford, and Raufchestria, for Rochester, and many others, which Llhwyd himself does not deny. And he allows himself the same liberty in many other words, though he is so severe and obstinate a critic in this one word Britannia. But now he pertinaciously opposes the ancient custom of all nations, for a new, obscure, and uncertain word; lest, the royal name of Llhwyd, descended from the Cimbri, and kept as a palladium to this day, should be buried in oblivion. To prevent this, he contends against the universal suffrage of mankind, the antiquity of time, and even against truth itself.

Another observation to be made upon the word Britannia, is this, that foreign writers make it the name of the whole island; and that the Britons and English, who have written the British history, now and then do the same; though at other times they call only that part of the island Britain, which was a Roman province, and that variously, too, as the event of war changed the borders; for at one time they made the wall of Adrian, at another that of Severus, the limits of their empire; those who lived beyond the walls, being termed either barbarous, or outlandish people. Bede, in the beginning of his first book, writes thus:—"Wherefore the Picts, coming into "Britain, began to inhabit the north part of the island; for the Britons "inhabited the south." He says also, (chap. 34.) "Aidan was king of the "Scots, who inhabit Britain." And (lib. 4. chap. 4.) writing of the return of Colman out of England into Scotland, he says, "In the mean time, "Colman, who was of Scotland, leaving Britain:" and elsewhere he writes, "They then began, for many days, to come from the country of Scotland "into Britain," and farther, "Oswald was slain near the wall which the "Romans had built from sea to sea, to defend Britain, and to repel the "assaults of the barbarians." This form of speech is found in the same author, again in the ninth chapter of his second book. Nor doth Claudian seem to have been ignorant of this manner of speaking as peculiar to the Britons, when he writes, that the Roman legion, which curbed the fierce Scots, lay between them and the Britons, that is, opposite to the former, in order to cover the others from their fury, in the farthest part of the country, bordering upon Scotland. William of Malmesbury, and Geoffry of Monmouth, none of the obscurest writers of British affairs, often use this kind of speech, calling that part only Britain, which was contained within the wall of Severus. But though this matter be so clear in these writers, that no man can be ignorant of it, yet great mistakes arose amongst the historians of the next age, some of whom have affirmed in their works, that Alured, Athelstan, and other Saxon kings, did sometimes reign over the whole island; when it is clear, they never passed beyond the wall of Severus. On reading that those kings held the empire of all Britain, these writers presently thought, that they were masters of the whole island, and had it entirely in their own possession. The same observation applies to the manner of using those names, Britannus and Britto; for all the old Greek and Latin writers call the whole island Britannia, and all its inhabitants Britons, without making any distinction. The first, that I know, of the Romans, who called them Brittons was Martial, in that verse,

Quam veteres brachæ Brittonis pauperis.

"The old trousers of Britain poor."

The vulgar commonly term the inhabitants of the Gallic peninsula, Britons, though Gregory of Tours always calls the country Britain, and its inhabitants Britains. The Romans constantly gave to their provincials the name of Britains, but the provincials themselves preferred the name of Brittons. Both names have one radix and the same original, viz. Britannia; and as they both spring from one and the selfsame root, so they both signify one and the selfsame thing;—as the verses of Ausonius plainly shew:

Silvius ille bonus, qui cunina nostra lacessit,

Nostua magis meruit disticha Britto bonus

Silvius hic Bonus est. Quis Silvius? Iste Britannus.

Aut Britto hic non est Silvius, aut malus est.

Silvius esse Bonus Britto, ferturque Britannus.

Quis credat civem degenerasse bonum?

Nemo bonus Britto est. Si simplex Silvius esse

Incipiat, simplex desinet esse bonus.

Silvius hic bonus est: sed Britto est Silvius idem.

Simplicior res est dicere, Britto malus.

Silvi, Britto Bonus, quamvis homo non bonus esse

Ferris: nec se quis jungere Britto bono.*

They who contend, that the Britons were a colony of the Gauls, affirm that Hercules had a son called Britannus, by Celto, a Gallic virgin, from whom the nation of the Britons had their origin. Pliny placeth this nation near the Morini,† Atrebatæ,‡ and Gessoriaci.§ Neither are there wanting some Greek grammarians to confirm it, as Suidas, and the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*. Cæsar and Tacitus seem to have been of the same opinion; and so are some other Latin writers, who, although of less fame indeed, are not devoid of learning. Besides, the religion, speech, institutions, and manners of some nations inhabiting near the Gallic sea, do evince the same thing; from whence the Britons, in my opinion, emigrated in colonies, while the Morini by little and little were quite extinguished. Morinus seems to be derived from More, which, in the old Gallic tongue, signifies the sea. Venta, called in old Latin, Venta Belgarum, (because inhabited by the Gallo-Belgæ,) that is, Winchester; and Icenum, derived from Icium; make it probable, that the colonies transported with them, into a foreign soil, their own country terms, in the place of a surname; and at their very entrance, meeting with the Britons, whom they acknowledged to be their offspring, brought them home, and maintained them at their own houses. For Morinus, amongst the old Gauls, signifies Marinus; and Moremarusa, Mare Mortuum: though Goropius hath almost stolen from us these two last names, whilst he is studious to extol his Advaticæ§ beyond measure. Neither can the Aremoricæ, or Armorica¶ deny that they are of our stock; for we have ample testimonies, old and new, in proof of the fact; because Ar, or Are, is an old Gallic preposition, signifying *at* or *upon*; as if we should say, *at* or *upon* the sea, that is, maritime. And Moremarusa is derived from More, that is, *Maer*, the sea; the last syllable being long, after the manner of a Greek participle: As for Aremoricæ, or Armorica, he that cannot know them at first hearing, is ignorant of the old Gallic tongue: they also signify maritime; and so Strabo interprets them, who in Greek always renders them Apoceanitæ. Cæsar writes of the Aremoricæ, (lib. 5.) that “Great forces of the Gauls, out of the cities called Armorica, were gathered to oppose him.” And (lib. 7.) “All the cities near the ocean, according to their custom, are called Aremoricæ.” And (lib. 8.) “The other cities situated in the extreme parts of Gaul, near the sea, are called Armorica.” As often as Cæsar makes mention of these cities, he always adds, “which are often so called;” but in such a manner that it rather seems an epithet, or surname of a place, than its proper appellation. Neither is that found to be the name of a city in any other authentic writer; yet the

* This epigram was made by the poet against one Silvius, surnamed Bonus, of Little Britain in France, against whom he had a pique, (and it seems, against the whole nation of the Britons, for his sake.) He takes an occasion to jeer him, from the ambiguity of his surname Bonus, which signifies also *good* in Latin, and (by the figure antiphrasis) *evil*, as here sometimes it is taken. This author makes it a dodecastich; whereas later interpreters have divided it into six distichs, (but all of one subject,) according to the poet's mind expressed in the first of them. They are not here quoted for the sarcasms contained therein, nor are they here translated,) but only to shew, that, in this poet's time, who lived under Gratian the emperor, about the year 380, *Britto* and *Britannus* were synonymous terms.

† The Morini were a people of Gallia Belgica, now Flanders.

‡ The Atrebatæ were the inhabitants of that part of Gaul, now Artois.

§ The Gessoriaci dwelt on the coast from Calais to Boulogne.

§ These were the inhabitants of some part of Brabant.

¶ The inhabitants of Bretagne to the west of Normandy.

word is spread far and near on that coast, from Spain to the Rhine; and amongst all writers, I find Pliny alone seems not to understand the force of the word; for he thinks that all Gascoigne was sometimes so called. But enough of this at present; more may be said of the Gallic tongue hereafter.

The most ancient name of the island is thought to have been Albion; or as Aristotle, or rather Theophrastus, in the book entitled, *De Mundo*, writes it, *Albium*. But this name is rather taken from books, than used in common speech; unless amongst the old Scots, who, as yet, call themselves *Albinich*, and their country *Albin*. Many think that this name was given to it, from the white rocks which first appear in approaching the coast from France. But it seems very absurd to me, to fetch the origin of a British name from the Latin, there being then so little commerce between strange nations. Others are of opinion, that this name was given by Albion the son of Neptune, whom they feign to have been some time king of Britain: which is an impudent fiction, without any ground in antiquity to support it; and though some are not ashamed to speak of such a kingdom, upon so weak a foundation as that of a similitude in names, I discover nothing in history to occasion this fable. Amongst the Greeks, it is true, Diodorus Siculus and Strabo have made mention of Albion and Bergion; and from the Latins, Cato, Hyginus, and Mela, we may gather, that Albion and Bergion, the sons of Neptune, being Ligurians, committed robberies in the roads leading from the country of the *Albici* into Italy. These men, when Hercules, after conquering Geryon, was returning out of Spain, sought to rob him of his prey, and maintained so sharp a fight with him, that he, almost despairing of victory, was forced to implore the aid of Jupiter, who sent down a shower of stones to relieve his son. This field of stones remained to posterity as a testimony of the fight; and I will not deny, but that both the island, and the robbers too, took their name from *Album*. But this I say, that *Album* was a common name amongst many nations, and that it signified with them, not only colour, but height too. And Festus Pompeius affirms, that what the Latins call *Alba*, the Sabines call *Alpa*; from whence the Alps had their name, because they are white with continual snow. For my part, as I assent concerning the one, that *Album* and *Alpum* were synonymous amongst the ancients, and I have the authority, not of Festus only, but Strabo also, to support my opinion; so I judge, that the Alps were so called, rather from their height than their whiteness. My reasons are, first, because *Alb* is the name of many cities in Italy, France, and Spain, which are all situated on hills, or near them: and besides, because Strabo acknowledges, that these names, *Alba*, *Alpa*, *Alpia*, *Albionia*, *Albici*, without any difference, are derived from the same root, in the signification of height; and therefore he shews, that they are most used where the Alps begin to grow high. Hence in Liguria, there is *Albingaunum*, and *Album Intimilium*; and among the Iapodes there is *Album*, an exceeding high cliff, where the Alps terminate. There are other places also, which may seem to be named from their height. In Italy there is the river *Albula*, rising in the mountains of Etruria, and the waters called *Albula*, flowing down from the Tibertine mountains. In Gallia *Narbonensis* there are the *Albici*, a mountainous people. In Germany there is the river *Albis*, rising in the mountains of Bohemia. In Asia, the river *Albanus* flows down from Mount *Caucasus*, and the *Albanians* dwell about the same mountain. By these instances, I think we may conclude, that *Album* is not a word of one, but many nations; and in all the places which I have named, their height is always one and the same; but their whiteness happens only during a few months in the year, and in some of them not at all. The names of the Ligurian giants likewise confirm this conjecture, *Albion* and *Bergion*, both of them, as I judge, being so called from their imposing stature. Upon what the ancients thought of the word *Album*, I have said enough already. That which the Germans call *high*, or *berg*, is too well known to need explanation; but there is a place in Pliny which shews, that it was anciently used in the same sense amongst the Gauls; it is in his

* Liguria comprised the country between the Po in Italy, and the Rhone in France; the *Albici* dwelt at the foot of the Alps.

third book, which I am of opinion should be thus read: "Whence Cato affirms the Belgomates to have had their original, they discovering themselves by their names to be situated more highly, than happily." Therefore Albion and Bergion were men, it seems, far taller than their neighbours, who, in confidence of their strength, committed robberies in those coasts of Liguria, where Hercules travelled and subdued them by force of arms. But none of the ancients ever affirmed, that they reigned in Britain; and the state of the Gallie affairs at this period makes it improbable that they should; nor is it likely that the state of Britain was much more quiet; in which land the great Albion left a famous kingdom, that he might play the robber at home. Now, as I do not much differ from their opinion, who assert, that Albion was so called from Album; so I think the occasion of the name was not from the colour, but from the height of the mountains. They who imposed that name were, I believe, something inclined thereto by comparing England with Ireland, there being but a narrow sea between them; for they seeing one shore to be altogether mountainous, and the other depressed, level, and spread into open fields, called the first Albion, from its height. But whether they gave any name to the second, from its low situation, the length of time, and the negligence of the inhabitants in recording ancient affairs, hath made uncertain. Besides, this also adds strength to my opinion, that the name of the island, derived from Album, whether Albion or Album, remains in Scotland to this very day, as in its native soil; neither could it be extirpated there, notwithstanding so many changes of inhabitants, kingdoms, languages, and the vicissitude of other things. These things seem true, or at least probable, to me; yet if any man can inform me better, I will easily be of his opinion.

Hitherto of the ancient names of the island. The next thing is, to shew the situation of the countries. The English writers have clearly enough described their several counties; but Hector Boethius, in his description of Scotland, hath delivered some things not so true, and he hath drawn others into mistakes, by putting too much faith in those whom he employed, and so published their opinions rather than facts. But I shall briefly touch upon those things of which I am certain; and those which seem obscure, and less true, I will correct as well as I can.

England is conveniently divided by four rivers, two running into the Irish sea, the Dee and Severn; and two into the German sea, the Thames and Humber. Between Dee and Severn lies Wales, being distinguished into three several regions. Between Severn and Thames, lies all that part of England which is opposite to France. The countries interjacent between Thames and Humber, make the third part; and the countries reaching from Humber and Dee to Scotland, the fourth.

Scotland is divided from England, first, by the river Tweed, then by the high mountain Cheviot; and, where that declines, by a wall or trench newly made, and afterwards by the rivers Esk and Solway. Within these bounds, from the Scottish sea to the Irish, the counties lie in this order. First, March, in which the English possess Berwick, situate on the left side of the Tweed. On the east it is bounded with the Frith of Forth; on the south with England. To the west, on both sides the river Tweed, lies Teviotdale, which takes its name from the river Teviot: and is divided from England by the Cheviot hills. After this lie three counties not very great, Liddisdale, Ewisdale, and Eskdale, being so called from three rivers called Liddel, Ewe, and Esk. The last is Annadale, so called from the river Annan, which divides it almost in the middle, and, near to Solway, runs into the Irish Sea.

To return again to the Forth: On the east it is bounded by Lothian. Cockburn's Path and Laceremoor hills divide it from March. Then, bending a little to the west, it touches Lauderdale and Tweeddale, the one so called from the town of Lauder, the other from the river Tweed, dividing it in the middle. Liddisdale, Nithsdale, and Clydesdale, border on Tweeddale on the south and west. The river Nith, which gives name to Nithsdale, runs through it into the Irish Sea. Lothian, which has its name from Lothus, king of the Picts, is bounded on the north east by the Forth, or Scottish sea, and looks towards Clydesdale on the south-west. This country far

*excels the rest, in the civility of its inhabitants, and in all the necessities of life. It is watered with five rivers, the Tyne, both the Esks, (which, before they fall into the sea, join in one channel,) Leith, and Almond. These rivers rising partly in the Lammermoor-hills, and partly in the Pentland-hills, discharge themselves into the Frith of Forth. Lothian contains these towns, Dunbar, Haddington, Dalkeith, Edinburgh, Leith, and Linlithgow. More to the west lies Clydesdale, on both sides the river Clyde; which, on account of its length, is divided into two sheriffwicks. In the uppermost of these is a hill, which, though not very high, yet sends out three rivers, the Tweed into the Scottish, the Annan into the Irish, and the Clyde into the Deucalionian seas. The most eminent cities here, are Lanark and Glasgow. Adjoining to it, on the south-west, is Kyle; and beyond that is Galloway, which is separated from Nithsdale by the river Clyde, bending almost wholly to the south; and that remaining part of Scotland is also covered by its shore. Galloway, which throughout is more fruitful in cattle than corn, hath these rivers running into the Irish Sea, Ure or Ore, Dee, Kenn, Cree, and Luss. It hath few great mountains, but only some small hills; between which, the water, collected in the valleys, forms abundance of lakes, whereby, in the first showers after the autumnal equinox, the rivers are increased, bringing down an incredible quantity of eels, which the inhabitants take in a kind of nets made of osier-twigs, and by salting them, get no small profit. The boundary on that side is the Mull of Galloway, under which, in the mouth of the river Luss, is a bay, called, by Ptolemy, *Regionius*. The bay commonly called Loch-Ryan, and, by Ptolemy, *Vidogera* flows into it on the other side from the Frith of Clyde. The land which runs betwixt those bays, the inhabitants call *Rian*, or the edge of Galloway; and the promontory of *Novantium* they term the Mull, that is, the beak or jaw. But the whole country is called Galloway; for *Gallovid*, in old Scotch, signifies a Gaul.*

Below Loch-Ryan, on the other side of Galloway, lies Carrick, gently declining to the Frith of Clyde. Two rivers pass through it, Stinchar and Girvan, both having many pleasant villages on their banks. Between the rivers are some small hills, fruitful for pasture, and not unfit for corn. Every part abounds with land and sea commodities, and it also supplies its neighbours with many necessities. The river Don separates it from Kyle, which riseth out of a lake of the same name, wherein is an island with a small castle. Kyle follows next, bordering upon Galloway on the south, and on the north-east on Clydesdale; on the west it is separated from Cunningham by the river Irving; and that of Ayr divides it in the middle. Near it is situated Ayr, a town of great trade: the country in general abounds more with valiant men, than with corn or cattle; for as the soil is poor and sandy, it sharpens the industry of the inhabitants; and their parsimony invigorates both their bodies and minds. After Ayr, Cunningham runs to the north, where it encroaches upon, and strengthens the Clyde, which is brought into the compass of a moderate river. The name of the country is Danish, and, in that language, signifies *The King's House*; which is an argument that the Danes had sometime the possession of it. Next on the east is Renfrew, so called from a little town, wherein they were wont to celebrate their conventions; whence it is commonly named the barony of Renfrew. Two rivers, both called Carth, divide it in the middle. After the barony of Renfrew, Clydesdale stretches out on both sides of the river Clyde, and, on account of its magnitude, is divided into many jurisdictions. It pours out several famous rivers—on the left, Avon and Douglas, which run into Clyde; and, on the right, another called Avon, which divides Lothian from Stirlingshire. These two currents take the common appellation of rivers, instead of a proper name; as in Wales, the river called Avon doth, in a different dialect. The Evan or Avon separates the county of Stirling, on the south, from Lothian; and on the east runs the Frith of Forth, until at last, being lessened, it is reduced to the proper size of a passable river, and admits of a bridge near Stirling. There is but one memorable river which divides this country, called Carron water, near which there are some ancient monuments. On the left hand of Carron are two small hills, or barrows, made of earth by man's hand, (as the

thing itself shews,) commonly called *Duni Pacis*, that is, emblems of reconciliation. But about two miles lower, on the same river, there is a round edifice made without any lime, but so formed with sharp stones, that part of every upper one is, as it were, mortised into the lower; so that the whole work, mutually conjoined, sustains itself by its own pressure, from top to bottom, growing narrower and narrower by degrees. The top of it is open. The common people have several fancies, according to their divers humours, concerning the use and author of this structure. For my part, I once conjectured, that it was a temple of the god *Terminus*; which, they say, was wont to be built round and open at top; and the *Duni Pacis* near adjoining, seemed somewhat to strengthen my conjecture, as if a peace had been made there, of which these hills are a monument, because here the Romans terminated the bounds of their jurisdiction and empire: neither could any thing have altered my opinion, unless I had been informed by creditable persons, that in a certain island are many edifices, in other respects like the structure which I have spoken of, but that they are greater, and not so compact. There are also two chapels in *Ross*, of the like shape. These things made me suspend my opinion, and to judge that these were monuments or trophies of some famous deeds, placed, as it were, at the extremity of the world, that they might be preserved from the fury of enemies. But whether these were trophies, or, as some think, sepulchres of famous men, I believe they were monuments intended to be perpetuated to posterity, and built by rude unskilful workmen, after the similitude of the chapel erected at *Carron*. On the right side of *Carron*, the ground is generally plain and level, only there is a little hill in it, almost mid-way between the *Duni Pacis* and the chapel; where, at the bending of the angle, some remains of an ancient city appear at this day. But the foundation of the walls, and the description of the streets, partly by ploughing up the ground, and partly by plucking out the square stones to build some rich men's houses, are quite blended and confused. *Bede* calls this place *Guidi*, and places it in the angle of the wall of *Severus*. Besides him, many Roman writers make mention of this wall; of which several footsteps do yet appear, and many stones are dug out, with inscriptions containing either a gratulation of safety and victory, received by the centurions and tribunes of the Romans, or else some funeral epitaphs engraven thereon. And seeing the wall of *Severus* is seldom less distant than 100 miles from that of *Adrian*, which is the older of the two, (as the remains of both evince,) English writers betray their great ignorance, either in not understanding the *Latins*, who have delivered these things down to us; or else their carelessness, who have translated that so confusedly, which is so plain in the original. However this may be, the thing is worthy, if not of a sharp reprehension, yet of a light admonition at least; especially since, by the monuments just mentioned, and by *Bede's* history, it appears that this was once the boundary betwixt the Britons and the Scots. Those who fancy *Maldon* to be situated here, are the same who affirm, that the chapel or structure we spoke of, was the temple of *Claudius Caesar*: but they are mistaken in both, since *Maldon*, a colony of the Romans, is in *Essex*, above 300 miles distant from that place, if we may believe *Ptolemy*, and the *Itinerary* of *Antoninus*. *Tacitus* plainly confutes this mistake, as in all his other narrations, so especially when he says, that the Romans, having lost *Maldon*, fled to the temple of *Claudius Caesar* for safety. But that structure, whether it were a chapel or temple of *Terminus*, or else a monument of some other thing, having no doors, nor sign of any, and being open also at top, from the casting in of stones, can scarcely contain, much less shelter, ten soldiers. Moreover, about forty years after the expedition of *Claudius Caesar* into Britain, *Julius Agricola* was the first of the Roman generals who penetrated with his army into those parts. Besides, *Adrian* also, fifty years after *Agricola*, settled the bounds of the Roman province, between the rivers *Tyne* and *Esk*, by making

Further, we never read in ancient writings, that the capital of the *Picts* was at Maldon, but at *Abernethy*; where was their royal, and also their episcopal seat, which was afterwards translated to *St. Andrew's*. If it be asked, what moved the Romans to draw a colony thither, and how they maintained it in a soil so barren, and at that time woody, uncultivated, and exposed to the injuries of the fiercest of their enemies; I suppose the answer will be, (for I see not what else can be said,) that it was supplied from the sea, as ships came then up to the very gates of the city, though against the stream of *Carron* water. If this were true, then the grounds on both sides the *Forth*, being overwhelmed by the inundations of the ocean, must have been barren, which alone in that tract ought to have borne corn. But this is yet a more difficult question; that seeing the sea-water ran on both sides the *Forth*, how happened it that the Romans did not there make their boundary-wall, rather than unnecessarily carry it many miles farther?

Beyond the county of *Stirling* lies *Lennox*, which is divided from the barony of *Renfrew* by the *Clyde*, and from the county of *Glasgow* by the river *Kelvin*; from the county of *Stirling* by mountains; from the stewartry of *Monteith* by the *Forth*; and terminates in the mountain *Grampius*, or *Granzhen*, at the foot of which, through an hollow valley, *Loch Lomond* spreads itself. This piece of water, which is twenty-four miles long and eight broad, contains above twenty-four islands; and, besides a multitude of other fish, has some of a peculiar kind, very pleasant to eat, called pollacks. At length, breaking forth towards the south, it pours out the river *Leven*, which gives a name to the whole country, and near the castle of *Dumbarton*, and a town of the same name, falls into the *Clyde*. The farthest hills of mount *Grampius* lighten the extreme parts of *Lennox*, being divided by a small bay of the sea, called *Loch Gair*, from its shortness. Beyond that, there is a bay much larger, called *Loch Long*, from the river *Long* that falls into it, and is the boundary between *Lennox* and *Cowal*. *Cowal* itself, *Argyle*, and *Knapdale*, are divided into many parts, by several narrow bays of the sea running into them, from the firth of *Clyde*. Among these is one more eminent than the rest, being above sixty miles in length, called *Loch Fyne*, from the river *Fyne*, which runs into it. There is also in *Knapdale* a lake called *Loch Awe*, in which is a small island and a fortified castle. The *Awe*, or *Owe*, flowing from this loch, is the only river in that country which empties itself into the *Deucaliedonian* sea.

Beyond *Knapdale*, to the south-west, projects *Cantyre* or *Kintyre*, that is, the head of the country, which is divided from *Ireland* by a narrow sea. Its breadth does not equal its length; and it is joined to *Knapdale* by a neck of land, so narrow as to be scarce a mile over; which isthmus is nothing but sand, so plain and level, that sometimes mariners, to make their voyages shorter, haul their boats, called *birlings*, over it, from one side to the other.

Lorn borders immediately upon *Argyle*, and reaches as far as the country of *Aber*, commonly called *Lochaber*. It is a plain country, and not unfruitful; and that part where the mountain *Grampius* lessens, and becomes more passable, is called *Braedalbane*, which is as much to say, the highest part of *Scotland*. The loftiest peak or top of the whole is called *Drumalbane*, that is, the back of *Scotland*, and not without cause; for from thence run down rivers, some into the north or German, others into the south or *Deucaliedonian* sea. From *Loch Earn* it pours out the river *Earn*, towards the south-east, which falls into the river *Tay* about three miles below *Perth*. From this river, the country, called in *Highland*, or the old Scots language, *Strathearn*, takes its name, being situated on both sides of its banks. For the highlanders use to call a country, lying at the fall of rivers, *Strath*. Between the mountains of this country and the *Forth*, lies the stewartry of *Monteith*, taking its name from the river *Teith*, which runs through the middle of it. Next to *Monteith*, stand the *Ochil* hills, a great part of which, as also of the country lying at the foot of them, is reckoned within the stewartry of *Strathearn*; but the rest of the country, as far as the *Forth*, ambition hath divided into several stewartries, as *Clackmannan*, *Culross*, and *Kinross*. From thence and the *Ochil* hills, all the country between the *Forth* and the *Tay*

grows narrow like a wedge, eastward even to the sea; and is called by one name, Fife. This country, which abounds with all the necessities of life, is broadest where it is divided by Loch Leven and the river of that name; and from thence it narrows on each side, till you come to the town of Crail. It affords but one remarkable river, which is called the Leven. Its whole shore is covered with towns, of which the most remarkable for the study of learning is St. Andrew's, which the highlanders call *Fanum Reguli*. More inland, and almost in the middle of the country, lies Cupar, the shire or assize town, whither the rest of the inhabitants of Fife come for the administration of justice. Where it touches Strathearn stands the town of Abernethy, the ancient royal seat of the Piets. Here the river Earn falls into the Tay. The latter river itself flows from Loch Tay, in Braedalbane, which loch is twenty-four miles long. The Tay is without question the greatest river in Scotland; and in winding about towards the Grampian hills, it touches upon Athol, a fruitful country, situated in the woody passages of Mount Grampius. That part of it which spreads into a plain, at the foot of the mountain, is called the Blair of Athol, a word that signifies a soil bare of trees.

Below Athol, on the right bank of the Tay, stands the town of Caledonia, which yet retains its ancient name, though vulgarly called Dunkeldin, that is, a hill full of hazel-trees, because those trees, growing thick in such unmannured places, and shadowing the country like a wood, gave name both to the town, and also to the neighbouring people: for the Caledons, or Caledonians, heretofore one of the most famous nations amongst the Britons, made up one part of the kingdom of the Piets, as we may learn from Ammianus Marcellinus, who divides the Piets into the two tribes, that of Caledones and Vectoriones, though at this day there is hardly any token left of either of these names.

Twelve miles below Dunkeld, on the same side of the Tay, stands Perth, otherwise called St. Johnston. And on the left bank of the Tay, below Athol, towards the east, stands Gowry, a country abounding with rich corn-fields.

Below Gowry, between the Tay and the Esk, is Angus, or, as the highlanders call it, *Aenea*; though some call it *Forestia*, or, according to the English dialect, *Forestia*. In it are these two towns, Cupar, and that which Boetius, to gratify his countrymen, ambitiously calls *Deidonum*; but I think the old name thereof was *Taedunum*, that is, Dundee, from *Dnn*, a hill situated by the river Tay; for at the foot of the hill the town is built.

Fourteen miles beyond the Tay, in a direct line along the shore, we meet with Aberbrothock, sometimes called *Abineca*. Then follows the promontory, called Red-head, which shews itself at a considerable distance. The river South Esk runs through the middle of Angus; and the North Esk divides it from the Mearns. This last country is for the most part plain and level, till it toucheth Mount Grampius, beyond the town of Forden, and Danotter, a castle belonging to the Earls Marischal; and then it declines gradually towards the sea. Further to the north is the Dee, commonly called *Deemouth*; and about a mile beyond it is the river Don. Upon the one stands Aberdeen, a town famous for salmon-fishing; and on the other is Aberdee, so called in old records, which is an episcopal see, and has also a flourishing university. At present, however, both towns are distinguished only by the names of Old and New Aberdeen.

From this narrow front, between the two rivers, begins Marr, which, growing wider and wider by degrees, extends itself sixty miles in length, as far as Badenoch. This country is full of hills and mountains, that send forth rivers into both seas.

Aber, which borders upon Badenoch, declines gently towards the Deucaledonian sea; and, for a Scottish country, abounds much with all land and maritime productions. As it is fruitful in corn and pasture, so it is very pleasant for its shadowy groves, and likewise for the delightful fountains, brooks, and rivulets, which glide through it. In regard to the multitude of fish, hardly any county in Scotland can compare with it: for, besides the plenty afforded by the numerous rivers, a great variety is supplied from the sea, which piercing, in a long channel, through the level part of the country, and there being somewhat curbed and pent in by the higher boundary of the land for some space, diffuses and spreads itself abroad again, in

the form of a meer, or rather loch. Hence it is called Aber; that is, in our country language, a road for ships. They give also the same name to the surrounding country; but those who affect to speak after the English mode, absurdly call both the bay and the land, Lochaber. These three countries, Aber, Badenoch, and Marr, take up all the breadth of Scotland between the Deucaledonian and German seas.

On the north, next to Marr, and divided from it by the river Don, stands Buchan, which stretcheth farthest of any county in Scotland into the German sea. It is rich in pasture, abounds in a good breed of sheep, and is able to maintain itself with all conveniences for the support of life. All the rivers, except Ratray, abound with salmon; and, which is strange, that hath not any in it. On the shore of Ratray is a strange kind of cave, in which the water drops down from a natural vault or arch, and is turned into pyramids of stone; so that if men were not constantly cleaning it, the whole space, to the very roof, would be soon filled up. The substance thus concentered is of a middle nature between stone and ice; for it is friable, and never arrives at the hardness and solidity of marble. When I was at Toulouse, about the year 1544, I was informed by credible persons, that there was a cave exactly like this in the adjacent Pyrenees.

Beyond Buchan to the north, lie two small counties, called Boyne, and Ainay or Enzie, which reach to the river Spey, and are separated by it from Murray. The Spey rises in the ridge of hills in Badenoch, already mentioned; and not far from the source of it is a loch, which sends forth a river called Lochty, that rolls itself into the western sea. At the mouth of it there was once (as they say) a noble town, called Inner-lochty, borrowing its name from the loch. The truth is, if you consider the nature of the neighbouring soil, and the conveniency of transporting goods by sea, it is a place very fit for trade. Our ancient kings, therefore, tempted by those conveniences, made their abode here for some ages in the castle of Evonia, which some would persuade themselves to be Dunstaffnage; but wrongly, for the ruins of that castle are yet to be seen in Lorn. There are some small counties lying betwixt Buchan and the western sea, but as they have scarcely any thing remarkable, I shall not waste time in describing them.

Beyond the Spey, to the river Ness, follows Murray, heretofore, as it is thought, called Varar. Between these two rivers, the Spey and the Ness, the German ocean doth, as it were, force the land backward to the west, and so forms a capacious bay. This whole country, for its extent, abounds with corn and pasturage; and for pleasantness, and the profit arising from fruit-trees, it surpasses every other part of Scotland. It hath two eminent towns, Elgin and Inverness. Elgin stands on the river Lossie, and as yet retains its ancient name. Inverness is situated by the river Ness, which issues out of Loch Ness. The latter is twenty-four miles in length; the water in it is almost constantly warm, and throughout the year is never so cold as to freeze; nay, in the sharpest winter, if flakes of ice are put into it, they will quickly be dissolved.

Beyond Loch Ness, towards the west, there are only eight miles of land; so small a portion of ground hinders the conjunction of the two seas, and, consequently, the making of the rest of Scotland an island. All the space which lies betwixt this narrow neck and the Deucaledonian sea, is cut off from the rest by several bays breaking into the land.

That part of the country which lies beyond Loch Ness and these narrow straits, is wont to be divided into four provinces or shires. Ross, Strathnavern, Sutherland, and Caithness. Beyond the mouth of the Ness, where it disembogues itself into the German sea, lies Ross, which runs out into the ocean with very high promontories, as the name itself indicates; for Ross, in the Scottish dialect, signifies a cape or headland. This province hath more of length than breadth; for it reaches from the German to the Caledonian sea. The mountainous parts are barren and uncultivated; but the plains scarcely yield to any part of Scotland for fruitfulness. It hath likewise many pleasant valleys, watered by rivers full of fish, which also abound in its several lochs, the greatest of them all being Loch Broom. From the Deucaledonian sea the shore becomes somewhat narrower, and

turns back towards the north-east; from the opposite side, the German sea, making its way between the clefts of high rocks within land, expands itself into a spacious bay, which affords a safe harbour and road for ships against all storms: the entrance into it is not difficult, and, when once in, the greatest fleets may be secure from all injury of wind and weather.

At the farthest point of Ross, towards the north, lies Naver, so called from the river of that name, which the vulgar, following the propriety of their country speech, call Strathnaver. Ross bounds it on the south; the Deucaliedonian sea washes it west and north; and on the east it reaches Caithness.

Sutherland is so situated between the three last-mentioned provinces, as to border on all of them; and, in some quarter or other, touches every one: for on the west lies Strathnaver; on the south and east, Ross; and on the north, Caithness. The inhabitants there, according to the nature of the soil, are more given to pasturage than tillage. I know no remarkable thing in it, except that it hath some mountains of white marble, (which is a wonderful thing in so cold a country,) and yet it is of little or no use to the inhabitants, because the spirit of luxury hath not reached this place.

Caithness is the last province towards the north, on which coast Strathnaver also comes up with it; and these two countries here contract the breadth of Scotland into a narrow front, where are three high promontories: the loftiest of all is that in Strathnaver, which Ptolemy calls Orcas, or Tarvedrum, now Faro-head; the other two are in Caithness, but not so high as the former; these are Vervedrum, now called *Hoia*, or Strathy Head; and Berubium, (Dunsbay Head,) falsely called, by Hector Boetius, Dume; while others name it Duncan's-Bei, from which word some letters being subtracted, the word *Duns Bei* seems to be derived. At the foot of the hill is a small bay, which little vessels, coming from the Orades, use as a haven. An arm of the sea is here called *Bei*: and this creek being named by the neighbouring inhabitants the Bei of Duncan, or Donach; from both those words conjoined, the country language hath formed *Duns Bei*.

In this tract Ptolemy places the Cornavii, (or Caithness-men:) some similitude of which name does yet remain; since they commonly call the castle of the Earls of Caithness, *Gernico*; and those whom foreigners term *Cornavii*, the Britons denominate *Kernici*. Now seeing Ptolemy places the Cornavii, not in this tract only, but even in so distant a part of the island as Cornwall, in England; and they who retain the old British speech, do yet call the same persons *Kernici*; perhaps, it is no absurd conjecture to imagine, that the *Cornavalli* are so called for *Kernicovalli*, that is, the Kernic-Gauls. Nay, in the very midst of the island, some marks, though obscure ones, of that name, seem to have remained; for Bede writes, that the beginning of the wall of Severus was not far from the monastery of Kebercurnig: whereas there is now no sign of a monastery in those parts; but there remains not far from thence the half-ruined castle of the family of Douglas, called Abercorn. Whether both these words, or only one of them, be corrupted from *Kernicus*, I leave the reader to judge.

It remains now, that I should speak something concerning the islands of Scotland, which part of the British history is perplexed with great mistakes. To pass over the ancients, who have delivered nothing certain on this subject, I shall only insist on what men of our own times have more truly and plainly reported. Of all the islands which encircle Scotland, they make three classes or ranks, the Western, the Orades, and the Shetland.

The Western isles lie between Scotland and Ireland, in the Deucaliedonian sea, and reach almost to the Orades. They who have written of the British affairs, either in this or the preceding age, call them Hebrides; a new name, of which there is not any sign, or original, in ancient authors. For, in that tract of the sea, some place the *Æbudæ*, or *Æmodæ*; but with such inconsistency amongst themselves, that they scarce ever agree in their number, situation, or names. Strabo (to begin with the most ancient) may be excused, because he followed uncertain report, that part of the world being not fully discovered in his time. Mela reckons the *Æmodæ* to be seven; and Martianus Capella makes the *Æmodæ* to be as many; Ptolemy and Solinus count the *Æbudæ* five; while Pliny numbers the *Æmodæ* seven; and the *Æbudæ*

thirty. For myself, I deem it proper to retain the names most used by the ancients, and therefore call the whole of the western isles *Æbudæ*; but I purpose to describe the site, nature, and commodities of each of them, from later and surer authorities.

In this I shall principally follow Donald Monro, a pious and diligent man, who travelled over all these islands, and observed them exactly. They lie dispersed in the Deucealedonian sea, to the number of more than three hundred. The kings of Scotland held them from time immemorial, till Donald, brother of Malcolm III. ceded them to the king of Norway, that, by his aid, he might forcibly seize upon the crown of Scotland, to which he had no right. By virtue of this grant the Norwegians enjoyed the islands about one hundred and sixty years, when Alexander III. recovered them to the crown of Scotland, after a great victory. These islanders, either confiding in their strength, or else urged on and induced by sedition, have sometimes endeavoured to assert their liberty, and to set up kings of their own: for, of late, John, of the family of the Donalds, as well as others before him, usurped the royal title. In their diet, habit, and the domestic mode of living, they use the ancient parsimony. Hunting and fishing afford them food. They boil flesh in water poured either into the pascnch or into the skins of the beasts which they kill; and, in hunting, they sometimes eat raw flesh, after squeezing out the blood. For drink they use ordinarily the broth of boiled meat; but at feasts they indulge copiously in whey, which has been kept in proper vessels for some years. This kind of liquor they call *blandium*; but the most part of them drink water. Their bread is made of oats or barley, (for no other grain grows in those parts,) and it is not unpleasant to the taste; and, by frequent use, they are very expert at making and moulding of it. In the morning they eat a little of this, and then go a hunting; or, if they have any other work to do, they are content with that light breakfast, and will fast till the evening. They use party-coloured garments, and especially striped plaids; preferring, of all colours, the purple and blue. Their ancestors wore party-coloured plaids, variously striped, which custom some of them still retain; but, at present, many of them wear garments of a dark brown colour, almost like heath; that so, when lying among the bushes, they may not, in the day-time, be discovered by their clothes. Being rather loosely wrapped, than closely covered, with this sort of blanketing, they will endure the severest weather, even in the open air; and sometimes they sleep abroad in their plaids, though covered all over with snow. In their houses also they lie on the ground; only laying under them fern or heath, which they place with the roots downward, and the brush upwards, so prettily, that their beds are almost as soft as those made of feathers, but are far more wholesome; for heath, being naturally a great drier, doth exhaust superfluous humours, and restores vigour to the nerves, after freeing them from noxious moisture; so that they who lie down in the evening weary and faint, in the morning rise up nimble and sprightly. They are all so very regardless of their bedticks and coverlets, as to affect an uncouth slovenliness in that particular; for, if any occasion or necessity cause them to travel into other parts, when they go to rest they will throw aside the bed and blankets of their hosts, and, wrapping themselves up in their own garments, fall asleep. The reason they assign for this, is, lest such barbarous effeminacy, as they call it, should taint and corrupt their native and inbred hardiness. In war they cover their heads with iron helmets, and their bodies with a coat of mail, made of iron rings, reaching almost down to their ancles. Their weapons are bows and arrows, which for the most part are hooked, so that the iron barbs, standing out on both sides, cannot be drawn out of the body they pierce, unless the orifice of the wound be made very wide. Some of them, however, fight with broad-swords and pole-axes. Instead of a trumpet, they use a bagpipe. They are much given to music, especially on instruments peculiar to themselves; of which some have strings made of brass wire, others of gut, which they strike either with their long nails, a bow, or a quill. Their only ambition is to ornament these instruments with a profusion of silver or jewels; but the meaner sort use crystal. They chaunt songs, not inelegant, containing the eulogies of valiant men; and their bards usually treat of no other subject. They speak, with little alteration, the old Gaulish language.

The Western islands of Scotland, which use the ancient tongue, are reckoned thus: The first of them is Man, by some falsely called Mona, but by the ancients Eubonia; Paulus Orosius calls it Mevania, or rather Menavia; for in the old language it is called Manim. The last age called the town, where the bishop had his see, Sodor. It is a province almost equally distant from Ireland, from Galloway in Scotland, and from Cumberland in England; it is twenty-four miles long, and eight broad.

The next isle rising in the Frith of Clyde is Alsa, or Ailsa, a high and precipitous rock, accessible only by one plain passage. It is uninhabited almost all the year; but, at certain seasons, a great number of skiffs and busses flock thither to fish for cod and whiting. It abounds with rabbits and sea-fowl, but especially with Soland geese. It is almost equally distant from Carrick on the south-east, from Ireland on the south-west, and from Cantyre on the north-west. Twenty-four miles from hence lies the isle of Arran, inclining towards the north; it is twenty-four miles long, and sixteen broad; it is full of high and craggy mountains, so that only the sea-coasts are inhabited; where it is lowest, the sea breaks into it, and makes a considerable bay, the entrance of which is covered by the island Molas, that is, Lamalach, or Lam-lash. Such is the height of the mountains, that, by breaking the force of the wind, the bay within is a very safe harbour for shipping; and the waters, which are perpetually calm, are so abundant in fish, that, if the inhabitants catch more than will serve them for one day, they throw them again into the sea, as into a pond, to be taken out at their pleasure.

Not far from Arran lies a small island called Flada or Fladda, which is full of rabbits. Bute isle, being eight miles long and four broad, is situated more within the Frith of Clyde, and is eight miles distant, on the north-east, from Arran. On the north-west, it is distant from Argyle about half a mile; on the east, from Cunningham, six miles. Being for the greatest part low land, it is convenient for corn and pasturage. The only town in it bears the name of the island; and there is in it an old castle called Rothsay. It hath also another castle at the bay, called, in the country language, Cames or Kames castle. On the south-west of it is the low island of Meraoch. It is fruitful enough, and well cultivated for its size, being only a mile long, and half a mile broad. Farther still, within the Frith of Clyde, are the two Cumbracs, the Greater and the Less, at a small distance one from another; the former abounding with corn, and the latter with fallow-deer.

From the promontory of Cantyre, at the distance of little more than a mile, lies Avona, now Sanda, called Portuosa, that is, fit for a port; which name it obtained from being a road for ships; for when the Danes possessed those islands, their fleets repaired thither for shelter. From the same promontory to the south-west, over against the Irish shore, stands Rathlin; and four miles from Cantyre, is another small island called Cana; not far from whence lies Gigha, six miles in length, and one and a half in breadth.

The island of Jura is distant twelve miles from Gigha, and is in length twenty-four miles. Its maritime coasts are tolerably well inhabited, but being woody in the inland parts, it abounds with several sorts of deer. Hence some think it was anciently called Dera, which in the Gothic language signifies a stag. Two miles distant from Jura lies Scarba, in length from east to west four miles, and in breadth one; it is thinly inhabited in a few scattered places. The tide is so violent between it and Jura, that there is no passage from one to the other, either with sails or oars, but at certain seasons only.

After this there are many islands of less note, dispersed up and down, as Bellach or Genistaria, Gewrasdil, Lunga, both the Fiolas, and also the three Garvillans, distinguished by respective surnames; then Colbrenin, Dunconnel, Luparia, Belhae, Whoker, Gavin, Luimg, Seil, and Suim. These three last, which are fruitful enough in corn and cattle, are under the jurisdiction of the Earls of Argyle. The next to these is Slata, or Slach; so called because tiles, named slates, are here hewn out of a rock. Then follow Naosg, Easdale, Schanni, and the isle called Tyan, from a herb which is prejudicial to fruits, not unlike the water-willow, but of a paler colour. Here also are Uridich and the Rye island; then Dow, or the Black island; and the island Eglisch, or of the church, and Triarach. After these follow the islands

Ard or Ilioh, Ishol, Green, Heath, as also Tree, Goat, Coney isles, and that which is called the island of the Otiosi, and Erisbach; as also Lismore. This last, which was formerly the seat of the bishop of Argyll, is eight miles in length, and two in breadth; and in it are found metals, besides the commodities common to other isles. Then succeed Ovilia, and Siuna, Iian-na-Port, and Geirach; as also Falda, the isle of Cloich, Graunry, the islands More, Ardiescra, Musadil, and Beunera, heretofore called the Holy Sanctuary, the noble Yew-isle, Molochasgar, and Drinacha, which is all covered over with thorns, alders, and the ruins of great houses; then another isle, Drimach, that is full of wood; also Ramsay and Kervera.

The greatest of the Western islands, after Jura, is Isla; which is twenty-four miles long, and sixteen broad; it is extended from south to north; and is very fruitful in cattle, corn, deer, and lead. There is a river of fresh water in it, called Avenlaggan, as also a bay of salt water, in which are several islands; and it hath, besides, a loch of fresh water, in which is an island called Endlaggan; which formerly was the chief of all the rest, by being the residence of the prince of the islanders, who assumed the name of king. Near to that, but less, is the island called Islan-na-Covihaslop, called also the Island of Council; for there was a court in it, where fourteen of the chief men sat daily for the administration of justice, and determining matters of controversy; whose great equity and moderation procured peace, both foreign and domestic; and, as a concomitant of peace, the affluence of all things. Between Isla and Jura there is seated a small island called Rock Isle, taking its name from a heap of stones there. Moreover, on the south side of Isla lie these islands, Chourna, Maalmori, Osrin, Brida, Corshera, the island Ishol, Immersi, Bethic, Texa, Gearach, Naos, Rinard, Cana, Terskeir, Ach-nar, the Isle More, the island resembling the figure of a man, the island Jean, and the Stachabadda. At the west corner of Isla stands Oversa; where also the sea is very raging, and not passable for ships but at certain hours. Besides the island Channard, towards the north-west are situate Usabrest and Tapast, Naomph, and the island Banni; eight miles from Isla, more towards the north, lies Oversa, next to it Porcatia, and half a mile from Oversa lies Colonsay.

Beyond Colonsay, to the north, lies Mull, twelve miles distant from Isla. This island is twenty-four miles in length, and as many in breadth; it is craggy, yet not wholly barren of corn. It hath many woods in it, and great herds of deer, and a port safe enough for ships; over against Icolmkill, it hath two large rivers full of salmon, besides other less streams not without fish; it hath also two lochs, in each of which are several islands, and castles on them all. The sea breaking into it in divers places, makes four bays, all abounding with herrings. On the south-west is seated Cadaman, or the island of Doves; on the north east stands Erra; both these islands are commodious for cattle, corn, and fishing.

The island of Icolmkill is distant from them two miles; it is two miles long, and above a mile broad; fruitful in all things which that climate can produce, and famed for as many ancient monuments as could be well expected in such a country; but it was made yet more famous by the severe discipline and holiness of St. Columbus. It was beautified with two monasteries, one of monks, the other of nuns; with one curia, or (as they call it) a parish church, and with many chapels, some of them built by the munificence of the kings of Scotland, and others by the petty kings of the islands. In the old monastery of St. Columbus, the bishops of the islanders placed their see; their ancient mansion-house, which was before in the Isle of Man, being taken by the English. There still remains, however, among the ancient ruins, a church-yard, or burying-place, common to all the noble families which dwelt in the western islands. There are three tombs in it more eminent than the rest, at a small distance one from another, having little shrines, looking towards the east, built over them. In the west part of each is a stone with an inscription, declaring whose tomb it is; the middlemost hath one to this purport,—“The tomb of the kings of Scotland;” for it is reported that no less than forty-eight monarchs were buried there; that on the right hand has this title,—“The tomb of the kings of Ireland;” for four sovereigns of that nation are said to

be interred there : that on the left side is inscribed : "The tomb of the kings of Norway ;" for report says, that eight sovereigns of that nation were entombed there. In the rest of the cemetery, the eminent families of the island have their tombs apart. There are six islands adjacent to it, small indeed, yet not unfruitful, which were given by ancient kings, or princes of the islands, to the nunnery of St. Columbus.

The island Soa, though it hath convenient pasturage for sheep, yet derives its greatest revenue from the sitting and hatching of sea-fowl, and especially from their eggs. The next to that is Nun's island ; then Rudana ; after that Reringa ; to which follows Skanny, distant half a mile from Mull ; it hath one parish in it, but the parishioners live mostly in Mull. The shore abounds with rabbits. A mile from Skanny stands Borsa. All these are under the jurisdiction of the monks of St. Columbus's monastery.

Two miles from Borsa stands Ulva, which is five miles long, and, for its size, is fruitful in corn and pasturage. It hath an haven very commodious for galleys, long boats, &c. berlious. On its south side lies Colvansa ; the soil thereof is fruitful, and it hath a wood of hazel in it. Almost three hundred paces from it, is situated Gomedra, two miles long and a mile broad, running out from south to north. Four miles from Gomedra, on the south, stands Staha ; and both of these last-named isles have many good havens in them. Four miles from hence, towards the north-west, are the two Carniburghs, the Greater and the Less, so fortified round about with precipices of rocks, and a most rapid current besides, that, their natural strength being assisted by art, they are impregnable. A mile from these, is an island whose soil is almost all black, as being cemented out of old rotten wood and moss mixed together. They dry the turf of it for fuel, and therefore it is called Turf-island ; for so they there call that sort of earth, which the English term moss. Then succeeds Lunga, two miles in length, and Baea, half the size.

From thence towards the west, about six miles' distance, stands Tirey, which is in length eight miles, and in breadth three. Of all these islands, it most abounds in the necessities of life ; for besides plenty of cattle and corn, they also get much by fishing, and the breed of sea-fowl. There is in it a lake or loch of fresh water, and an old castle, as also an haven, not unsafe for galleys and long boats. Two miles from hence stands Gunn isle, and at an equal distance from it is Coll, a very fruitful isle, twelve miles long, and two broad. Not far from thence is Calfa, which is almost all covered with wood. After that, two islands follow, surnamed Green, the Greater and the Less. And as many lie, of the same surnames, over against the promontory of Mull. Not far from this, are two islands, called Glassæ ; that is, sky-blue ; then Ardan Rider, that is, the high island of the horseman ; next Luparia, or the island of Wolves ; and after this the island More. From the isle of Coll, toward the north, is extended east and west the isle of Rum, sixteen miles long, and six broad ; but because it is inhabited only in a few places, the sea-fowl almost every where lay their eggs up and down in the fields ; so that in the spring as many of them may be taken up as one pleases. Among the high rocks here, the Soland geese are caught in great abundance. Four miles from thence, to the south-east, is the island Naieh, or of horses, and half a mile from thence is Muick, which, for its size, abounds with necessities. Falcons build their nests here ; and it hath also a port convenient enough for shipping. Not far from it, are Canna and Egg, which though small, are yet fruitful islands ; and the latter abounds with Soland geese.

Then there is Soavretail, fitter for hunting than any other purposes of life. Thence, from north to south, is extended Skye, the greatest of all the islands about Scotland, its length being forty-five miles, and its breadth, in some places, eight, and in others twelve miles ; many parts are full of mountains, which abound with woods, interspersed with pastures. The level country is also fruitful of corn and cattle ; and it is particularly famous for a large breed of mares. It hath five great rivers all full of salmon ; and it hath besides many lesser streams, which are not without the same fish. The sea penetrating on every side into the land, makes many bays of salt water, of which three are most eminent, besides thirteen others, all much resorted to by herings. It hath also a loch of fresh water in it and five castles. This island,

in the old Scottish dialect, was called *Skianacha*, that is, winged, because the promontories, between which the sea makes its influx, stretch themselves out in that form. Hence by common use the whole island has obtained the name of Skye, that is, a wing.

About this are scattered some smaller islands, as Oransa, full of corn and cattle: and Nagunner, having plenty of woods and rabbits; as also Paba, infamous for robberies, where thieves, lurking in the woods, waylay travellers as they pass. Eight miles from thence to the north-west, lies Scalpa, which besides other commodities, hath great herds of deer in its woods. Near the mouth of Lochcarron lies Cronling, a safe harbour for ships; and from Scalpa, two miles towards the north, is Raasa, seven miles long, and two broad. It hath woods of beech-trees, with many deer in them. Half a mile from hence is Rona, which is quite covered over with woods and heath. It hath a port in its inmost bay, noted for piracy, being very convenient for the purpose of surprising passengers by sea. In the mouth of this bay, (which from its shallowness is called *Gerloch*,) is an island of the same name. From Rona, six miles towards the north, lies Fladda; two miles from that is Tronta, and on the south side of Skye is Oransa. A mile from thence is Little Buia, next Great Buia; and near them, five small islands of no note; after these follows Ishol, fruitful in corn; and near it is Ovia, then Askerna, and Linadel; and eighty miles from Skye, to the north-west, lie Linga, Gigamina, Bernera, Megala, Paba, Flada, Scarpa Vervecum, *i. e.* of wedder sheep; Sandrera, and Watersa, which last, besides other conveniences, hath a haven capable of holding many large ships; and hither, at certain seasons of the year, numerous fishermen flock together, from the adjacent countries. These nine last islands are under the government of the bishop of the islands. Two miles distant from Watersa, lies Barra, seven miles in length, extending itself from the south-west to the north-east, not unfruitful in corn, but most noted for its cod and whiting fishery: here is a bay, into which the sea makes an influx by a narrow mouth; but within it is capacious and circular. This bay hath one island in it, and therein a strong fort or castle. On the north side of Barra, riseth a hill full of grass from top to bottom; and on the summit issueth a spring of fresh water, which flowing down in a rivulet, carries with it into the neighbouring sea some small animals, which are shapeless: yet in some sort, though not very plainly, represent those shell-fish we commonly call cockles. This part of the shore, to which the borderers retire, they call the Great Sanda: because when the sea ebbs, the sand is uncovered for a mile and more. Here they dig up great shell-fish, which the neighbouring people believe to be bred out of the spawn of those shapeless fish, which the forenamed rill carries down from its fountain; and that they are either produced there, or at least grow bigger in the sea.

Between Barra and Uist lie these small islands following; Orbansa, Ovia or Eoy, Hakerset, Garulinga, Flada, Buia the Greater and Buia the Less, Haia, Heldisay, Gega, Linga, Fara, Fuda, and Heath. From these towards the north, lies Uist, thirty miles long, and six broad. The tide flowing into this island in two places, represents the appearance of three islands; but when it ebbs, it again grows into one: there are many lakes of fresh water in it, the biggest of which is three miles long. The sea, wearing away the land, hath made itself a passage into this loch; neither can it be excluded by the inhabitants, not even by a jetty on bank of sixty feet high, but insinuates itself between the stones, loosely compacted together, and there often leaves some small sea-fish behind. There is a fish taken in it, in other respects like a salmon, save that the belly is white, and the back black, and it is without scales. Moreover, there are in the island abundance of lochs of fresh water. It hath also caves in it covered with heath, which are lurking places for robbers. There are five parish-churches in it for the performance of holy duties.

Eight miles from thence, towards the east, lies Helsing Vetularum, so called, as I suppose, because it belonged to the nuns of Icolmkill. A little farther towards the north appears Halvelscher, to which at certain seasons many sea-calves, or seals, resort, and are there taken. About sixty miles beyond that, to the north-west, stands Hirta, very fruitful in corn, cattle, and

particularly in sheep, which are here fatter than in any other of the islands. But the inhabitants are ignorant of all arts, and especially of religion. After the summer solstice, the lord of the island sends thither his proctor or steward, to gather his rent or tribute; and, with him, he sends a priest to baptize all the children that were born the preceding year; but if the priest come not, then every man baptizeth his own infants. They pay to their lord a certain number of sea-calves, and carcasses of sheep, dried in the sun, and sea-fowl. The whole island doth not exceed a mile in length, and it is almost of equal breadth; neither can any part of it be seen from any neighbouring island, except three hills on the shore, nor can these be discerned, but from the highest places in the parts adjacent. In those hills are sheep exceedingly beautiful, but by reason of the violence and rapidity of the tide and current of the sea, they can scarcely be come at by any one.

To return to Uist: on the north promontory is situate the isle Valey, which is a mile in breadth, and two in length. Between that promontory and the isle of Harris, these islands are interjacent, small indeed, but not unfruitful, viz. Soa, Stromoy, Pabaia, Bernera, Erisay, Keligera, Saga the Less, Saga the Greater, Hermodra, Seavay, Gria, Linga, Gillan, Hea, Hoy, Ferclaia, Soa the Less, Soa the Great, Isal, Senna the Less, Senna the Great, Tarransa, Slegana, Tuema, and, above Harris, Scarpa; and due west are seven islands, at fifty miles' distance above Lewis which some call Flavanæ, others the Sacred, or Sanctuary islands; they rise up into grassy mountains, but are quite uncultivated; neither are there in them any quadrupeds, except wild sheep, which the hunters catch, but eat them not when they have done. They make tallow of their fat, which is the most that they yield; the little flesh they have being so unpleasant, that no man will eat it, unless forced to it by the extremity of hunger.

Almost in the same tract, nearer to the north, lie Garvellan, that is, the Craggy Island, Lamba, Flada, and Kéllasa, the two Berneras, the Great and the Small, Kirta, Buia the Little, Buia the Great, Vexa, Pabaia, and Sigran; the Great, or Cuniculatia, so called from its plenty of rabbits, Sigrana the Less, and the island of Pigmies. In this last is a chapel, where the bordering people believe that pigmies were heretofore buried; for many strangers, digging deep into the earth, have met with, and still find, little and round heads, with the small bones of other parts of human bodies, that do not in the least differ from the ancient reports concerning pigmies.

On that shore of the island Lewis, which looks towards the south-east, two bays of the sea break into the land, one of which they call the south, the other the north loch; both yielding abundance of fish, to those who take pains to catch them, and that during the whole year. From the same shore, more to the south, stands Fable isle, then Adam's isle, then the isle of Lambs; as also, Huilin, Viccoil, Havera, Laxa, Erin, the isle of Icolmkill, Tory, Iffert, Scalpa, Flada, and Shevy. At the east side of this last island is a subterraneous passage, arched at top, and above a bowshot in length; under which vault, small boats used to shelter themselves, making to it by sails or oars, to avoid the violence of the tide, which breaks upon the neighbouring promontory with a great noise, to the extreme terror and danger of mariners. More to the east lies an island which they call Scham Castle, a place naturally fortified, abounding with corn and fish, and also affording sufficient provision to the inhabitants by eggs of sea-fowl, which there make their nests.

Opposite the shore, where Loch Brian, or Broom, opens to the land, lies the isle of Eu, which is almost all covered with woods, and good for nothing but to harbour thieves, who rob passengers. More to the north is the island Gruinorta, being also full of woods, possessed by robbers and pirates. And looking towards the same coast, is an island, named Cleirach, which, beside pasturage, abounds with the eggs of sea-fowl. Next to that is Afulla, and then Harary the Greater, with Harary the Less; and nigh this last the island of Horses, or Nastich; and near that again, the isle Mertaica. These eight islands are situate before the mouth of the bay, which is vulgarly called Loch Broom or Brian. At some distance from these islands, which lie before Loch Broom, Harris and Lewis run toward the north. They are sixty miles in length and sixteen in breadth, making but one island; for they are not dis-

tinguished by the arms of the sea that flow into it, but by the meers of the land, and the possessions of their several lairds; but that part which is exposed to the south, is wont to be called Harish. There was a monastery here, called Roadilla, built by Macleod of Harish. The soil is fruitful of corn, but it yields its increase rather by digging than ploughing. Its pastures are proper for sheep, especially one high mountain, which is green with grass to the very top. Donald Monro, a learned and pious man, relates, that when he was there, he saw sheep very old for that kind of cattle, wandering up and down without any certain owner; and the number of them is increased by the fact, that neither fox, wolf, or serpent was ever seen there; though great woods lie betwixt this part and Lewis, which breed many fags, but low and small in size. In this part of the island is a river very full of salmon. On the north part lies Lewis, inhabited enough towards the shore. It hath four parish churches in it, one fort, seven great brooks, and twelve smaller, all of them, according to their magnitude, full of salmon; in many places the sea penetrates into the land, and there spreads itself into bays, all abounding with plenty of herrings. There are also great plenty of sheep here, which wander freely amongst the thickets and heath-bushes. The inhabitants drive them into a narrow place, like a sheep-fold, and there every year they pluck them of their wool, after the ancient custom. The level part of the country abounds with heath, among which the surface of the earth is black, occasioned by moss, that is matted as it were with rotten wood, the accumulation of many ages, even a foot in thickness. This upper crust, being cut into long and slender pieces, and dried in the sun, serves for firing instead of wood; and the following year, the naked ground, being manured with sea weed, is sown with barley. In this island are commonly so many whales taken, that sometimes, as the old inhabitants relate, twenty-seven, of different sizes, fall to the share of the priests for their tithes. Here is also a great cave, in which, when the tide is out, the water is two fathoms deep; but when the tide is in, the depth is twice as much. There multitudes of people, of both sexes, and of all ages, sitting on the rocks, with hooks and lines, promiscuously catch various kinds of fish, in abundance.

About sixty miles from Lewis, to the north-east, is Rona, a small island, low, flat, and well inhabited by a rude people, almost destitute of religion. The laird assigns a certain number of families to dwell here and till it, and allows them a sufficiency of great and small cattle, whereby they may both live well and pay their tribute. All that is above their own wants, they send every year to Lewis, to their landlord, who lives there. They commonly pay him, under the denomination of tribute or rent, a great quantity of sacks, made of sheep-skins, containing barley meal, (which grain grows plentifully among them,) also, carcases of mutton, and sea-fowl dried in the sun, being the surplusage of their yearly provision; and if the multitude of their people increases, they send also the supernumerary persons to their landlords. So that, in my judgment, these are the only people in the world who want nothing, but have all things to satiety. And besides, having neither luxury nor covetousness, they enjoy that innocence and tranquillity of mind, which others take great pains to obtain from the precepts and institutions of wise men. And for this they are indebted to their ignorance of vice; neither doth any thing seem to be wanting to their great happiness, but that they do not understand the excellence of their condition. There is in this island a chapel dedicated to St. Ronanus, where (as old men say) a spade is constantly left, with which, if any one die, a place is always found marked out, and prepared for his grave. Moreover, in this island, besides other fish, many whales are also taken.

Sixteen miles from thence, towards the west, lies the island Suilsker; a mile long, which brings forth no grass, not even so much as heath; having only bleak rocks, some of which are covered with black moss; among which sea-fowl do commodiously lay their eggs, and hatch them. Before the young are fledged enough to fly away, the neighbouring islanders sail thither from Lewis, and spend about eight days there in collecting the birds, with which and the feathers, the flesh being dried in the wind, they load their boats. In this isle is found a rare kind of bird, unknown in other parts, called *Colca*,

which is somewhat less than a goose. The female comes hither every year in the spring, and here hatches and feeds her young till they can shift for themselves. About that time her feathers fall off, and, being thus left naked, she betakes herself to the sea again, and is never seen more till the next spring. It is also singular in these birds, that their feathers have no quills or stalks, but cover their bodies with a gentle down, without any hard nibs belonging to it.

Next follow the *Orcades*, lying scattered in the north of Scotland, partly in the Deucaledonian, and partly in the German, seas. In the name, writers, both ancient and modern, agree tolerably well; but the reason of it no man, that I know, hath explained. Neither doth it appear who first possessed these islands; for, though all say that they were of a German original, it is not said from what nation of Germany they came. If we may form a conjecture from their speech, both ancient and modern, they use the Gothic language. Some think they were *Piets*, induced by this argument, that the sea, dividing them from Caithness, is called the Pentland, or *Pietland*, Frith. The same writers judge also that the *Piets* themselves were of the race of the Saxons, grounding their opinion chiefly on the verses of Claudian, in his seventh panegyric, which runs thus:—

———— Maduerunt Saxone fuso,
Orcades : incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule.
Scotorum tumulos fleuit glacialis Ierne.
The *Orcades* were moist with Saxon gore ;
Warm with the blood of *Piets*, flow'd Thule's shore :
And whilst its head, each Scotchman's tomb appears,
Icy *Juverna* all dissolves in tears.

But their error may easily be refuted, first from Bede, the Anglo-Saxon, who, affirming that the Britons sung the praises of God in five several languages, reckons the *Pietish* to be one; but if the *Piets* had then spoken the Saxon language, he would not have made the distinction; for at that period the English used the Saxon without corruption. In the next place, the error is refuted by those very verses of Claudian, where he expressly declares, that the *Piets* were a different people from the Saxons; for he says, that the *Orcades* were the country of the latter, as *Thule* was of the *Piets*. But whatever their original was, they use, in our age, a language different both from Scotch and English, and very nearly approaching to the Gothic. In their daily fare, the common people still retain much of their ancient parsimony, and therefore they are sound in mind and healthy in body. Few of them die of diseases, but almost all of old age; and their ignorance of delights and pleasures contributes more to the conservation of their health, than the skill and diligence of physicians doth to others. The same parsimony conduceth much both to the elegance of their form, and the tallness of their stature. They have but a scanty supply of grain, except oats and barley; of which they make both bread and drink. Of gregarious animals, they have sheep, kine, and goats, so that they have abundance of milk, butter, and cheese: they have also an innumerable variety of sea-fowl, of which, and of fish, their diet for the most part consists. There is no venomous creature here, nor any of an odious appearance. Their horses are very small, but though in appearance contemptible, their strength is great, almost beyond belief. Neither trees nor shrubs grow here; only heath, which is owing not so much to any fault in the soil or air, as to the laziness of the inhabitants, as doth easily appear by the roots of trees, which in many places are dug out of the earth. Whenever foreigners import hither strong liquor, the people drink it greedily, even to excess. They have an ancient cup, or goblet, among them, which, to procure the greater authority to their carousings, they say, belonged to St. Magnus, who first instructed them in the principles of the Christian religion. It so far exceeds the size of other drinking-bowls, that it may seem to have been a relief of the feast of the *Lapithæ*. With it they try an experiment upon their bishops, at their first coming to them; and he that can drink the contents at a single draught, which seldom happens, is counted an extraordinary man; and the people look upon it as a happy omen and presage, that

the crops of the following years will be superabundant. From this practice it may easily be conjectured, that the parsimony which I spoke of proceeds not so much from reason and choice, as from penury and want; and that the same necessity which produced it at first, perpetuated and transmitted it to posterity; till the neighbouring nations being corrupted by prevailing luxury, their ancient discipline was, by degrees, weakened and impaired, and they also gave themselves up to charming pleasures and delights. Being thus inclined to luxury, they were hurried on to it by their commerce with pirates; who, not daring to land on the continent, because it was full of inhabitants, took in fresh water at these islands; and there either changed their wine, and other merchandise, for the provisions of the country, or else sold them to the islanders at a low price. The inhabitants being few in number, unarmed, and dispersed also in the tempestuous sea, so that they could not convene to assist one another, and conscious of their own weakness, either did receive, or at least did not reject security, brought home to their doors, especially it being mixed with gain and pleasure, which are its usual companions. But this pollution of manners did mostly infect the great ones and the priests. Among the vulgar, many tokens of their former moderation do yet remain. The sea is there very raging and tempestuous; which is caused, not only by the violence of the winds, and the position of the heavenly constellations, but also by the meeting of contrary tides, raised up, and flowing in from the western ocean, and making such a conflict between the straits of the land, that the surges occasioned thereby, encountering one another in opposite directions, and all impetuously whirled together, cannot be passed, either with oars or sails. If any mariners dare come too near, one of these three mischiefs befalls them—they are driven back, with a forcible violence, into the sea; or else, by the rapidity of the foaming waves, they are dashed upon shelves and rocks; or, lastly, are swallowed up by the roaring vorrices of the engulfing waters. There are only two seasons wherein these straits are passable; either when, upon the falling back of the tides, the conflict of the waters ceasing, the sea is thereby calmed; or else when it comes in a full channel to the height of its increase at spring-tides, that force languishes on both sides, which raised and made the water tempestuous and stormy; so that the ocean, as it were, sounds a retreat to its storms, and thereupon the mountainous surges retire into their proper caverns and recesses.

Authors are not agreed concerning the number of the *Orcades*; *Pliny* reckons them to be forty; others about thirty: but *Paulus Orosius* comes nearest the truth, in making them thirty-three, of which thirteen only are inhabited; the rest being left to feed cattle; for many of them are low, and so narrow in compass, that, if tilled, they would scarcely maintain above one or two farmers. Some of them appear to be either bare rocks, or else covered with nothing but a rotten kind of black moss.

The largest isle of the *Orcades* is called by many of the ancients *Pomona*; though at this day they term it the Main-land, on account of its exceeding the rest so much in size, its length being thirty miles. It is well inhabited, and hath twelve parish churches, besides one town, which the Danes, who were long masters of the *Orcades*, call *Cracoviaca*; and we Scotchmen by a corrupt name, *Kirkwall*. In this town are two castles of a moderate size, standing near together, one belonging to the king, and the other to the bishop. Between them is a church, which is magnificent enough for such a place; and adjacent to that and the castles are buildings on both sides, which the inhabitants call two cities, one belonging to the king, and the other to the bishop. The whole isle runs out into promontories, between which the bays formed by the influx of the sea afford safe anchoring for ships, and here and there a good harbour. In six several places of this island are metals, that is, white and black lead, of so good a quality, that no better is to be found in all Britain. This island is about twenty-four miles distant from *Caithness*; the *Pictish Sea*, called *Pentland Frith*, running between them, of which we have spoken before.

In this narrow sea are many scattered islands, of which *Stromoy*, not unfruitful for the extent of it, is distant from *Caithness* only a mile; but they do not reckon that amongst the *Orcades*, on account of its propinquity to the

British shore, and its having been always the property of the Earls of Caithness. Sailing from hence towards the north, we meet with South Ronalds, or Ronaldsay, the first of the Orcades, which is sixteen miles from Dunginsby-head. Skiffs and small vessels pass over in two hours from thence to this island, when the tide is with them, though there be no wind, which is occasioned by the violence of the current. This island is five miles in length, and hath a convenient port, surnamed St. Margaret's Hope. A little to the eastward of it are two small islands, uninhabited, and left for cattle to pasture in. They call them, in their country-speech, the Holmes, that is, grassy plains, situated by water. To the north is the island Burra, and two Holmes between that and Main-land. From Burra, towards the west, there lie three islands in order, Suna, Flata, and Fara; and beyond them, Hoia, and Valis or Waes-isle, which some make two, others but one island, because about both the equinoxes, when the sea doth most tempestuously foam and rage, the tide falling back, and the lands being bared, they adhere together, and are joined by a narrow isthmus, and so make one island; but upon the return of the tide, and the sea coming again between them, they recover the form of two. In this island are the highest mountains of all the Orcades. Hoia and Waes-isle are ten miles in length, and distant from Ronaldsay eight miles; but from Duncansby or Dunginsby, in Caithness, above twenty miles. On the north is the island Granisa, situated in a very narrow arm of the sea; for Hoia is distant from the nearest promontory, which is that of Pomona, or Main-land, only two miles. These are the islands situated in the streights between Main-land and Caithness. The west side of Main-land looks to the open sea, no islands or rocks appearing there. From its eastern promontory it runs a little out into the sea; while Coupins-oy almost covers it on the north. Nearer the shore is Siapins-oy, somewhat inclining to the east, situated over against Kirkwall, two miles distant, itself being six miles long. On the west part of Main-land lies Rows-oy, six miles in length. From thence towards the east stands Eglisa, or Eglis-oy, where fame reports that St. Magnus was buried. From hence to the southward lie Wyer-oy and Gress-oy; and not far from thence, Wester-oy, eighty miles distant from Shetland. Papa and Stronsa lie also at the same distance. Almost in the middle of the passage between them lies Fara, or Fair Isle, which is equally conspicuous and visible from the Orcades and Shetland; for it rises into three very high promontories, surrounded with lofty rocks, that are wholly inaccessible, except towards the north-east, where, being a little lower, it affords an harbour safe enough for small vessels. The inhabitants thereof are very poor; for the fishermen, which sail that way every year, coming to fish from England, Holland, and other maritime countries, plunder, and carry away what they please.

The next after this is the greatest of the Shetland islands, and therefore the inhabitants call it the Continent or Main-land. It is sixty miles in length, and in some places sixteen in breadth; it spreads itself into many small promontories: two of them I shall name, the one long, but narrow, running to the north; the other broader, running to the south-east. The maritime parts of it are, for the most part, inhabited; but to the interior no animal comes except fowl. Some few years since, the inhabitants endeavoured to form plantations, farther than their ancestors had done, but the enterprise did not answer. Their wealth is from the sea, as it lies convenient for fishing on every side.

Ten miles farther, towards the north, is the isle of Zell, or Yell, above twenty miles long, and eight broad; so uncouth a place that no creature can live therein, except such as are born there. A merchant of Bremen, however, is reported to dwell in this island, who imports all sorts of foreign wares, of which the inhabitants have need, in great abundance. Between this island and Main-land lie the small islands of Linga, Orua, Bigga, and Sanctferry. About nine miles further, to the north, stands Unst, extending above twenty miles in length, and six in breadth. It is plain and level, without being any otherwise unsightly to the eye, than that it is surrounded by a very raging sea. Between this and Yell lie Via, Ura, and Linga; and beyond it, towards the west, are the two Skerryys, and Burra; on the east are Balta, Honnega, and Follara or Pheodoroy, which last is seven miles long, over against the

streight that separates Unst from Yell; being distant from the former seven, and from the latter eight miles. Many petty islands lie on the east side of the Main-land, as Mecla, the three eastern Skerries, Chualsa, or Whals-oy, Nostvada, Brasa, and Musa; the west side is surrounded by the eastern Skerries, Rotti, Papa the Less, Vonnoda, Papa the Greater, Vallu, Trons isle, Burra, Hara the Greater, Hara the Less; and amongst them are intermingled almost as many holmes, or plain islets, used for pasturage only.

The Shetlanders live after the same manner as the people of the Orcaades do, except that, in diet, they are a little more hardy. Their dress is after the German fashion, which, according to their abilities, is not uncomely. They support themselves by manufacturing a sort of coarse cloth, which they sell to the Norwegians: also by extracting oil from the entrails of fish; by their butter, and their fisheries. In the latter employment they use small vessels of two oars, which they purchase of the Norwegians. Of the fish which they catch, they salt a part, and dry the rest in the wind. Out of the produce of what is sold, they raise a sum of money to pay their tribute, to provide dwelling-houses, and buy furniture. Their fisheries also supply them with a great part of their food. They who study neatness in their domestic utensils, indulge themselves with some plate in their houses. They use measures, numbers, and weights, after the German fashion; and their language is also German, or rather almost the ancient Gothic. They know not what it is to be drunk; only every month they invite one another to their houses, on which days they are innocently merry and cheerful, without those brawls and other vices which are occasioned by intoxication. This social custom, they persuade themselves, contributes much to the maintenance of mutual friendship. The healthiness of these people appeared in one named Laurence, in our time, who, after he was an hundred years old, married a wife; and when he was one hundred and forty, used to fish with his skiff, even in a rough and tempestuous sea. He died only lately, not by the shock of any grievous disease, but merely by the infirmity and languishing of old age.

BOOK II.

My attempt to retrieve the memory of British affairs, for above two thousand years past, was opposed by many impediments; amongst which this was the chief, that there were for a long time no monuments of learning in those countries, from which the knowledge of our original was to be derived; and when letters came, though but late, into use, they were almost nipped in the bud. I may safely affirm, that all the nations which hitherto have seated themselves in Britain, even to this day, came either from Gaul, Spain, or Germany. The Gauls first received the characters of letters from the Marsellian Greeks, by which they used to make up their accounts, and communicate with each other by writing. The alphabets, or elementary figures of words, were indeed Greek; but the language itself was Gallic. As they did not commit their laws, and the rites of their religion, to writing, not even in Cæsar's time; much less did they record their exploits, which yet, it is probable, were very great. Those things which they either did, or suffered in Italy, Germany, Thrace, Macedonia, Greece, and Asia, were buried in the same oblivion, so that posterity would never have come to the knowledge of them, if foreign writers had not preserved and transmitted them down to us. I confess, in Spain the Greeks had the use of letters; and before them, the Phœnicians who inhabited the shores of the Mediterranean sea; but, among the Barbarians, only the Turdetani,* as Strabo says, had any knowledge of them. As for any ancient writer, there was none of whom I have any knowledge; for Varro, Pliny, and other Romans, who touched any thing occasion-

* The Turdetani occupied all that part of Spain which lies along the Guadalquivir, from its source to the sea.

ally concerning the first inhabitants of Spain, confirm their opinions thereon rather by conjectures than the testimony of authors. In that part of Britain which Cæsar visited, there were no ancient records; and among the inhabitants of the interior, who were still more barbarous, they were much less to be expected; so that when he asked them concerning the origin of their nation, and their early ancestors, they returned him, he says, no certain answer at all.

After him, Tacitus, an author equally faithful and diligent, though the Roman navy had then coasted about Britain, and had discovered all its inmost roads and recesses, could meet with nothing of certainty, or worthy of being transmitted to posterity. Moreover, Gildas, who lived about four hundred years after Tacitus, affirms, that what he writes was not from any monuments of antiquity, of which he could find none, but from foreign reports gathered by him beyond sea. As for Germany, that country was furnished with learning last of all; but seeing that she had nothing to produce out of old records, that could be vouched for truth, according to her wonted candour in other cases, she coined no fictions of her own, to obtrude upon the world. Therefore, they who affirm that they deduce the original of the Britons from old annals, must first tell us who was the author or discoverer of those annals; as also, where they have been concealed so long; and how they came down uncorrupted to us, after so many ages. In this case, some fly to the bards and senachies, as the preservers of ancient records, but very ridiculously; which will be more clearly understood, if I explain what kind of men those were, to whom they would have credit to be given, in matters of such great moment, and those too so obscure, and so remote from our memory. First, Strabo and Ammianus describe plainly what the bards were, both before, and also in their times. But Lucan doth it clearly and distinctly enough for our present purpose, in these verses:—

Vos quoque qui fortes animas, belloque preemptas,
Laudibus in longum, Vates, diffunditis ævum,
Plurima securi fuditis carmina, *Bardi*.

Ye Bards, such valiant souls as fall in war,
Perpetuate with rhymes, and praises rare.

But the very oldest of them were altogether ignorant of letters, neither did they leave any records of ancient matters behind them.

The other were bardlings or senachies, (as they call them,) who were maintained by the chiefs of the ancient clans, and by some wealthy men besides, there being one in every great house, on purpose to commemorate their ancestors and the first of their families, in genealogies which they got by heart. But, as these had no learning, let any man judge what credit is to be given to them, whose hopes and substance totally depended upon soothing and flattering of others. Besides, though all that they delivered were most true, the advantage would be trivial to the writer of a history. Lastly, let us consider, how often the writers of the famous deeds of former times are found guilty of manifest mistakes; how often they waver, doubt, fluctuate, and are at a loss; how vastly some of them differ, not only from others, but even from themselves. If such errors then are incident even to those who seek after truth, with great labour and study, what can we hope for from persons, who being without learning, (by which they who casually mistake may be better informed, and those who mistake on purpose may be confronted,) depend wholly upon their memory? I might allege, too, that the memory is oftentimes impaired by disuse, weakened by age, or wholly lost by some disease. Besides, if the bards study chiefly to please their patrons, as is commonly the case, or, on the contrary, if they have a mind to vex them; or, if the passions of anger, hatred, or envy intervene, to pervert the judgment, who can affirm any thing for truth upon such authorities? Who would take the pains to refute it, though false? Or, who would deliver down for certain, what he received from such dubious authors! Therefore, where the old writers are generally silent concerning matters of antiquity, and were often so egregiously ignorant of things acted even in their own times, that nothing can certainly be grounded upon them, I count it more modest to say nothing of what one

knows not, than by devising falsehoods to betray a self-sufficient confidence to the prejudice of other men's judgment.

It follows then, that there was so great a want of writers amongst all the nations of the Britons, that before the arrival of the Romans, all things were buried in profound darkness and total silence; insomuch that we can get no information of what was acted, even by the Romans themselves, otherwise than from Greek and Latin monuments; and as for those things which preceded their coming, we may rather believe their conjectures, than our own fictions. For what our writers have delivered, every one concerning the original of his own sept or nation, is so absurd, that I should have counted my time lost to go about to refute it, were there not some who delighted in such fables, as if they were as true as the gospel, and took a pride to deck themselves with borrowed feathers.

Moreover, the disagreement of later writers increases the difficulty of this task; for they deliver such repugnancies, that a man cannot well tell whom to follow; nay, there is so much absurdity amongst them, that they all seem to deserve no other notice than contempt. Neither do I so much wonder at the silence of the ancients in a matter so obscure, or the discordance among later writers in feigning falsehoods, as I do at the impudence of a few, who write of those ages, in which all things were doubtful and uncertain, with as much pertinacity and assurance as if their design was rather to amuse the reader than to shew the least regard to truth in their narratives.

For in those early times, when tillage was not commonly used by the Britons, any more than by many other nations, all their wealth consisting in cattle, and their furniture being simple, they often shifted their habitations, either expelled by such as were more powerful than themselves; or, succeeding in driving out the weaker; or else, seeking out better pasture for their flocks and herds in wild and desert places. They easily, therefore, abandoned their dwellings; and the places to which they removed soon got new names with their new masters.

Another circumstance, which contributed to perplex ancient history, was the ambition of the wealthier people to perpetuate their memory to posterity, by calling countries, provinces, and towns, after their own names. Almost all the cities in Spain had two names; and those of the inhabitants, as well as those of the towns and countries therein, received frequent alterations. Not to speak of Egypt, Greece, and other remote countries:—

Sapius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus.

Fair Italy (says Fame)

Full oft hath chang'd her name.

Add hereunto, that those nations who live in the same country, have not always the same names. That which the Latins call Hispania, the Greeks Iberia, the poets Hesperia, St. Paul in his epistles, with Theodoret and Sozomen in their history, called Spania, that is, Spain. The name of the Greeks, so celebrated by the Latins, and all nations of Europe, is more obscure than the Greeks themselves. The Hebrews and Arabians keep their old appellations of almost all nations, which were never so much as heard of by other people. Scotch and English are the common names of the British nations, which, at this day, are almost unknown to the ancient Scots and Britons; for they call the one Albines, the other Saxons. And therefore it is no wonder, if, in so great an uncertainty of human affairs, writers, who were born at several times, far distant one from another, and having different languages, and manners too, do not always agree amongst themselves in the names of persons and places. Though these things occasioned great difficulties to the ancient searchers after the originals of nations; yet some moderns, actuated by corrupt ambition, have involved all things in thick and palpable darkness. For, whilst every one of them aims to carry the antiquity of his nation as high as he can, and so endeavours to ennoble it by devised fables, this immoderate license of coining fictions serves only to obscure that which they ought to illustrate. And if at any time they speak truth, yet, by their frequent and ridiculous fabrications, they detract from their own credit; and are so far from obtaining that esteem which they expected, that their falsehoods, being

brought to light, makes them ridiculous, even to those from whom they looked for approbation.

To make this plain, I will begin, as with the most ancient nation, so with the most notorious and impudent fiction. The compilers of a new history of the old Britons, having interpolated the fable of the Danaïdes, feign, that one Dioclesian, king of Syria, had, by his wife Labana, thirty-three daughters; who, having killed their husbands on their wedding-night, were crowded all together in one ship, and, without any master or mariners, sent to sea. These women arriving in Britain, which was then a desert, lived solitarily in that cold country, on a few wild fruits; and by an intercourse with evil spirits, brought forth giants, whose race continued till the arrival of Brutus, or Brute. They say the island was called Albion from Albine, and that Brute was the great-grandson of Æneas the Trojan, and the son of Æneas Sylvius. This Brute having accidentally killed his father with a dart, all men looked upon it as a lamentable and piteous fact; yet, because it was not done intentionally, the punishment of death was remitted, and banishment either enjoined, or voluntarily chosen by him. The parricide, having consulted the oracle of Diana, and endured many perils in his wanderings through various lands and seas, at the end of ten years arrived in Britain, with a number of followers; and, after several combats, in all of which he was victorious over the giants in Albion, he gained the empire of the whole island. He had three sons, Loecrin, Albanact, and Camber, amongst whom the island was divided. Albanact ruled over the Albans, afterwards called Scots; and Camber over the Cambrians, or the Welsh: but they both so governed their respective kingdoms, that Loecrin had the supreme dominion; who, being ruler of the rest of the Britons, gave the name of Loegria to his part. Later writers, that they might also propagate this fabulous empire as much as they could, add, that Loecrin was succeeded by his daughter Vendelina; to whom succeeded Madanus, next Menprieus, and after him Ebrancus. The latter, by twenty wives, had as many sons, of whom nineteen went to Germany, which country they conquered, with the assistance of the armies of their kinsman, Alba Sylvius. From these brothers the country was called Germany. Such are the stories which the old Britons, and after them some of the English, have related concerning the first inhabitants of the island.

Here I cannot but stand amazed at their design, who, while they might easily and without reflection, in imitation of the Athenians, Arcadians, and other famous nations, have called themselves *Indigenæ*, would rather chuse to forge an ancestry out of the refuse of mankind, whose very history must be suspected, even by the vulgar; and the truth of which no ancient writer of credit has confirmed. It would have been no disgrace to them to take an origin which Athens, the noblest and wisest city in the world, esteemed as her chief glory, particularly as the opinion could not have been refuted out of ancient documents, and has had such great examples. But if that had not pleased them, since it was free for them to have assumed honourable ancestors to themselves, out of any old book which some of the poets have written; I wonder what could induce them to make choice of those, of whom all their posterity might justly be ashamed. For what folly is it, to think nothing illustrious or magnificent, but what is profligate or flagitious? Yet some there are who pride themselves, among the ignorant, upon fables of this kind. As for John Anniius,* a man, I grant, not unlearned, he may be excused, seeing poets claim a liberty to celebrate the original of families and nations, with a mixture of figments; but I cannot think it reasonable to allow the same privilege to those who undertake professedly to write a history.

To return to my subject: what is more repugnant to belief, than that a few girls, without the assistance of men to manage their vessel, should come from Syria, through so many seas, (which voyage even now, when men have

* Anniius of Viterbo, or Giovanni Nanni, was a learned Dominican of the 15th century. He acquired a great reputation by his learning, but forfeited it by forging a number of pieces which he pretended were the genuine works of Xenophon, and other ancient authors. His Seventeen Books of Antiquities would have been valuable, were it not for these and other fictions.

attained, by use and custom, more skill in navigation, is yet hazardous, though with a brave and well-furnished navy,) almost to the extremity of the world, and into a desolate island too; and there to live without corn, or fruits of trees! nay, that such women, of a royal stock, should not only barely support themselves in so cold a climate, destitute of all things, but also should bring forth giants; and that by *cacodæmons*? As for *Dioclesian*, at what time, and in what part of Syria, did he reign? how happens it that authors make no mention of him, especially since the affairs of no nation have been more diligently transmitted to posterity, than those of the Syrians? How, also, came he to be called *Dioclesian*, a name which took its rise a thousand years after him, amongst the Barbarians, and is originally Greek, but declined after the Latin form?

The next accession of nobility, is *Brute*, the parricide, that he might not, in that respect, be inferior to *Romulus*. This *Brute*, whoever he was, whom the Britons make the author of their name and nation, with what forces, or by what correspondent language, could he penetrate so far into Britain? especially in those times, when the Roman arms, even in the most flourishing state of their commonwealth, and after conquering almost all the world besides, could scarcely succeed. For it is needless to mention how, before Rome was built, the affairs of Italy were at a very low ebb; and how the inhabitants thereof were averse to all peregrination and travel. Neither need I inquire whether he came by land or sea? The Alps, till that time, were passable only to *Hercules*; and the Gauls, by reason of their natural fierceness, were as yet unacquainted with the converse of foreigners. As for voyages by sea, the Carthaginians and Greeks, who inhabited *Marscilles*, hardly dared to venture into the ocean but very lately, and when things were well settled at home; and, even then, their voyages were rather for discovery than conquest; much less can we believe, that Alban shepherds, a wild sort of people, would undertake so bold an enterprize. Besides, all men, who are not ignorant of Latin, know, that the name of *Brutus* began to be celebrated under *Tarquinius Proud*, almost five hundred years after the fabulous *Brutus*: when *Lucius Junius*, a patrician, laying aside his rank, condescended to a state of things far below himself, on purpose to avoid the cruelty of the tyrants; and, in pretending idiocy, took that new surname to himself, and transmitted it to his posterity. But the monk, who was the forger and deviser of the fable of *Brutus*, appears to have seen the absurdity of the invention himself; yea, he thought to stop all men's mouths with the pretence of religion in the case, and would have all people believe that they obeyed the oracle of *Diana*. Here I will not be particular in inquiring how this oracle came to be unknown to posterity, when the oracles of *Faunus*, of the *Sibyls*, and the *Prænestine* lots,* were then in such great credit.

I will only ask, in what language did *Diana* answer? If they say, in Latin; I demand, how *Brutus* acquired a knowledge of a tongue which began nine hundred years after his time! For, since *Horace*, whose learning was great, doth ingenuously confess that he did not understand the *Saliar* rhymes, which were made in the reign of *Numa Pompilius*, how could this *Brutus*, who died so many years before the priests called *Salii* were instituted, understand verses made long after the age of *Horace*, as the tenor of their composition doth shew? Besides, how could the posterity of *Brutus* so totally forget the Latin tongue, that not the least footsteps of it should remain amongst them? And whence got they that language which they now use? Or, if it be granted, that their supposititious gods, as well as men, then spoke British in Italy, yet surely it was not the tongue which the Britons now make use of; for that is so patched up of the languages of the neighbouring nations, that several countries may know and own their own words upon the first hearing. But, if they say that those ancient Latins spoke British, how could the monk understand so old an oracle as that, which was delivered 2000 years before? But why do I prosecute these things so minutely, since it appears by many other arguments also, that the same monk forged this whole

* A species of augury, used at *Preneſte*, in Italy. It consisted of square pieces of wood, like dice, with letters on them; which, when thrown, gave the required answer.

story, and begat such a Brutus (in his own brain) as never was in nature; and also devised the oracle of Diana too! I shall add the verses themselves, that the vanity of such cunning sophisters may be set in the fullest light:—

BRUTUS'S ADDRESS TO THE ORACLE.

*Diva, potens nemorum, terra silvestribus apris,
Cui licet, anfractus ire per æthereos,
Infernasque domos; terrestria jura resolve,
Et dic, quas terras nos habitare velis.
Dic certam sedem, qua te veneremur in ævum,
Qua tibi virgineis templa dicabo choris.*

Goddess of groves, and wild boars' chase,
Who dost th' ethereal mansions trace,
And Pluto's too; resolve this doubt,
Tell me what country to find out,
Where I may fix, where temples raise,
For virgin-choirs to sing thy praise.

Diana answers in verses of the same kind, (so that they must needs be made by one and the same poet,) not perplexed and ambiguous ones; or such as may be interpreted divers ways, but clear and perspicuous, wherein she promiseth that which she could never give, namely, the empire of the whole world:—

*Brute, sub occasum solis, trans Gallica regna,
Insula in oceano est, undique cineta mari:
Insula in oceano est, habitata gigantibus olim,
Nunc deserta quidem, gentibus apta tuis.
Hanc pete; namque tibi sedes erit illa perennis;
Hæc fiet natis altera Troja tuis:
Hic de prole tua reges nascentur, et illis
Totius terræ subditis orbis erit.*

Beyond proud Gallia's wide extended lines,
Where sets the sun, but large its glory shines;
An isle does in the circling ocean stand,
And giants once inhabited the land;
Now desolate, it wants a regal guest,
And courts thy people to a seat of rest.
Go, Brutus, go, and make that realm thy own,
Where endless empire greets thee to the throne;
There thy long off-spring shall behold, with joy,
A rising nation, and a second Troy;
And to that height promote their scepter'd sway,
The vanquish'd world shall willingly obey.

I suppose, by these verses, compared with the history, the whole forgery will be discovered, and that plainly. For, besides the vain promises on both sides, the rhymes say, that the island was not then inhabited, but desolate, though it had been inhabited before. But where, I pray, were those portentous men Gogmagog and Tentagol, and other frightful names, invented, shall I say, for terror, or, rather for sport? What will become of those combats of Corinæus, and others, the companions of Brutus, against, not the earth-born, but hell-born giants? Thus far concerning Brutus and his oracle.

Though these be such manifest fictions, posterity is so little ashamed of them, that, a few years ago, a writer, of no mean name amongst them, impudently feigned, that the Trojans spoke the British language. This audacious assertion is amply refuted by Homer and Dionysius Halicarnassus: for the one gives Greek names to all the Trojans; and the other, in a long and serious disputation, maintains, that the Trojans were originally Greeks themselves. I pass by the consideration, how Brutus, when he arrived in England with no great train, could, within the space of twenty years, establish three kingdoms; and how they, who, altogether at first, could scarcely make up the number of one mean colony, should, in so short a time, people an island, the largest in the whole world, and furnish it, not only with villages and cities, but with all the properties of an empire; nay, who a while after, it seems,

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The next accession of nobility, is Brute, the parricide, that he might not, in that respect, be inferior to Romulus. This Brute, whoever he was, whom the Britons make the author of their name and nation, with what forces, or by what correspondent language, could he penetrate so far into Britain? especially in those times, when the Roman arms, even in the most flourishing state of their commonwealth, and after conquering almost all the world besides, could scarcely succeed. For it is needless to mention how, before Rome was built, the affairs of Italy were at a very low ebb; and how the inhabitants thereof were averse to all peregrination and travel. Neither need I inquire whether he came by land or sea? The Alps, till that time, were passable only to Hercules; and the Gauls, by reason of their natural fierceness, were as yet unacquainted with the converse of foreigners. As for voyages by sea, the Carthaginians and Greeks, who inhabited Marscilles, hardly dared to venture into the ocean but very lately, and when things were well settled at home; and, even then, their voyages were rather for discovery than conquest; much less can we believe, that Alban shepherds, a wild sort of people, would undertake so bold an enterprize. Besides, all men, who are not ignorant of Latin, know, that the name of Brutus began to be celebrated under Tarquin the Proud, almost five hundred years after the fabulous Brutus: when Lucius Junius, a patrician, laying aside his rank, condescended to a state of things far below himself, on purpose to avoid the cruelty of the tyrants; and, in pretending idiocy, took that new surname to himself, and transmitted it to his posterity. But the monk, who was the forger and deviser of the fable of Brutus, appears to have seen the absurdity of the invention himself; yea, he thought to stop all men's mouths with the pretence of religion in the case, and would have all people believe that they obeyed the oracle of Diana. Here I will not be particular in inquiring how this oracle came to be unknown to posterity, when the oracles of Faunus, of the Sibyls, and the Prænestic lots,* were then in such great credit.

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grew so numerous, that Britain could not contain them, but they were forced to transport themselves into a more extensive country on the continent; where, overcoming the inhabitants, they compelled them to assume their own name, which was not a British, but a Latin one; and so from those nineteen brothers, or rather half brothers, each having a separate mother, that the country should be called Germany! I have related this fable, as absurd as it is, not to take the pains to refute it, but to leave it to the Germans themselves for sport and ridicule.

Thus much, in general, concerning the fables of the Britons. But the intent of those who devised them, seems not very obscure to me; for that monstrous fiction of devils lying with virgins, seems to have this tendency, that they might either prove an alliance between their Brutus and two of the greatest neighbouring nations; or else, that they might vie with them in the nobility of their original. For, Cæsar says, the Gauls affirmed that they were descended from Pluto; and so did the Germans, according to Tacitus. The cause of devising this figment concerning Brutus, seems to be similar. For seeing the Buthrotii in Epirus, several people in Sicily; the Romans, Campanians, and Sulmonenses, in Italy; the Averni, Hedui, Sequani, and last of all, the Franks in Gaul, celebrated, I know not what, Trojans as their founders; the writers of British affairs thought it likewise conducive to the advancement of the grandeur of their nation, if they also derived its original from the very archives of antiquity, and especially from Troy; either because of the renown of that city, which was praised by almost all nations; or else, on account of its alliance with so many nations, which are said to have started up, as it were, out of the shipwreck of that town. Neither did they think themselves guilty of an effrontery in the falsehood, if they shared a little of the pretended nobility, which grew, by the same artifice, common to so many nations besides themselves. Hence arose, as I judge, the fiction of Brutus, and other fables of an older date, which were as impudently devised, as they were foolishly received; of all which it will, perhaps, be enough to shew the vanity, to put the reader in mind, that they were unknown to ancient writers; that when learning flourished, they dared not peep abroad; that they were coined in its decay, recorded by unlettered flatterers, and entertained by ignorant and too credulous persons, who did not understand the frauds of such deluding authors. For impostors like these do not seek the public good by writing a true history, but, for some private advantage, make use of adulation; so that when they seem most highly to praise, they do, in fact, nothing but jeer. For what do they else, who, pretending to advance the nobility of a nation, for its greater splendour, fetch it from the oil-scouring of nature? And yet there are credulous, or rather, I should say, sottish persons, who pride themselves on the pretended dignity of their origin, for which none of their neighbours will envy them.

Those who have written of the Scottish affairs, have delivered down to us a more creditable and noble origin, as they think, but one no less fabulous than that of the Britons. For they have adopted progenitors for us, taken not from the Trojan fugitives, but from those Greek heroes, whose posterity conquered Troy. Observing that, in those ancient times, two nations of the Greeks were chiefly celebrated, the Dorians and the Ionians; and that the princes of the Dorians were the Argivi; and of the Ionians the Athenians, the Scots make one Gathelus to be the chief founder of their nation; though whether he were the son of Argos, or of Cæcrops, they leave in doubt. That they may not be, however, inferior, on this account, to the eminency of the Romans, they have given Gathelus a strong band of robbers, with which he went into Egypt, where he performed gallant exploits, and after the departure (would you think it?) of Moses, was made general of the king's forces in that land. After this, he, with his wife Scota, the daughter of the king of Egypt, sailed about the whole coast of Europe, adjacent to the Mediterranean sea; and having passed through so many countries, which were desolate in that age, or else inhabited thinly, and that in few places, as Greece, Italy, France, and the whole coast of Africa, (not to mention the numerous islands of that sea,) some will have him to land at the mouth of the river Iberus, or Ebro; but leaving that country, which he could not keep, they draw him on farther to Gæcæcia,

a region still more barren. Some land him at the mouth of the river Douro, being the first of all men, as I suppose, who adventured into the ocean with a navy of ships; and there he is said to have built a large town, which is now called from his name *Portus Gatheli*, or *Port-a-Port*; whence the whole country, which, from *Lusus* and *Lusa*, the children of *Bacchus*, was a long time called *Lusitania*, took the denomination of Portugal. After this, *Gathelus* being forced to pass into *Galæcia*, there built *Brigantia*, now called *Compostella*; besides which, he founded also *Braga*, at the mouth of the river *Munda*, in Portugal.

These are the fables invented by the Scots, concerning the original of their nation. In feigning of which, how uncircumspect they were, we may gather from hence, that they did not give so much as a Greek name to the Grecian *Gathelus*, who was indeed unknown to the Greek writers; that they allotted a Latin name, from the word *Portus*, to the city built by him, rather than a Greek one, especially in those times, when Italy itself was known to few Greeks; and that they doubt whether he were the son of *Argus*, or of *Cecrops*; seeing *Argus* lived almost an hundred years before *Cecrops*: that he, who had arrived at such a figure by his prudence, even amongst the most ingenious persons in the world, as to enjoy the next place to the king, and to be put in the room of *Moses* after his departure; and besides being a stranger, to be honoured with the marriage of the king's daughter; that he, I say, leaving the fruitfulest country upon earth, and passing by the lands of both continents, to the right and left, and also so many islands all fruitful in corn, and some of them famous for the temperature of the air, as *Crete*, *Sicily*, *Corsica*, *Sardinia*, (which at that time were rather possessed, than cultivated, by a wild sort of people,) should launch out into the main ocean, the very name whereof was formidable, especially since men had then but small skill in maritime affairs; or, that he built the city of *Port-Gathelus*, or *Port-a-Port*, at the river *Douro*, the name of which city was never heard of till the *Sarracens* obtained the dominion of Portugal; also that he should build *Braga*, at the mouth of the river *Munda*, seeing the distance is so great from them, and that two famous rivers also lie betwixt them, viz. the *Douro*, and *Vouga*, or *Vaca*; and that *Braga* itself is not altogether a maritime place. Moreover, I may well ask, how *Gathelus*, a Grecian, born of a noble family, and, besides, eminent for famous deeds, seeing he was of a most ambitious nation, after passing with a great train into the extreme parts of the world, which, as matters then stood, were almost rude and barbarous, having, to commend his name to posterity, built towns, did neither give them his own, nor so much as one Greek appellation! For the name of Portugal, or, as some will have it, the *Port* of *Gathel*, being unknown to so many ancient writers, who have professedly undertaken to describe the names of countries and places, began only to be celebrated about four hundred years ago. And the silence of all the Greeks and Latins, concerning the coming of *Gathelus* into Spain, makes it much suspected, especially since the ancients so frequently mention the *Phœnicians*, *Persians*, *Carthaginians*, *Iberians*, *Gauls*, and the companions of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who went into that country. But our fabulists, as I think, never read the monuments of the ancients; for if they had, seeing it was free for them to assume an author and founder of their nation and nobility, out of any of the famous Grecians, they would never have picked up an ignoble person for their founder, to the exclusion of *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, who were celebrated amongst all nations, and whom they might have chosen, as well as any other, for the founders of their race.

These are the things which our writers have delivered, concerning the rise of our nation; and, if I have prosecuted the subject more largely than was necessary, it must be imputed to those who pertinaciously have defended the fable, as though it were a *Palladium* dropped down from heaven. He that considers the matter, will, no doubt, by reason of the obstinacy of my adversaries, be more favourable to me. Concerning the other nations, which came later into these islands, and fixed their habitation here, as *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, because their history doth not contain any monstrous absurdity, I shall speak of them hereafter, in a more proper place.

But the two nations which I have mentioned, seem to me to have deduced

their origin, from the Gauls, and I will give you the reasons of this my judgment, when I have first premised a few things, concerning the ancient customs of the Gauls. All the country, fruitful as it is in corn, is said to be, and indeed is, more abundant in men; so that, as Strabo relates, there were three hundred thousand of the Celts alone who were able to bear arms, though they inhabited but a third part of Gaul. Such, indeed, was the increase of the population, that various expedients were adopted to lessen it. When, however, owing to the poverty of the soil, the children became still too numerous and burdensome, sometimes by public edicts, and sometimes by private resolutions, they sent out many colonies into all the neighbouring lands, to prevent an excess of people at home.

In the first place, they sent their colonies so thick to Spain, that Ephorus, as Strabo relates, extends the length of Gaul, even to the Gades, or Cadiz; and, indeed, all that side of the kingdom towards the north, by the names of the people and nations inhabiting them, hath long since evinced a Gallic origin. The first we meet with, are the Celtiberi:—

— Profugue a gente vetusta :

Gallorum, Celtæ, miscentes nomen Iberis.

The wandering Celts in Spain their dwellings fix'd,

And with Iberians there their names they mix'd.

Those people enlarged their bounds so far, that, though they inhabited a craggy country, and one not over-fruitful, yet Marcus Marcellus exacted from them six hundred talents, as a tribute. Moreover, from the Celtæ, or Celtiberi, the Celtici derive their original dwelling along the Anas, by Ptolemy surnamed Bœstici; and also other Celts in Portugal, near to the same river; and if we may believe Pomponius Mela, a Spaniard, the Celts do inhabit from the mouth of the river Douro, as far as the promontory, which they call Celticum or Nerium, that is, Cape Finisterre. These are distinguished by their surnames, as the Cronii, Præsumarci, Tamarici, Nerii, and the rest of the Gallæci, which appellatives shew their Gaulish origin. On the other side, there passed out of Gaul into Italy, the Ligurians, the Libii, the Sallassi, the Insubri, the Cenomani, the Boii, and the Senones; and, if we may believe some ancient writers, the Veneti. I need not mention what large dominions these nations had in Italy, because every person who is the least versed in history, cannot be ignorant in that point; neither will I be too minute in inquiring what troops of Gauls made their seats in Thrace; or, after having subdued Macedonia and Greece, passed into Bithynia, where they erected the kingdom of Gallo-Græcia in Asia; since that matter doth not much concern our present purpose.

My discourse, therefore, hastens to Germany; and concerning the Gaulish colonies therein, we have the most authentic evidences of Julius Caesar, and Cornelius Tacitus. The first, in his commentaries of the Gallic war, writes, that at one period the Gauls were esteemed more valiant than the Germans; and therefore that the Teutosages possessed the most fruitful part of Germany about the Hercynian forest; and the Bohemians, as the other affirms, shew plainly by their names, that their founders were the Boii. Sometimes the Helvetians possessed the nearer places between the rivers Maine and Rhine; the Decumates beyond the Rhine, were of Gallic original, and also the Gothini near the Danube, whom Claudian calls Gothunni; though Arrian, in the Life of Alexander, calls them Getini; and Flavius Vopiscus, in the life of Probus, Gautunni. But Claudian reckons even the Gothunni amongst the Geta; and Stephanus is of opinion, that the Getes are called Getini, by Ammianus; so that perhaps the Getes themselves may acknowledge a Gallic original; it being certain, that many Gallic nations passed over into Thrace, and resided there in that circuit which the Getes are said to have possessed. Tacitus writes, that, in his time, the Gothini used the Gallic language; and the Cimbri, as Philemon says, and, if we believe Tacitus, the Æstiones too, dwelling by the Swedish sea, where they gathered amber, did speak British, which language was then the same with the Gallic, or not much different from it. Many are the signs and marks of Gallic colonies, through all Germany, which I would willingly recite, but that I have already alleged enough for my purpose, to shew how widely France extended her colonies round about Britain.

What then shall we say of Britain itself, which did not equal those nations either in greatness, strength, or skill in military affairs? What did she, that was so near to the valiantest of the Gauls, and not inferior to the neighbouring nations, either in the mildness of the air, or the fruitfulness of the soil? Did she, I say, entertain no foreign colonies? Yes, many, as Cæsar and Tacitus affirm; and, as I hold, all her ancient inhabitants were such. For it is manifest that three sorts of people did, in times of old, possess the whole island, the Britons, Picts, and Scots; of which I will discourse in their proper order.

To begin, then, with the Britons, whose dominion was of the largest extent in Albion. The first that I know who hath discovered any certainty concerning them, was Julius Cæsar. He thinks, that the inmost inhabitants were aborigines, because, after diligent inquiry, he could find nothing of their first coming thither; neither had they any monuments of learning, whence he could receive any information. He says, that the maritime parts of the island were possessed by the Belgians, who were allured thither, first by the hope of plunder, and detained by the fruitfulness of the soil and mildness of the air. He thinks this a sufficient argument to confirm his opinion, that many retained the names of the cities whence they came, and that their buildings were like those of the Gauls.

Cornelius Tacitus, an author of great credit, adds, that their manners were not unlike, but that they were equally bold in running into dangers, and equally in a dread, and quite at a loss how to get out of them; that there were great factions and parties among them both; and, lastly, that Britain, in his time, was in the same state as Gaul was before the coming of the Romans. Pomponius Mela adds farther, that the Britons used to fight on horseback, in chariots, and cars, in Gallic armour. Add to this, that Bede, who lived before any of those who have written such fabulous things of the origin of the Britons, and is therefore of greater authority than all of them, affirms, that the first inhabitants of the island came out of the country of Armorica. Some dramatists of the Greeks differ much from the above-mentioned authors; for they say, that the Britons received their names from *Britannus*, the son of *Celto*. They assuredly agree in this, that they would be thought to derive their original from the Gauls. Of the later authors, *Robertus Cænalis*, and *Pomponius Lætus*, in the life of *Dioclesian*, (an author not to be despised) subscribe to this opinion; both of them, as I suppose, being convinced by the power of truth. Yet both seem, to me, to mistake in this point, that they deduce them from the peninsula of the Britons, which is now called *Britany*, on the river *Loire*, especially since the maritime colonies of Britain, as Cæsar observes, testify by their very names from what place they were transplanted.

It follows, that we speak of the Gallic colonies sent into Ireland. I shewed before, that all the north side of Spain was possessed by Gallic settlers. And there are many reasons to be assigned, why they might pass out of Spain into Ireland: for, either the nearness of the country, and easiness of the passage, might be a great inducement; or else, the Spaniards might be expelled out of their habitations by the excessive power and domination of the Persians, Phœnicians, and Grecians; who, having overcome the Spaniards, rendered them weak and obnoxious to their oppression and violence. Moreover, there might be causes amongst the Spaniards themselves; for they being a people packed together, and made up of many nations, and not well agreeing among themselves; the desire of liberty, and of avoiding servitude, in the midst of civil feuds and new tumults, arising amongst a people intent upon war, might make them willing to separate. He who weighs these causes of their departure, will not wonder that many of them should prefer a mean, but free, condition abroad, before a bitter slavery at home; and that when they once arrived there, the state of Spain growing daily more and more turbulent, should make them willing to continue where they were; for sometimes the Carthaginians, and sometimes the Romans, made the conquered Spaniards taste all the miseries of a servile life, and so compelled them to avoid those evils by a flight into Ireland; there being no other neighbour nation into which, either in their prosperity they might so well transport their crowds

of people; or else, where in adversity, they could find a surer shelter from their calamities. Besides, the clemency of the air was one occasion of their stay; for, as Cæsar says, the air of Britain is more temperate than that of France; and Ireland exceeds both in goodness of soil, and also in the temperature of its climate. And what is still more, when men, born and educated in a barren region, and given to laziness, as all Spaniards are, had the happiness of being transplanted into almost the richest pastures of Europe, it is not to be wondered at that they should willingly withdraw from domestic tumults, into the bosom of a peace beyond sea. Notwithstanding all that I have said, however, I would not oppose the assertion of any nation, concerning their ancestors, provided the same be supported by probable conjectures, and ancient testimony.

For Tacitus, upon sure conjectures, as he thinks, affirms, that the west side of Britain, or Albium, was inhabited by the posterity of the Spaniards. But it is not probable, that the Spaniards should leave Ireland behind them, being a country nearer, and of a milder air and soil, and first land in Albium; but rather that they first arrived in Ireland, and from thence transplanted their colonies into Britain. And that this also happened to the Scots, their annals testify, and Bede, (lib. i.) affirms. For all the inhabitants of Ireland were first called Scots, as Orosius shews; and our annals relate, that the Scots passed more than once out of Ireland into Albium: first of all, under their leader Fergus, the son of Ferchard, but after some ages, being expelled from thence, they returned into Ireland; and again, under their general Reutharus, they returned into Britain. And afterwards, in the reign of Fergus II., great succours of Irish Scots were sent hither, who had their quarters assigned them in Galloway. And Claudian, in his time shews, that auxiliaries were carried over from thence in transports against the Romans; for he says,—

— Totam cum Scotus Iernam,
Movit, et infesto spumavit remige Tethys.
When the fierce Scot rous'd all Ierne's isle,
And Thetis foam'd with hostile sailors' toil.

And in another place,—

Scotorum tumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.
Whole heaps of Scots cold Ireland did lament.

But in the beginning, when both people, that is, the inhabitants of Ireland, and their colonies sent into Albium, were called Scots; that there might be some distinction betwixt them, some were named Irish Scots, and others Albin Scots; till, by degrees, their surnames came to be their only appellatives; so that the ancient name of Scots was almost forgotten, and not to be retrieved from common speech, but only from books and annals. As for the name of Picts, I judge it not to have been their ancient and country name, but that it was occasionally given them by the Romans, on account of the marking and painting of their bodies with artful incisions, as the verses of Claudian evince:—

Ille leves Mauros, nec falso nomine Pictos,
Edomuit, Scotumque vago mucrone secutus,
Fregit hyperboreas remis audacibus undas.
He, nimble Moors and painted Picts did tame,
With far-stretch'd sword the Scots he overcame,
And did with oars the northern waves divide.—

And elsewhere,—

Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
Quæ Scoto dat frænæ truci, ferroque notatas,
Perlegit exanimis, Picto moriente, figuras.
The legion came, the utmost Britons guard,
Which the fierce Scot did curb with bridle hard;
And read the marks in skins of dying Picts,
Insculpt with iron.

Herodian also makes mention of the same nation, but conceals their name, and says plainly, that they painted their bodies; though he doth not affirm

that they did it with iron. They are not unacquainted (*says he*) with the use of apparel, but they wear iron round their bodies and necks, thinking that metal to be an ornament and sign of riches; as other barbarians esteem gold. Farther, they have likewise a way of marking their persons with various pictures, and animals of all shapes, on which account they will not put on garments, lest they should hide these representations. By what name they called themselves, is a thing so ancient that it is hard to determine. It is certain, however, that neighbouring nations do not agree concerning their name; for the Britons call them *Pictiades*; the English, *Pichti*; the old Scots, *Peachtì*. And, besides, the names of some places, which were heretofore under the jurisdiction of the Picts, but are now possessed by the Scots, seem to infer a different appellation from them all. For the hills called *Pentland-hills*, and the *Pentland bay*, or *frith*, seem to be derived from *Penthus*, not from *Pictus*. But, I verily believe, those names were imposed, in after-times, either by the English, or else by the Scots who used the English tongue; for the ancient Scots did neither understand nor use them. As for the name of *Picts*, whether the Romans translated a barbarous word into a Latin one of a like sound; or, whether the Barbarians applied each a Latin word to his own country tone and declension, is alike to me uncertain, and of no consequence. The name is admitted, and, it being confessed by all writers, that the people came from the eastern parts into Britain; from *Seythia*, say some; from *Germany*, say others; it remains, that, tracing their footsteps by conjectures, we come as near the truth as we can. Neither do I perceive any surer foundation of my disquisition, than that which is grounded on the painting of bodies. Now this painting, which was used by the Britons, the *Arii* in *Germany*, and the *Agathyrsi* that they might appear more terrible to the enemy in war, was done only with the juice of herbs. But seeing the Picts marked their skins with iron, and decorated them with the pictures of divers animals, the best way will be to inquire what nations, either in *Seythia*, *Germany*, or the neighbouring countries, did use that custom of painting their bodies, not for terror, but ornament. And, first, we meet in *Thracia* with the *Geloni*, according to *Virgil*, of whom *Claudian* speaks in his first book against *Rufius*:—

Membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse, Gelonus.

The *Geloni* love to print
Their limbs with iron instrument.

We meet also with the *Getae* in *Thrace*, mentioned by the same poet;

*Crinigeri sedere patres, pellita Getarum
Curia, quos plagis decorat numerosa cicatrix.*

Skin-wearing *Getes* consult, with hair unshorn,
Whose marked bodies num'rous scars adorn.

Therefore, seeing the *Geloni*, as *Virgil* writes, are neighbours to the *Getes*, and either the *Gothunni*, or *Getini*, according to *Arrian*, are numbered amongst the *Getes*; and seeing the *Gothunni*, as *Tacitus* says, speak the *Gaelic* language; what hinders but that we may believe the *Picts* had their origin from thence?

But, from whatsoever province of *Germany* they came, I think it very probable that they were of the ancient colonies of the *Gauls*, who seated themselves either on the *Swedish sea*, or on the *Danube*. For the men of a *Gaelic* descent, being counted foreigners by the *Germans*, (as indeed they were,) I judge their name was used in a way of reproach, because the word *Walch*, with them, signifies a *Gaul*, a stranger, and a barbarian. It is, therefore, very credible, that the ancestors of the *Picts*, either being expelled by their neighbours, or driven up and down by tempests, were easily reconciled to the *Scots*; nay, were befriended and aided (according to report) by them, as a people who were related to them, having almost the same language, and their religious customs not unlike. So that it might easily come to pass, that thereupon they might mix their blood, and thus, by marriages, coalesce, as it were, into one nation. For otherwise I do not see how the *Scots*, who then possessed *Ireland*, being a fierce and rude people, should so easily enter into an

affinity and friendship with strangers, who were necessitous, and destitute of all things, whom they never saw before, and with whom they had no commerce, in point of laws, religion, or language.

But here the authority of Bede, the Anglo-Saxon, stands a little in my way, who is the only writer I know of that affirms the Picts used a different language from the Scots. Speaking of Britain, he says, that it did search after, and profess the knowledge of the highest truth, and the sublimest science, in five languages, the English, British, Scottish, Pictish, and Latin. But, I suppose, Bede calls five dialects of one and the same tongue, five languages, as we see the Greeks did, in the like case; and as Caesar doth, in the beginning of his Commentaries of the Gallic war. For he says, that three parts of Gaul used different languages and customs. But Strabo, though he grants that the Aquitains used a different language from the other Gauls; yet affirms, that all the rest of the Gauls spoke the same language, with only a little variation. The Scots also do not differ from the Britons in their entire language, but rather in dialect, as I shall shew hereafter. Their speech, at present, doth so far agree, that it seems of old to have been the same; for they differ less than the inhabitants of some provinces of France do, who yet are all said to speak French. Therefore other writers express not the least suspicion of a different language being spoken by the Scots and Britons; who, while both kingdoms were in being, as if they had been people of one nation, did always contract marriages one with another; and as they were mixed in the beginning, so afterwards they regarded each other as neighbors, and oftentimes as friends, until the destruction of the Picts.

Neither did the remainder of them, who, when their military race was extinct, yet must needs be many, in any degree corrupt the Scottish tongue; nor indeed are there any footsteps of a foreign language in the places and habitations which they left. For all the countries of the Picts, and particular places too, still retain Scottish appellations, except a very few; which, upon the prevalence of the Saxon tongue over our country language, had German names imposed upon them.

Neither is this to be omitted, that, before the coming of the Saxons into Britain, we never read that the British nations used interpreters to understand one another. Wherefore, seeing the Scottish, English, and German writers unanimously agree, that the origin of the Picts was from Germany; and since it is also manifest, that the Gothunni, or Getini, were colonies of the Gauls, whose language they used; and that the Æstii, living near the Swedish, or Baltic sea, spoke British; whence may we most rationally fetch the descent of the Picts? Or, whither should they, when expelled from their native habitations, go, but to their own kindred? or, where were they likely to obtain matrimonial alliances, but among a people of affinity with them in blood, language, and manners?

But if any one deny that the Picts were descended from the Gothunni, or Æstii, or Getæ, being induced to that persuasion by the great distance of those countries from Britain; let him only consider, how many and great migrations of people were made, even in all parts of the world, in those times when the coming of the Picts into Britain is recorded to have happened, and also for many ages after; and then he may easily grant, not only the practicability but facility of such things. The Gauls did then possess great part of Spain, Italy, Germany, and Britain, by their colonies; they proceeded as far as Palus Mæotis and the Cimmerian Bosphorus with their depredations; and after they had wasted Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, they fixed their seats in Asia.

The Cimbri, Ambrones, and Teutones, having wasted Gaul, penetrated into Italy; while the Geloni whom Virgil places in Thrace, are, by other writers, said to dwell near to the Agathyrsi, in Scythia.

The Goths, though long an obscure nation, did in a short time spread over Europe, Asia, and Africa, like a flood. And, therefore, inasmuch as for many ages after, those who were lords, and more powerful than others, challenged to themselves the seats of their inferiors; the weak being exposed to the oppressions of the strong, left a country, which they could not keep; it is no great wonder among the wise, if men, after long combating with adverse

fortune, tossed up and down by many peregrinations, and destitute besides of any certain habitation, should at length betake themselves to remote, or far distant countries.

Further, we see that the Roman writers place two ancient nations within those limits which bounded the kingdoms of the Scots and Picts, namely, the *Maiatæ* and *Attacottæ*. Of these, I suppose, the *Maiatæ*, mentioned, of all the authors that I know, by Dion alone, were of the *Pictish* race, seeing he places them in the countries nearest to the *Caledonian* sea; and it is certain that the *Picts* did inhabit those provinces. As for the *Attacottæ*, it appears, from *Marcellinus*, that they were the progeny of those, who, having been formerly excluded by *Adrian's* wall, but afterwards enlarging their dominions as far as the wall of *Severus*, were comprehended within the *Roman* province; because I find, in a book of the *Romans* concerning camp-discipline in their colonies, that, among the foreign auxiliaries, there were some troops of the *Attacottæ*, as well as of the *Britons*. This puts me at a stand, whether of the two I should most admire in *Lhwyd*, his boldness, or stupidity; his boldness, in affirming, that the *Attacottæ* were *Scotch*, but without any certain author, or probable conjecture; his stupidity, that, in the very place of *Marcellinus* cited by him, he sees not, that the *Scotch* are plainly distinguished from the *Attacottæ*. For *Marcellinus* says, the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scotch*, and *Attacottæ*, harassed the *Britons* with perpetual miseries. Of the same stupidity he is guilty, when he affirms that the *Caledonii* were of the nation of the *Britons*; whereas it is plain they were *Picts*, which *Lhwyd* himself clearly demonstrates by a testimony out of a panegyric spoken to *Constantine*, which he produces against himself. For, says the author of that oration, "the woods of the *Caledones*, and of other *Picts*:" that testimony (such was his folly) he produces for himself, not observing, (such was his stupidity), that it makes against him. If we look to the word itself, it is *Scotch*; for *Calden*, in that language, is the tree called the hazel: whence, I judge, came the name of the *Caledonian* woods, and the town of the *Caledonians*, situated by the river *Tay*, which is yet called *Duncalden*, that is, the *Hazel-hill* town. And if I dared to indulge myself with so much liberty, as to disagree from all the books of *Ptolemy*, for the *Deucaledonian* I would write the *Duncaledonian* sea; and for the *Dicaledones* in *Marcellinus*, *Duncaledones*; both the sea and the nation being surnamed from the town, *Duncalden*. What I have written may satisfy any candid reader; yet I shall add other testimonies, which *Pliny* thinks to be manifest signs of the originals of nations; namely, the religion, language, and names of towns.

First, it is manifest, that the bond of religion, and the identity of sentiment as to the imaginary deities, hath been always held the strictest tie of obligation and alliance amongst nations. Now, the *Britons* and *Gauls* maintained the same worship; they had the same priests, or *Druids*, generally, the like of whom were in no other country, and whose superstition so prevailed in both nations, that many have doubted which of the two first learned that sort of philosophy one from the other. *Tacitus* also says, that they had the same sacred rites and superstitious observances. And the tomb which was erected near *New Carthage*, called *Mercurius Tutates*, as *Livy* writes, doth shew, that the *Spaniards*, the greatest part of whom drew their original from the *Gauls*, were not free from those rites. Also, the same kind of priests, or sacerdotes, called by both of them *Bards*, were in great honour, both amongst the *Gauls* and *Britons*. Their function and name do yet remain amongst all those nations which use the old *British* tongue; and so much honour is given to them in many places, that their persons are accounted sacred, and their houses sanctuaries; nay, in the height of their enmities, when they manage the cruellest wars one against another, and use their victories as severely; yet these *Bards* and their retinue have free liberty to pass and repass, at their pleasure. The nobles, when visited by them, receive them honourably, and dismiss them with gifts. They make verses, and those not inelegant ones, which the rhapsodists recite, either to the better sort, or to the vulgar, who are very desirous of hearing them; and sometimes they sing them to musical instruments. Many of their ancient customs yet remain; particularly in *Ireland*, where they have undergone the least change,

except in their ceremonies and religious rites. This for the present concerning their religion. It remains now that we should speak concerning their ancient language, and the names of their towns and people. But these points, though oftentimes distinct, shall yet be promiscuously handled by me; because oftentimes one depends upon another, as its foundation; especially, since a proper name, either by its origin or declination, proves, or at least gives some indication of the country from whence it comes. Yet, though these things are interwoven, and do mutually confirm one another, I will, for the reader's instruction, take occasion to treat of them severally, as much as I can.

First of all, Tacitus, in the life of his father-in-law, Agricola, affirms, that the Gallic tongue differed little from the British; whence I gather, that they were formerly the same; but, gradually, either by commerce with foreign nations, or by the importation of new commodities, unknown before to the natives; or by the invention of new arts; or by the frequent change in the form of garments, arms, and other furniture, a speech, or language, that was very flexible of itself, might be much altered, sometimes augmented, sometimes adulterated, many new words being found out, and many old ones corrupted. If a man only thinks with himself, how much the inconstancy and caprice of the vulgar doth assume in this particular, and how ready men are, and always were, to despise present things, and to study innovations; he will find the judgment of the best of poets, and the only censor, in these cases, to be most true.—

Ut silvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt, ita verborum vetus interit ætas,
Et, juvenum ritu, florent modo nata, vigentque.

HORACE.

As from the trees old leaves drop off and die,
While others sprout, and a fresh shade supply;
So fare our words—through time worn out and dead,
A fresher language rises in their stead.

And a little after,—

Multa renascentur, quæ jam cecidere; cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est, et jus et norma loquendi.

Many words shall fall,
Which now we highly prize:
And words, which now have fallen,
Shall hereafter rise;
Use, or custom, rules this thing,
And governs language, as a king.

It is true he spoke this of the Latin tongue, which, by the great care of the Romans, was kept uncorrupted, and which all the nations, contained within the large bounds of their empire, did diligently learn. And therefore it is no wonder, if a language (even before colonies were sent into all parts, out of Gaul,) which already had different dialects at home, and also was afterwards polluted by the mixture of divers nations, being in itself somewhat barbarous at first, and neglected by those who spoke it; and after it had again re-entered, from a foreign soil, into Britain, which was then divided into kingdoms, for the most part obnoxious to strangers; it is no wonder, I say, if under all these prejudices, it did not prove consistent with itself. For, at first, the Celtæ and the Belgæ used a different dialect, as Strabo thinks. Afterwards, when the Celtæ sent abroad great colonies into Spain, as the names of Celtiberi and Celtici declare, and the Belgæ made their descent upon the maritime parts of Britain, as may be collected from the names of Venta Belgarum, of the Atrates and Iceni; it must needs follow, that on one side the Spaniards, and on the other the Romans, the English, the Danes, and the Normans, must bring many strange words with them, and so vitiate the vernacular tongue. Nay, I rather judge it a matter of much more wonder, that while the languages of neighbouring nations were adulterated by the influx of so many strange people, and in a great part changed by the speech of neighbouring countries; the Britons should, for so long a time, differ in their whole tongue

only in certain idioms and dialects. For, if any one hears a man of another nation speak British, he may observe the sound of his own language, and may understand many words, though he does not comprehend the whole discourse. Neither ought it to appear strange to us, that the same words do not signify the same things in all nations, when we consider what alterations commerce with neighbouring countries daily makes every where in the popular speech; and how great a change of phrases must needs be owing to a daily conversation with foreigners; how many new words are coined to express things newly invented; how many are imported with wares and traffic, even from the farthest parts of the world; how many obsolete words are disused; how many are lengthened by the addition of letters and syllables; and how many are shortened by contrary abbreviations; while some also are new vamped and refined, as it were, by the mutation or transposition of letters. I will not inquire, in how short a time, and how much, the Ionic speech degenerated from the Attic, or how much the other Greeks differed from them both. Let us only observe the speech of the noblest nations in Europe; how soon did the French, Italian, and Spanish tongues, all derived from the same root, degenerate from the purity of the Latin? Yet, in the mean time, they differ no less amongst themselves, than the old Scottish and the British tongues do. Nay, if we look over all the provinces of France, (I mean those who are supposed to speak true Gallic or French,) what a great difference shall we find between the inhabitants of Gallia Narbonensis and of Gascony? And how vastly do the people of the Limosin, of Perigord, and of the Auvergne, though neighbours to both, yet differ from them in their speech? And how much do the rest of the provinces of France differ even from all of them? But, to come nearer home, the English laws of William the Norman, established five hundred years ago, were written in French; yet now no Frenchman can understand them without an interpreter. Nay, if those old men who have lived long in the world, will but recollect how many words are grown obsolete, which were in use when they were children; and what words, unheard of by our ancestors, have succeeded in their places; they will not at all wonder, that the same original language, in length of time, should be changed, and seem wholly different from itself; especially amongst nations far remote, and also often warring one against another. On the other side, when I see that concord (lasting so many ages rather than years) in the British language, and that even amongst nations, either very distant one from another, or else maintaining mutual animosities against each other, as is hardly to be found amongst the many tribes and people of France, who yet have long lived under the same kings and laws; I say, when I recollect within myself such an agreement in speech, which as yet preserves its ancient affinity of words, and no obscure marks of its original, I am easily induced to believe, that, before the coming of the Saxons, all the Britons used a language fundamentally the same. It is probable, also, that the people on the Gallic shore used the Belgic tongue. from whose limits a good part of the Britons, bordering on France, had transplanted themselves, as Caesar informs us. But the Irish, and the colonies sent from them, being derived from the Celtæ, who inhabited Spain, it is probable that they spoke the Celtic tongue. I suppose, that these nations returning as it were from a long pilgrimage, and possessing themselves of the neighbouring seats, and almost forming one people, did confound the idioms of their several tongues into a medley that was neither altogether Belgic, nor Celtic, nor yet wholly unlike either of them. Such a mixture we may observe in those nations which are thought to speak the German tongue, and yet have much declined from its ancient phraseology: I mean the Danes, the maritime Saxons, those of Friesland, those of Flanders, and the English; amongst all of whom it is easy to find some letters, sounds, and inflections, which are proper to the Germans only, and not common to any other nation. Besides, I suppose that a surer symptom of the affinity of languages may be gathered from the sound of letters, from the familiar way of each nation in pronouncing particular ones; and from the judgment of the ear thereon; and likewise from the composition and declension of words, than from the signification of single or remarkable words. We find examples of this in the German letter *W*, in the composition of the words *Moremarusa* and *Armoricus*,

of which I have spoken before; and in the declension of those words, ending amongst the French in *ae*, of which there is a vast number; but amongst the Scots the form is diminutive; and so it was amongst the ancient Gauls. From *drix*, which amongst the Scots signifies a brier, is derived *drissae*, *i. e.* a brierling, or little brier-bush. And from *brix*, which signifies a rupture or cleft, *briacae*, which now the French pronounce *brissae*. For, what the Scots pronounce *brix*, that the French call *bresche*, even to this very day, there being no difference at all in the signification of the words. The cause of the different writing is, that the ancient Scots, and all the Spaniards to this day, do use the letter *X* for double *SS*. And therefore the old Gauls, from *brix*, called a town of the Canoniani, *Brixia*; and again, from *Brixia*, *Brixiacum*, now commonly *Brisac*. After the like form, *Aureliacum*, *i. e.* Orillach, is derived from *Aurelia*, *i. e.* Orleans; and, from *Eborac*, which is called *Cercalis*, or *Ebora*, named, by the Spaniards, Felicitas Julia, *Eboracum*, *i. e.* York, is derived; as the Brigantes have declined it, (who had their origin from the Spaniards,) retaining, in the declension thereof, the propriety of the French tongue. Furthermore, besides those things which I have mentioned, all that coast of Britain which is extended to the south-west, retains the sure and manifest tokens of a Gallic speech and original, according to the plain testimony of foreigners themselves. First, on that coast, is Cornuwallia, *i. e.* Cornwall, as many call it, but by the ancients it was named Cornavia, and by the vulgar Kernico; even as in Scotland, the Carnavii, placed by Ptolemy in the most northern district of that country, are commonly called Kernies; so that Cornuwallia is derived from Kernic and Valli, as if you should say Kernico-Galli, *i. e.* Cornish Gauls. Moreover, Vallia, *i. e.* Wales, another peninsula on the same side, doth avouch its ancestors both in name and speech. They who come near in language to the sound of the German tongue, pronounce it by *W*, a letter proper to the Germans only; and which their neighbours, who use the old tone, can by no means pronounce; nay, if you should put them to the torture to make them pronounce it right, the Cornish, Irish, or Highland Scots could never do it. But the French, when they speak of Vallia, do always prefix *G* before it, Guallia; and not in that word alone, but they have many others also, which begin with *G*. For they who, by reason of the propinquity of the countries, do Germanize, call the French tongue Walla; and besides, in a multitude of other words, they use this change of letters. On the other side, that country which the English call Wales and North Wales, the French term Gales and Norgales, still closely adhering to the primitive sounds of their ancient tongue.

But Polydore Virgil pleaseth himself with a new fancy, of which he claims the invention; whereas no man, though meanly skilled in the German tongue, is ignorant, that the word Walsch signifies a stranger or foreigner; and that therefore the Valli were called foreigners by them. But he reckons, as we say, without his host; for, if that name were derived from one's being foreign, I think it would agree better to the Angles, or English, as an adventitious people, than to those, whom, by reason of their antiquity, many of the ancients have thought to be the first inhabitants. Or, if that name were imposed upon them by the English, they might with better reason have given it to the Scots and Picts, than to the Britons, because with the former they had less acquaintance and very rare commerce; and if the English called them Valli in reproach, would the Britons, think we, who for so many ages were the deadly enemies of the English, and now made more obnoxious to them by this affront, own that name? Yet this they do not unwillingly, by calling themselves in their own tongue Cambri. Besides, the word Walsch among the Germans doth not primarily signify a stranger or barbarian; but, in its first and proper acceptation, a Gaul. And therefore, in my judgment, the word Vallia is changed by the English from Gallia; they agreeing with other neighbouring nations in the name, but observing the propriety of the German tongue in pronouncing the first letter by *W*, namely, Wallia. The ancient inhabitants of that peninsula were called Silures, as appears out of Pliny; which name in some part of Wales was long retained, in succeeding ages. But Leland, a Briton by birth, and a man very diligent in discovering the monuments of his own country, affirms, that some part of Wales was for-

merly called *Ross*, which word in Scotland signifies a peninsula; but the neighbouring nations seem, in speaking, to have used a name or word which shewed the original of the people, rather than one that demonstrated the site and form of the country. The same hath happened in the name Scots; for whereas they call themselves Albini, a name derived from Albium; yet their neighbours call them Scoti, by which term their original is declared to be from the Irish, or Hibernians.

On the same side and western shore, follows Gallovidia, that is, Galloway; which word, it is evident, both with Scots and Welch, signifieth a Gaul, as being Gallus with the one, and Wallus with the other; for the Valli, or Welch, call it Wallowithia. This country yet useth for the most part its ancient language. These three nations comprehend all that tract and side of Britany which bends toward Ireland; and they as yet retain no mean indications, but rather strong and convincing marks of their Gallic speech and affinity; of which the chief is, that the ancient Scots divided all nations inhabiting Britain into two sorts; the one they call Gael, the other Galle, or Gald, that is, according to my interpretation, Galæci and Galli. Moreover, the Galæcians please themselves with that title, Gael; and they call their language, as I said before, Galædian, and do glory in it, as the more refined and elegant, undervaluing the Galli as barbarians in respect of themselves. And though originally the Scots called the Britons, that is, the most ancient inhabitants of the island, Galli; yet, by degrees, it became a custom with them to denominate all the nations who afterwards fixed their seats in Britain by that name; which they used rather as a contumelious than a national appellation; for the word Galle, or Gald, signifies the same amongst them as Barbarian doth amongst the Greeks and Latins, and Walsch among the Germans.

Now at last we are come to demonstrate the community of speech, and thereupon an ancient affinity between the Gauls and Britons, from the names of towns, rivers, countries, and other evidences. This is a tender subject, and to be warily handled; for I have formerly proved, that a public speech or language may be altered on many accoudts, and though it be not changed altogether, or all at once, yet it is in perpetual fluctuation, and doth easily follow the inconstancy of innovators, by reason of its natural flexibility. The truth of this appears chiefly in those ranks of things which are subject not only to the alterations of time, but also to every man's pleasure or caprice; such as are all particular things invented for the daily use of man's life, whose names either grow obsolete, or are made new and refined, for light and trivial causes. But the case is far different in those things which resist time, and so in a manner are perpetual; as the heavens, the sea, the earth, fire, mountains, countries, rivers; and also in those, which, by their durability, as far as the infirmity of nature will permit, do in some sort imitate those permanent and uncorrupted bodies; such are towns, which are built as if they were to last for ever. So that a man cannot easily give new appellations to, or change the old names of nations or cities; for they were not rashly imposed at the beginning, but in a manner by the general wise advice and consent of their founders, whom antiquity did greatly reverence, ascribing divine honours to them; and did as much as lay in their power to render them immortal. Therefore these names are deservedly continued, and can receive no alteration without making a great disturbance in the economy of things: so that, if the rest of a language be changed, yet these are religiously retained, and are never supplanted by other names, but, as it were, with unwillingness and regret. And the cause of their original imposition contributes much to their continuance. For those, who, in their peregrinations, were either forced from their old seats; or, of their own accord, sought new ones; after losing their country, retained its name, and were willing to enjoy a sound most pleasing to their ears; and by this shadow of nominal representation, such as it was, the want of their native soil was somewhat alleviated and softened unto them; so that, by this means, they judged themselves not altogether exiles or travellers, far from home. And, besides, there were not wanting some who, being religiously inclined, conceived a holier and more just representation in their minds, than could be seen in walls and houses, and did sweetly embrace, as it were, that image and delightful pledge of their

former country, with a love more than native. And, therefore, a surer argument of affinity may be taken from this sort of words, than from those which, on trivial causes, and oftentimes for none at all, are given to, or taken away from ordinary or changeable things. For though it may accidentally happen, that the same word may be used in several countries, yet it is not credible, that so many nations, living far asunder, should agree by mere chance in the frequent imposing of the same name.

In the next place, those names succeed, which are divided from, or compounded of the former primitives. For, oftentimes, the similitude of declination and composition doth more certainly declare the affinity of a language, than the primitive words themselves; for these are, frequently, casually given: but the other, being declined after one mode and form, are directed by one fixed example, which the Greeks call analogy. And, therefore, this certain and perpetual manner of nominal affinity, as Varro speaks, doth, after a sort, lead us to an affinity of stock, and an old communion of language. Moreover, there is a certain observation to be made in all primogenial words, as *philosophia*, *geometria*, and *dialectica*, which, though often used by Latin writers, have scarcely any Latin word of kin to them, or derived from them, from whence they may seem to take their original; so, on the other side, the words *paradisus* and *gaza* are used by the Greeks; and yet it appears by this, that they are perfectly foreign, because they cannot shew any words from whence the same were originally derived, nor any that were afterwards derived from them, in the genuine Greek tongue.

The same observation may also be made on other languages, which will help us to judge, what words are domestic, and what are adventitious, or foreign. Let it suffice to have spoken thus much in general; therefore we will now propound examples concerning every part. Where, first, we meet with those words which end in *bria*, *briga*, and *brica*; Strabo, (lib. vii.) with whose opinion Stephens concurs, says, that *bria* signifies a city; and, to confirm their opinion, they produce these names, derived from that one word, *Polymbria*, *Brutobria*, *Mesembria*, and *Selymbria*. But the place by them called *Brutobria*, is named by others *Brutobrica*; and the places which Ptolemy makes to end in *Briga*, Pliny closes with *brica*; so that it is probable, that *bria*, *briga*, and *brica*, signify the same thing. But that they have all their original from Gaul, appears from this, that the Gauls are reported, anciently, to have sent colonies into Thracæ and Spain, and not these into Gaul; and, therefore, amongst proper classic authors, we usually read the following words:

Abobrica, in Pliny, in the circuit of Braga.

Amalobrica in the Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus.

Arabrica, Pliny, in the Bracarense circuit.

Arabrica, different from the preceding mentioned by Ptolemy, in Lusitania, or Portugal.

Arcobrica, by Ptolemy, amongst the Celtiberians, i. e. the New Castilians.

Arcobrica, amongst the Lusitanian Celts, noticed also by Ptolemy.

Arcobrica, a third, in the Cæsar-Augustan province.

Artobrica, Ptolemy, in the Vindeliciis country.

Augustobrica, Pliny and Ptolemy, in Portugal.

Augustobrica, another; Ptolemy; in the Vectons country.

Augustobrica, a third; Ptolemy; in the Pelendons country

Axabrica, Pliny, of the Lusitanians.

Bodobrica, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and in the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire; in High Germany.

Brige, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, in Britany.

Brige, in Strabo, a town by the Cottian Alps.

Brutobrica, in Strabo, between the Turduli and the river Bætis.

Cathobrica, Ptolemy, of the Cælerini, i. e. people in Portugal.

Cæsarobrica, Pliny, in Portugal also.

Catobrica, of the Turduli, in the Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus.

Corimbica, Pliny, in Portugal: but, if I mistake not, corruptly from *Conimbica*, of which mention is made in the Itinerary of Antoninus, which city as yet keeps its ancient name, by the river Munda, in Portugal.

Cotteobrica, Ptolemy, in the Vectons' country.

Deobrica, Ptolemy, among the Vectons also.

Deobrica, Ptolemy, another, among the Autrigones.

Deobricula, Ptolemy, of the Morbogi.

Dessobrica, not far distant from Lacobrica, in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Flaviobrica, Pliny, at the port Amanus. Ptolemy, in the Autrigous, calls it *Magnus*; but I know not whether Magnus ought to be read in Pliny, or no.

Gerabrica, in the Scalabitan province, which Pliny writes *Jerabrica*.

Juliobrica, in Pliny, and in the Itinerary of Antoninus, of the Cantabrians, or Biscayners, heretofore called *Brigantia*.

Lacobrica, in the Vaccæans' country, in Pliny, Ptolemy, and Festus Pompeius.

Lacobrica, at the Sacred promontory, in Mela.

Lancobrica, of the Lusitanic Celti, Ptolemy.

Latobrigi, near to the Swiss, Cæsar.

Medubrica, surnamed *Plumbaria*, by Pliny, in Portugal: this, if I mistake not, is called *Mundobrica* in the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Merobrica, surnamed *Cellica*, in Portugal; Pliny, and Ptolemy.

Mirobrica, in the country of the Oretani.

Mirobrica, another, in Beturia, or in the country of the Turdetani Boetici; Pliny, and Ptolemy.

Nemetobrica, in the country of the Lusitanic Celts; Ptolemy.

Nertobrica, in the Turdulis country of Boetia; Ptolemy.

Nertobrica, another, in the Celtiberians' country; Ptolemy; which, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, is called *Nitobrica*.

Segobrica, in the Celtiberians' country; Pliny; but Ptolemy counts it the head city of Celtiberia.

Talabrica, in Lusitania; Pliny and Ptolemy.

Turobrica, in the Celts' country of Boetia; Pliny.

Tuntobrica, amongst the Bracæan Galæci; Ptolemy.

Vertobrica, surnamed *Concordia Julia*; Pliny; in the Celt-Boetia's country.

Volobrica, of the Nemetes; Ptolemy.

Many of the towns and nations seem to belong to this class, in all the provinces throughout which the Gauls distributed colonies. For, as Burgundus and Burgundio seem to be derived from Burgo; so doth Brigantæ from Briga. The nominative case of this word, in Stephens, is Brigas, whence we decline Brigantes; as we do Gigantes, from Gigas. The Brigantes, according to Strabo, are situated by the Cottian Alps; and, in the same tract, is the village or town Brige; and the Brigiani, in the trophy of Augustus, are reckoned amongst the Alpine nations. Brigantium is an Alpine town; and the Brigantii are in the country of the Vindelici, according to Strabo; and Brigantia, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the mountain Briga of Ptolemy, are near the fountains of the Rhone and the Danube. Also Brigantium in Rætia, of Ptolemy, is the same town, I suppose, which, in the book of the knowledge of the provinces of the people of Rome, is called Breccantin, and the Brigantine lake. And in Ireland are the Brigantes, so named by Ptolemy. There are likewise Brigantes in Albium, according to Ptolemy, Tacitus, and Seneca; and in the Itinerary of Antoninus was the town Brige, or Brage, and Isobrigantium. Besides these, there is the town Brigantium, in Orosius, by the Celtic promontory, and Flaviobrigantium, or Besançon, in Ptolemy, in the great port; and a later Brigantia, or Braganza, now in the kingdom of Portugal.

There is also another class or rank of words, which either begin or end in *Dunum*; which is a Gallic name, as appears by those heaps of sand of the Morini, still called Duni, or the Downs; and those in the sea over-against them on the English shore, which retain the same appellation. Yea, Plutarch, (I mean he who wrote the book of rivers,) in declaring the original of Lugdunum, that is, Lyons, acknowledges Dunum to be a Gallic word. And, indeed, in expressing the names of villages and towns, there is scarcely any one word or termination more frequent than that, amongst the nations who yet preserve the old Gallic tongue almost entire; I mean the Britons in Gal-

lia Celtica; and the ancient Scots in Ireland and Albium; and the Valli or Welsh; the Kernicovalli, or Cornish, in England; for there is none of those nations which does not challenge that word or termination for its own; only with this difference, that the old Gauls did end their compound words with *dunum*, while the Scots ordinarily placed it at the beginning of words. Of this sort there are found,

IN FRANCE.

Augustodunum, of the *Ædui* or Burgundians.

Castellodunum, of the Carnotensian province, *i. e.* of Chartres.

Melodunum, by the river Sequana, or Seine.

Lugdunum, at the confluence of the rivers Arar and Rhone.

Augustodunum, another Autun, of the Arverni, or Auvergneois, and Clermontians; Ptolemy.

Lugdunum, of the Conveni, or Comingeois, near the river Garonne; Ptolemy.

Noviodunum, in the 'Tribocci's' country; Ptolemy.

Urellodunum, in Cæsar.

Juliodunum, in the Pictons' country, *i. e.* Poitiers.

Isodunum, and *Regiodunum*, of the Bituriges, *i. e.* inhabitants of Berry.

Laodunum, or *Laudunum*, in the county of Rheims.

Cæsarodunum; Ptolemy; of the Turones, *i. e.* Touraiois.

Segodunum, of the Ruthenians; Ptolemy.

Velannodunum, (or St. Flour) in Cæsar.

IN SPAIN.

Caladunum; Ptolemy; of the Bæcari, or Braganzians.

Sebendunum, Ptolemy.

IN BRITAIN.

Camulodunum, of the Brigantes country; Ptolemy.

Camulodunum, a Roman colony; Tacitus.

Dunum, a town of the Durotriges, or Dorsetshire men; Ptolemy.

Meridunum Demetarum, *i. e.* Caernarthea, of the Demetæ; Ptolemy, and the Itinerary of Antoninus.

Rigodunum, of the Brigantes; Ptolemy, *i. e.* Ribchester in Lancashire.

Cambo-dunum, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, *i. e.* ruins near Almonbury in Yorkshire.

Margodunum, in the same Itinerary, *i. e.* Marge-deverton in Leicestershire, near Belvoir castle; or, as some say, Leicester itself.

Sorriodunum, or *Sorbi-dunum*, in the same Itinerary; *i. e.* Old Sarum in Wiltshire.

Segodunum, *i. e.* Seton in Northumberland; and *Arelodunum*, *i. e.* Hexham, in the same county, both mentioned in the book of the *Notitia Romani Imperii*, or Knowledge of the Roman Empire, &c.

LATER TOWNS IN ENGLAND.

Venantodunum, *i. e.* Huntingdon.

Dunelmum, *i. e.* Durham.

IN SCOTLAND.

Dun-caledon, called also *Caledonia*, *i. e.* Dunkeld.

Deidunum, *i. e.* Dundee, or rather Taodunum, by the river Tay.

Edinodunum, which word the ancient Scots yet retain; while they who Germanize, would rather call it *Edinburgh*.

Dunum, a town in Ireland, called *Down*.

Noviodunum, or New Down, *i. e.* Dunmore castle, in Cowal.

Brittannodunum, *i. e.* Dunbritton or Dumbarton, at the confluence of the Clyde and Leven.

And at this day there are innumerable names of castles, villages, and hills, compounded with *Dunum*.

In GERMANY, these names are read in Ptolemy.

Lugdunum, *i. e.* Leyden; *Segodunum*, *i. e.* Nuremburgh; *Tarodunum*, *i. e.* Friburgh; *Robodunum*, *i. e.* Briu; *Carrodunum*, *i. e.* Crainburgh.

IN THE ALPINE COUNTRY.

Ebrodunum and *Sedunum*.

In the VINDELICI, or country of the Bavarians, in RHÆTIA, the GRISSONS country, and NORICUM.

Cambodunum, Corrodunum, Gesodunum, Idunum, and Noviodunum; and in the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire, *Parrodunum*, i. e. Partenkirch.

In SARMATIA and DACIA, according to Ptolemy.

Corrodunum, Singindunum, by the Danube; *Noviodunum* at the mouth of the same river; together with another *Noviodunum*.

And there are, in the same provinces, not a few words declined from *Dur*, which among the old Gauls and Britons signified water, and still retains the same signification in some places, as

IN FRANCE,

Durocotti in the Rhemish circuit, Ptolemy; we read them also *Durocorti*; moreover, Cæsar makes mention of *Divodurum*, of the Mediomatrics. Tacitus has *Divodurum*, near Paris; and in the Itinerary of Antoninus, is *Batarodurum*, amongst the Batavi -- Ptolemy, Tacitus. *Breviodurum* is in the Itinerary of the Emperor Antoninus. *Gannodurum*, according to Ptolemy, is near the Rhine; and *Gannodurum* in the country of the Helveti. *Octodurum*, or *Octodurus*, according to Cæsar, is amongst the Veragri.

In RHÆTIA, the VINDELICES' country, and NORICUM.

Eragodurum, Carrodurum, Ebodurum, Gannodurum, and Octodurum; (Ptolemy.) *Venaxamodurum*, and *Bododurum*, are in the book of the knowledge of the provinces.

IN SPAIN.

Octodurum and *Ocellodurum*, (Ptolemy :) the river *Durius* flowing into the ocean, and *Duria* into the Mediterranean sea; and in Ireland is the river *Dur*; (Ptolemy.)

IN BRITAIN.

Durocobrica, Duroprora, Durolemum, Durocervum, Durolipont, Durotriges, Durocoravum, Durolitum, Durovearia, Lactodurum.

Perhaps the two Alpine rivers, Doria the Greater and the Less (the one running into the Po, through the Salassians' country; the other through the Piedmontese,) belong to the same original; and also Issidorus, and Altissidorus, cities of France, so called (as I judge) from their situation near rivers; to which Dureta may be referred, which word in old Spanish signified a wooden throne, as Suetonius says in the Life of Augustus. The like may be observed of Domnaeus, the proper name of a man in Cæsar, which seems to be corrupted from Dunaeus; for Dunach may signify Dunan and Duncensis Loth; as Romach doth Romanus. Dunacus, or rather Dunachus, is yet used for the proper name of a man, which those who are ignorant of both tongues, the Latin and the British, wrongly render sometimes Duncan, and sometimes Donat.

The old word Magus also, in all the provinces in which the public use of the Gallic tongue obtained, is very frequent in expressing the names of cities; which shews that it was of a Gallic original. But of the derivatives from it, we may rather guess, than affirm for certain, that they were wont to signify a house, city, or any building. We read in the book of the knowledge of the empire of the people of Rome, that the prefect of the Parcensian levies was in garrison at Magi; and also in the same book, of the tribune of the second cohort being placed at Magni; and we read likewise of Magni in the Itinerary of Antoninus. Though I dare not positively assert, whether it be one town or many, I incline rather to think that they were different.

Towns ending in Magus are these, Noviomagus in Ptolemy, amongst the Santons; Noviomagus of the Lexovii; Noviomagus of the Vadeassii; Noviomagus of the Nemetes; Noviomagus of the Tricassini; Noviomagus of the Bituriges; Juliomagus of the Andegavi; Rotomagus of the Venolocassii; Cæsaromagus of the Bellovaci; Rotomagus of the Nervii; Borbetomagus of the Vangiones in High Germany; Vindomagus of the Volei Arcocomici. Also in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Argentomagus; and in High Germany, Noviomagus. In the book of the knowledge of the Roman empire, Noviomagus of

Belgica Secunda; in **Rhætia**, **Drusmagus**; **Ptolemy**. In Britain, in the **Itinerary of Antoninus**, **Cesaromagus**; **Sitomagus**; **Noviomagus of the Regni**; **Vacomagi**; **Magiovinium**; **Vicomagi**, part of the **Picts country**, **Ptolemy**.

There are also other names of places, common to many of these nations, but not so frequently used, nor so far extended, as the former; such as are **Hibernia**, *i. e.* Ireland, amongst the Romans, the name of an island, called by **Pomponius Mela**, **Ptolemy**, and **Juvenal**, **Juvena**; by **Strabo**, **Claudian**, and the inhabitants thereof, **Ierna**. That which some call the **Nerian promontory**, **Strabo** calls **Ierne**; **Jernus**, or **Jern**, a river of **Gallæcia**, **Mela** calls **Jerna**; **Jernus** is also a river of Ireland; but in **Ptolemy**, it is reckoned a river of Scotland, falling into **Tay**. Another of the same name glides through **Moray**; and the country adjacent to both is called **Jerna**.

We read of the city **Mediolanum**, in **Ptolemy**; as one **Insubrum**, of the **Santones**; another of the **Auleri Eburaici**; another by the **Loire**, *i. e.* **Menu**; a fourth by **Sequana**, or the **Seine**, now, as I think, named **Meulan**; or **Melun**; another in High Germany, called **Asciburgium**; another by the **Danube**; another in Britain, of which mention is made in the **Itinerary of Antoninus**.

Also **Marcolica**, a town in Spain; **Macolica**, in Ireland; **Vaga**, a river in Portugal; and another of Wales, in England. **Avo**, in **Mela**, **Avus**, in **Ptolemy**, a river of **Gallæcia**, as yet retains its name. In **Argyle** there is also a river of the same name, flowing out of the **Loch Awe**. One **Promontorium Sacrum** is in Spain, and another in Ireland. **Ocellum** is a promontory in Britain; **Ocellum** is also in **Gallæcia**, in the **Lucensian district**; **Ocelli** are mountains in Scotland; **Ocellum** is the last town of **Gallia Togata**; **Cæsar** mentions **Uxellum**, a town in Britain, perhaps for **Ocellum**; for **Martianus**, in explaining the ancient names of the cities of **Gallia**, says, that the word is variously written, **Ocellum**, **Oscela**, and **Oscellum**; hence, perhaps, comes **Uxellodunum**, which is also sometimes written **Uxellodurum**. So there is **Tamar**, a river of **Gallæcia**—**Ptolemy**; **Tamaris**, in **Mela**, **Tamarici**, a people of **Gallæcia**; the river **Tamarus**, **Pliny**; and **Tamara**, a town in Britain.

Sars, a river of **Gallæcia**, **Ptolemy**; **Sarcus** in Scotland, **Mela**.

Ebora, a town of Portugal, called **Liberalitas Julia**, in **Pliny** and **Ptolemy**; **Eburia**; that which is **Cerealis** in **Bætica**, in **Pliny** is **Ebora**; **Ptolemy** mentions **Auleri Eburaici** in **Gallia Celtica**; and also **Eboracum**, *i. e.* **York**, of the **British Brigantes**.

Deva, now **Dec**, a river of England; and three in Scotland, so called, one in **Galloway**, another in **Angus**, the third divides **Mearns** from **Marr**.

The **Cornavii** in England are in the farthest part of the west; but the **Cornavii** in Scotland are the farthest north. Both are now called **Kernici**; and there seems also to have been a third sort in Scotland, at the mouth of the river **Avenus**, or **Avon**, which is the boundary between the coasts of **Lothian** and **Stirling**; for **Bede** places the monastery of **Abercorn** at the end of the wall of **Severus**, where the ruins of the castle of **Abercorn** still appear. **Avon** is often met with, as a river, both in England and Scotland; for **Avon** in Scottish, as well as **Evon** in Welsh, signifies a river.

Of the three nations which first inhabited this island after the coming of **Cæsar**, the Britons were subject to the emperors of Rome successively, little less than five hundred years; but the Scots and Picts were under their own kings. At length, when all the neighbouring nations conspired for the destruction of the Romans, the armies of the latter were recalled from the most remote provinces, to maintain their empire at home. Thus the Britons, being left destitute of foreign aid, were miserably vexed by the Scots and Picts; inasmuch that they craved help from the Saxons, who then roamed the seas as pirates. But this invitation cost the Britons dear; for the Saxons, after repelling the Picts and Scots, being tempted by the fertility of the country, and the weakness of the inhabitants, resolved to make themselves masters of the island. After various successes in war, seeing that they could not gain what they aimed at by force, they resolved to attempt it by fraud. Their stratagem was this. There being a conference or treaty, agreed upon at a set day and place, between the nobles of both parties; the Saxons having a sign given them by **Hengist** their captain, slew all the British nobility, and drove the common people into rugged and mountainous places; after which

they possessed themselves of all the open country, and divided the fruitfulest part of the island between them, into seven kingdoms. This was the state of affairs in Britain, about the year 464. And whereas three German nations originally undertook expeditions hither, two of them by degrees obtained the name of Englishmen. But neither the peace made with the Britons, nor with the English amongst themselves, was ever faithfully observed for 317 years together. At length, the Danes, being formidable at sea, molested England with piratical incursions; and though valiantly repulsed, yet about thirty-six years after they came in greater force, and made a descent into the country with a potent army. At the first conflict they were victors, but afterwards they fought the English with various successes, till in the year 1012, Sweyne, having wholly subdued the Britons, by their public consent obtained the kingdom, which, however, remained but a few years in his family; for the Saxons again elected kings of their own, who continued to reign over the nation about twenty-four years after, when they were overcome by William the Norman, most of their nobility being slain, and their lands divided among the invaders. By this means the common people were kept in a miserable slavery, till the reign of Henry VII., who, easing part of their burdens, made the condition of the people a little more tolerable. But those who are in royal favour, or who affect an illustrious and noble lineage, do all pride themselves in being descended from the Normans.

These are the discoveries which I have been able to make, out of ancient writings, and other evidences not obscure, concerning the original, customs, and language of the three most ancient nations in Britain; all which induce me to believe, that the old natives, and other inhabitants, were derived from the Gauls, and did originally use the Gallic speech; of which many signs plainly appear, both in France and Britain. Neither ought it to seem strange, that, in language, which admits of a continual change, many things should receive different names in divers places, especially in a long current of time. Nay, we may rather wonder, that the same foundations of language, (if I may so speak,) and the same manner of declension and derivation, should yet continue amongst people widely remote one from another, and so far from agreeing together in the converse of life, as to be often at mortal enmity with each other.

Concerning the other three nations, the Angles, Danes, and Normans, we need make no particular inquiry; seeing the times and causes of their coming are known almost to all. But I have entered upon this task, in order to regain our ancestral rights; and if in this I have succeeded, I have no reason to repent of a little labour, though far from being spent in a great concern. If I have failed, they who differ from me in opinion, will not, I believe, find fault with my design. And I am so far from grudging or taking it ill, to have my judgment refuted, that if any man can discover greater certainty, and convince me of my mistake, I will return him thanks for his pains.

I had resolved here to put an end to this disquisition concerning the original of the nations of Britain, if Lhwyd had not called me back, even against my will, by maintaining, that the Scots and Picts came but lately into Albium. Now though I might, without any offence, pass by the empty vanity and ignorance of the man; yet, lest an unlearned tribe should pride themselves in such a patron, I shall, in a few words, abate his confidence, and that principally from those arguments and testimonies which he himself hath produced against us.

First, I will speak concerning his manner of reasoning, and afterwards of the matter itself.

He says, that neither Julius Cæsar, nor Cornelius Tacitus, writers of great exactness; nor Suetonius, Herodian, or other Romans, who have written of British affairs, have, in any part of their works, made mention of Scots or Picts; who, therefore, could not have been settled in Britain in that age. Will you accept of this condition, Lhwyd, that because no ancient writer hath mentioned a nation by name, no such nation ever had existence? If you assert this, see how many nations will be struck out of history and expunged in one or two lines! How great a table of proscriptions will you make? Nay, what great persons will you annihilate, as, for instance, Brutus, Albanactus,

and Camber? What nations will you wholly eradicate, as the Loegri, the Cambri, the Albani, according to your decree, who art both a tyrant in history and in grammar, as deriving *Albanus* from *Albanactus*? But if this condition do not please,—

—— Quia tu gallinæ filius albæ,
Nos viles pulli, nati infœlicibus ovib;

Since you're the brood of pullen with white legs,
Plebeian chickens are hatch'd of refuse eggs;

I will propound another to you, and such an one too, as you ought not, and I think, dare not, refuse. There is a certain kind of evidence to be drawn from fragments, by which, if you harden your forehead a little, you may prove any thing. I am the more inclined to make use of this method, because you seem to love it most of all, as proving out of a fragment, known, I believe, to no one else, that an innumerable multitude of the Cimbri issued forth to destroy the Roman empire. Now I will shew you, out of another fragment, that the Scots and Picts were in Britain before Vespasian's reign, which you deny. In that book, to which you have given the title of *Fragmentum Britannicæ Descriptionis*, i. e. A fragment of the description of Britain; for this special reason, I believe, because you thought yourself to have sufficiently proved, out of one of the two fragments, that the island was rather to be called Prítania, than Britannia; and out of the other, that you had disorged such a multitude of Cimbri, as your Britain could not contain: for this cause, you thought that your fragment would get credit enough on that single account. In this book you write, that the names of Scots and Picts, together with the Franks and English, or Angles, were well known to the Roman world; and, as a witness for this opinion, (a meet one indeed,) you produce Mamertinus in the panegyric spoken by him to Maximianus. But this witness, if I understand him aright, makes against you; for Mamertinus, speaking of the first coming of Julius Cæsar into Britain, hath these words: "Moreover, the nation, as yet rude, and *soli Britanni*, accustomed to none but the arms of the Irish Picts, their half-naked enemies, did easily yield to the power of the Romans." See, I pray, what Lhwyd would infer out of this testimony: first, that the Britons alone did then inhabit the island; next, that the people there named Hiberni or Irish, were afterwards called Scots. But the author of the panegyric neither asserts the one nor the other; for he affirms, that, before the coming of Cæsar, the Britons waged war against the Scots and Picts of the British soil, that is, the enemies dwelling in the land; so that *soli Britanni* is the genitive, not the nominative, case. The other he falsely assumes to himself; for I think I have sufficiently demonstrated out of Orosius, a Spaniard, and Bede an Englishman, that all the inhabitants of Ireland were anciently called Scots; and that at length, when they sent colonies into Albium, the name Scots being almost extinguished at home, began to grow famous abroad. In another place Lhwyd contends, that the Caledonii were called Britons, grounding his assertion on no other argument than that of a simple name, which was a common appellative for all the inhabitants of the same island. But I have shewn before, out of that part of the panegyric quoted by him, that the Caledonians were Picts. Marcellinus affirms as much, for he says, that there were two sorts of Picts, the Dicaledones, or, as I think it ought to be written, the Duncaledones, and the Vecturiones. But the Caledonii, or Caledones, dwelt in Britain before the reign of Vespasian; neither were they unknown to the Romans, as Lucan plainly shews, who died in Nero's time:—

Aut vaga cum Tethys, Rutupinæque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.

When raging seas on Sandwich shores do beat,
They never shake the Caledonian seat.

But why do I trouble myself to procure foreign witnesses, seeing we have a clear and convincing one at home; I mean Bede, the writer of the ecclesiastical history of England; for he takes notice of the order, and almost of the very moments of time, wherein foreign nations came into Britain. These are

his words in his first book. "First, the island was inhabited by Britons, whence it hath its name, who from the Armoric tract, as it is reported, sailing over into Britain, possessed the fourth part of it, and having seized upon the greatest portion of the island, beginning from the south, it happened that the nation of the Picts, coming (as it is reported) out of Scythia, and entering into the ocean, with long ships or galleys, but not many, were, by stress of wind and weather, driven beyond all the bounds of Britany into Ireland." And a few lines after, he says, "Wherefore the Picts, coming into Britain, began to settle themselves in the north parts of the island: the southern being possessed by the Britons." And at length, after a few lines more, he adds, "In process of time, Britain, besides the Britons and the Picts, took in a third nation of Scots, as part of the Picts." Then, after many passages, he subjoins, "But the same Britain was inaccessible and unknown to the Romans, until the time of Julius Caesar." Now observe, reader, I pray, whence, at what time, and in what order, this author, much more ancient and grave than Llhwyd, doth affirm that these nations entered Britain. Bede says, that the Britons from the Armoric tract entered first, but that the time is not certain; that the Picts, out of Scythia, came next into those parts of Britain which were yet uninhabited, and that this was soon after the entrance of the Britons, who were not as yet increased into such a multitude as to be able to occupy the whole island. What then becomes of the Scots? When came they into Britain? In process of time, observes Bede, the Picts granted them the uninhabited seats in their districts, so that they came after the two former. Thus the Britons, as Bede affirms, came into this island out of Armonica in France, and, not long after, the Picts out of Scythia; both of them seized on the vacant and uninhabited places: at last, the island being divided betwixt them, the Scots entered not by force, but were admitted into the portion and lot of the Picts, and that long before Britain was known to the Romans. Here, how will you deal with Llhwyd? who produces Gildas and Bede as witnesses to his fables, namely, that the Scots and Picts did first of all fix their habitations in Britain, in the reign of the Roman Emperor Honorius, in the year 420; of which two, Gildas makes nothing for him; and Bede doth evidently convict him of falsehood. But let the reader believe neither Llhwyd nor me, but examine for himself, and diligently weigh the passages of each writer. But (says he) Dion calls the Caledonians Britanni; I grant he does, so doth Lucan, as I noticed before, and also Martial, in that verse;—

Quinte Caledonios Ovidi visure Britanuos :

The Caledonians, which in Britain be,

Quintus Ovidius is about to see.

But none of them therefore deny them to be Picts; yet they have good reason to call them Britains: for, as the whole island is called Britain, all its inhabitants are properly so denominated. For, as all the people of the isle of Sicily were generally called, by the Romans, Sicilians, without any difference, though they themselves called one another, some Sicilians, and others Sicchotes; so the possessors of Britain are, by foreigners, all called Britains; but they themselves often call the ancient inhabitants Britons, and the other people of different nations living there, sometimes by the private names of the countries whence they came, and sometimes by the common name of Britains. Wherefore the Caledonians, Picts, and Scots, are sometimes called each by their own national name, yet all of them, not seldom, by the general term Britains. But Britons, as far as I remember, no man ever called them.

There is also another difference amongst them, to be observed in the word Britannia; as there is amongst the Greeks and Latins in the word Asia. For Asia sometimes denotes the third part of the habitable world, and sometimes it is taken for that part of the greater Asia which is situated on this side the mountain Taurus, and is wont to be called Asia the Less. So Britain is sometimes used for the name of the whole island in general; and at other times only for that part of it which was subjected to the Romans, and which was bounded sometimes by the river Humber, sometimes by the wall of Adrian, and sometimes by the wall of Severus; and the inhabitants of this part are, by British writers, more usually called Britons than Britains; but

the other persons living in the island, *i. e.* the Scots and the Picts, were called by Bede sometimes *Britains*, and sometimes *strangers* and *foreigners*. We may also find the same remarkable difference in Geoffrey of Monmouth, and William of Malmesbury. And therefore the Caledonians will not be counted Britons the less, for being styled Britains by Dion, Martian, Lucan, or any other good author, than the Brutians will be Romans, though both of them are Italians. If Llhwyd had taken notice of these things, he would never have involved himself in such dark labyrinths, nor so rashly and inconsiderately have made a positive determination in a point so obscure, neither would he have denied the Caledonians to have been Picts, because they are termed by Dion, Britains. Neither hath Llhwyd any just cause to wonder, that no writer more ancient than Ammianus Marcellinus, and Claudian, should have made mention of the Scots and Picts, though they lived so many ages in Britain. For, not to speak of the Valli, Cambri, and Lægri, names lately known to the world, I may ask him, why, since so many Greek and Latin writers have written of the affairs of Greece, yet no Grecian once names his countrymen Græci; nor any Latin author calls them Hellenes? Why did the names of the nations just mentioned, and which our Welshman will have to be very ancient, creep so late into history? If you ask any Englishman of what country he is, none will answer, that he is a Saxon; yet the Scots, Picts, Irish, both the Britons, *i. e.* those that inhabit Britain, and those who dwell in France, still unanimously call them by that name. Why do not the old Scots, even to this day, acknowledge and own the name of Scots? It ought not then to seem absurd to any man, if, when the Romans asked their captives of what nation they were, one said a Moratian, another an Attacottian, a third a Caledonian; and the names which foreign nations received from them they still retained, and used in their common discourse; neither, as I judge, will it seem incredible, that some names are more known to historians and strangers, and others to the inhabitants of the country. Though the premises make it sufficiently appear, that the coming of the Scots and Picts into Britain, was not only more ancient than Llhwyd will grant it to be; nay, that it was but a little later than the coming of the Britains themselves into it; yet I shall add other, and those no contemptible conjectures. The Brigantes, a great and powerful nation, who were seated beyond the river Humber, in Yorkshire, and possessed the whole breadth of the island between the two seas, came probably not from the tract of France, which was nearest; for no Brigantes are said to have inhabited there; but out of Spain, first into Ireland, and from thence into Britain, as being a neighbouring island to it. Neither doth this differ from the conjecture of Tacitus, which he makes concerning the ancient inhabitants of the isle. If the Brigantes came from Ireland, then they must be of Scottish race, as all the rest of the inhabitants of that island were. Seneca also seems to confirm this opinion, in that elegant satire of his, concerning the death of Claudius, in these words:—

Ille Britannos ultra noti littora ponti,
Et Cæruleos Scutabrigantes dare Romuleis
Colla catenis jussit, et ipsum nova Romanæ
Jura securis tremere oceanum.

He, Britons, which beyond known seas did dwell,
And blue Scutabrigantes did compel
Rome's yoke to bear. The ocean widely spread
His government, and his new laws did dread.

In these verses Joseph Scaliger, the son of Julius, is of opinion, that for Scutabrigantes, we ought to read Scotobrigantes. Of how great learning and judgment that young man is; of what industry in comparing ancient writers; and of what acuteness in finding out the meaning of obscure passages, the works that he has published evince. At present I shall only say, that having undertaken to illustrate the affairs of Britain, I thought his criticism was not to be omitted; and I will declare in few words, why I think it true. Since we read in Caesar, and other authors, eminent for accuracy and knowledge, that the Britons were wont to paint their bodies with woad; and in Herodian, that they used narrow shields in war. (such as *Livy scribes to*

the Asiatic Gauls,) and no great ornament in their arms; it seemed absurd to make mention of the shield which was not painted, and to omit noticing the body which was so. Now the old Britons were painted, not for comeliness, as several other nations were; but that their blue appearance might render them more awful to their enemies in battle: though how this colour could appear terrible in a narrow shield, I do not understand. Therefore it is very probable, that though Seneca was a learned man, and, according to Dion, kept the whole island of Britain under the oppression of usury, yet being ignorant of its history, he wrote the word *Scotobrigantes*, to distinguish these people from the other *Brigantes*, both Spanish and Gallic. It makes also for the same purpose, that in those verses he divides the Britons and *Brigantes* into two different nations; which is also done by some British writers, who denominate the Humber as the boundary of Britain. This matter not being well considered by Hector Boetius, as I judge, led him into a mistake; for, having somewhere read, that the *Silures* and *Brigantes* were called *Scoti*, as deriving their origin from Ireland, he placed them in part of the kingdom of the Scots, or in *Albium*. His mistake, though it might justly offend others, yet ought not to have been so severely censured by Lhwyd, who has committed as great errors of the same kind; for he makes the *Cumbri*, or (as they call themselves) *Cumri*, to issue out of a corner of Britain, to plunder the whole world. He concludes from one or two words, which were common to both, that the *Cimbri* and *Britanni* were of one nation. These words are *Moremarusa* and *Trimarchia*: where it is worth while to take notice of the man's acuteness in disputing, and of his subtilty in drawing inferences. *Moremarusa*, says he, is a British word, but it was once a *Cimbri* one, and of no other nation but that which dwelt near the Baltic sea. Now, since our countrymen use the same word, and are called by the same name with those other *Cimbri*; therefore, both must have been of the same stock and nation.

In this matter, first, Lhwyd affirms falsehoods for truths, and takes uncertainties for realities. For it is a manifest untruth, that both of them are called *Cimbri*, even allowing Lhwyd himself to be a witness, who affirms, that all his countrymen, the inhabitants of *Cambria*, were so called from their king, *Camber*, and he calls himself a *Cambro-Briton*. I could also prove the falsehood of this opinion, by the testimony of all his countrymen, who do not call themselves *Cimbri*, but *Cumri*. As that is false, so this is uncertain, whether other people living by the Baltic sea did not use that word which you attribute to the *Cimbri* alone; especially, since it appears from Tacitus, that many nations, in that tract of Germany, spoke the Gallic tongue, and I have before proved that word to be Gallic. But suppose that both assumptions were true, what then? Did you never read that the soldiers of Pompey, when he waged war in Asia, were saluted as brethren by the *Albans* who inhabited *Caucasus*, because both of them had the same name? Neither do I doubt but that if a man had observed both tongues, he might have found one or two words signifying the same thing in both; but they wanted such a man as Lhwyd there, who, because both people had certain words common between them, would have proved that both were of the same nation; and yet the purblind man seems to be sensible of the weakness of his conclusion, when he adds that the *Cimbri* were called *Æstiones* by the Germans; though, to make that out, he should have shewn at what time, and upon what grounds, the *Cimbri* were transformed into *Æstiones*, and the *Æstiones* again into *Cimbri*. He speaks not a syllable of this, but only cites a British history, collected out of the Milesian fables of the Gauls; and he also quotes a certain fragment, whence, being now degraded from an antiquary, to be either a botcher, or compiler of useless relics, or (if I may so speak) a fragmentary, he doth piece up new kingdoms and new nations for us. All this he doth with great labour, and yet with no colour of probability, where yet it was very obvious to him (unless perhaps it was above the poor man's reach) to find out the causes, why the name *Kimber* was communicated to the *Cimbri* and the *Welsh* too; for Plutarch says, that it was not the name of a nation, but of an occupation or employment, and that robbers were so called by the Germans. *Suidas*, no contemptible grammarian amongst the Greeks, understands the word in the same sense; and *Festus Pompeius*, amongst the Latins, writes,

that the Cimbri were called robbers by the Gauls. If we follow these men's opinions, it will not be difficult to find out why the Cimbri, whom Llhwyd places in Britain, came by that name, especially since their neighbours, the Angli, or English, affirm, that even in this age, their manners shew them too much inclined to the same dishonest practices. Sure I am, that Livy calls the slave who was sent to kill Marius in the prison of the Minturnæ, a Gaul; while Lucan calls him a Cimper; but no writer of credit styles him a Briton. If Llhwyd had examined these things, or if, after consideration, he had chosen rather to remember them, than to frame new monsters to himself; there was no necessity for him, in a moment, or rather with one falsehood, to have the whole of Britain almost destitute and forsaken, all its military young men exhausted, and 600,000 of them drawn out of it at one single draft.

I will not here minutely inquire, to what male children the Welsh are wont to give the names of the Cimbric kings; for this diligent writer brings in that also as an argument of their ancient pedigree.

If I mistake not, the Latin, German, and Syriac names, are the chief which he will find. But if a solid argument may be brought from the proper names of men (which are oftentimes arbitrarily imposed by parents, or vain-gloriously adopted out of some history) then Llhwyd might rather persuade us, that his countrymen are Jews, Romans, or Germans, than Cimbri; or, if he would advise his compatriots to give baptismal names, drawn from history, to their children, within a few years he might transform them into what nation soever he pleased. But with regard to the names of the Cimbric kings, which, he says, were accustomed to be given to children, I would willingly ask from what oracle he received it? unless I knew beforehand, that he never wants some fragment, out of which he can prove what pleases himself. Of this Cimbric expedition, I cannot but admire, how, since all their military men were sent abroad, that within the space of forty years (for it was about that interval between the Cimbric war and Julius Cæsar's arrival in Britain) your country of Wales should soon become so populous; especially since after Maximus had drawn forth a far lesser number out of Britain, when it was in its most flourishing state, the Britains could never again hold up their heads, but were brought into bitter servitude by the Saxons; and I wonder also, why Cæsar, who lived early enough to remember the Cimbric war, when he came into Britain, being a learned man, and a great favourer of the party of Marius, did find out nothing concerning this expedition. Lastly, I desire to know, whether Llhwyd spoke in jest or in earnest, when he added, that the affinity of both the Cimbri might be inferred from their equal contempt of gold and silver? Here I would ask of him, whether he spoke in earnest, when he calls those Cimbrians very moderate, and content with a little, who did not only vex and plunder Gaul, and a part of Spain too, but in a manner wholly wasted and destroyed both; after which they hastened to Italy, in quest of a richer booty: whose opulency, got by robberies, the Helvetians emulating, they also became plunderers, as Strabó relates in his seventh book. Dare you call such men frugal and temperate? But that it may appear that the Cimbric name is truly assigned to your nation, you make Welshmen emulous of those ways to which the Cimbrians were addicted; and yourself, in chief, who ravage all nations to steal from them a little glory. For, not content to have arrogated the deeds of the Cimbri to your countrymen, you add, with as impudent and fictitious an untruth, that the Sicambri were also of your stock. And because, in the name of both nations, there is a certain similitude of letters, from that affinity of words you feign a conjunction of blood. At this rate, by their descent from the Sicambrians, the Franks, and their children's children, to all generations, will be allied to you; and so, by a series of lies, you will raise a bridge to bring back the fugitive Brenni; of which, one, who took Rome, lived about a hundred years before the other, who besieged Delphi; but you jumble and compact them together into one body, that so you might dress up a new monster out of a dead and living man pieced together; as if it were difficult to prove, by other arguments, that monsters are born in that very country which brought forth such a person as yourself. "But," says Llhwyd, "no writer acknowledgeth that there were two Brennus's, besides Polydore Virgil." Surely, Llhwyd, thy reason hath for-

saken thee, or else thou hast never read the fourth book of Strabo, where he writes; "that the Brennus who besieged Delphi, is thought by some to be Prausus." Nay, not Strabo alone, but every man who believes that Rome was taken by one Brennus, and that above an hundred years after, Delphi was besieged by another, doth acknowledge that there were two of that name; since both enterprises could not be performed by the same man. But if we believe the monk, who compiled the British history, Brennus, the brother of Belinus, preceded these two Brenni three hundred years; if therefore he led his army into Italy at that time, he must have fought with Numa Pompilius, or with Tullus Hostilius, and not with the free people of Rome. But, to omit these things, whence doth this new logician gather that Brennus was a Briton? Truly, from only one word, Trimarchia, which is yet common to the Scotch, Gauls, and Welsh. Pausanias, whom you quote partially, that so he may make for your purpose, calls Brennus and his companions Gauls, and acknowledgeth that word to be Gallic. But you only, shamefully, and against the credit of all Greek and Latin historians, nay, and in spite of Minerva and all the Muses, strive to prove him a Briton. Perhaps I have prosecuted this argument further than either the obscurity of the matters, or the unskilfulness and inconsistency of Lhwyd, deserved; but I have done it, not out of desire to carp at or blame others, (which I am far from,) but to check the petulance of a man who abounds in abusive language, and that I might reduce him from a wild and extravagant rage, which makes him speak evil of almost all writers, and bring him, at last, to acknowledge his error. To omit others at present, he attacks with great scurrility Hector Boetius, a man not only uncommonly skilled in the liberal arts, for the age in which he lived, but also endued with singular humanity and courtesy; but Lhwyd so falls upon him, as to blame nothing in him, of which he himself is not far more guilty. Hector places the Brigantes in Galloway, in which he was wrong; for I have no design to defend his mistakes: but Lhwyd brings out great forces of the Cimbri, from one corner of Britain; how truly, let the learned judge. Hector attributes things performed by others, against the Romans in Britain, to his countrymen, the Scotch. And Lhwyd falsely affirms, that Rome was taken, Macedonia vexed, Greece afflicted, the noblest oracle of the world sacrilegiously violated, by his countrymen, the Britons; nay, that Asia itself was compelled to pay tribute to a few vagabonds. He blames Hector, but falsely, for making Gildo, who raised great commotions in Africa, a Scot; and yet he converts the same Gildo, who was indeed a Moor, into a Goth; because Gildus and Gildo are names almost alike. Let me ask you, are they more alike than Luddus, Lydus, and Ludio? This is certain, that Gildus is an old name in Scotland, as the ancient clan of the Macgilds, or Macgills, doth shew; of whose posterity there are yet families remaining of good account, both in Scotland and in England. But since Lhwyd hath such an intemperate tongue, that he cares not what he says, provided he may abuse others, I shall leave him, and conclude this book, with giving him a caution, that—

Loripedem rectus derident, Ethiopem albus.

Let the well-shap'd deride the crooked back,
And the fair-featur'd woman scorn the black.

BOOK III.

THOUGH I have sufficiently demonstrated, in the two former books, how fabulous, and like mere prodigies, the memoirs are, which the writers of the British affairs have delivered concerning their ancestors; and though I have also shewn, by plain and cogent evidences, that the ancient Britons had their original from the Gauls; yet seeing I have to do with such men as may be rather said to contend obstinately for a manifest falsehood, than to have fallen into a mistake by rashness or ignorance, I have thought it worth while to

borrow proofs from writers who bear a great authority amongst all learned men, that I might take off the edge from the boldness of those conceited disputants; and, by that means, supply the lovers of truth and virtue with arms to restrain their daring effrontery. In the rank of such classic authors, I judge Julius Cæsar to deserve the first place, both for his diligence in searching, his certainty in knowing, and sincerity in declaring things to others. In the fifth Book of his Commentaries, concerning the Gallic war, he says;—"The interior of Britain is inhabited by those who are said, by themselves, to be natives of the soil. The sea-coast is peopled by Belgians, who came thither for war and plunder. These last, passing over from different parts, and settling in the country, still retain the names of the states whence they descended. The island is very populous, and their houses are much like those of the Gauls. They have a great store of cattle; and use brass for money, or iron rings, weighed at a certain rate. The remote parts abound in tin, and near the sea-coasts iron is found, though but in a small quantity. Their brass is imported from other nations. All kinds of trees grow here, as in Gaul, except the beech and fir. They deem it unlawful to eat hares, fowls, or geese, notwithstanding which they breed them all for pleasure and diversion. The climate is more temperate, and the cold less severe, than in Gaul. The island is triangular; one side faceth Gaul, and the extremity, towards Kent, whence is the nearest passage to that country, points to the east. The other side, which looks to the south, extends about five hundred miles. Another side, to the west, lieth toward Spain; and over against it is Ireland, which is an island half as large as Britain, and separated from it by a strait similar to that which divides the latter from Gaul. Between England and Ireland is the isle of Mona; with many smaller islands, of which some write, that in the winter, for thirty days together, they have a continual night. Of this, however, we learned nothing by inquiry; only we found, by the hour-glass, that the nights were shorter than in Gaul. The length of this side is computed at seven hundred miles. The last side faceth the north-east, and is exposed to the open sea, pointing a little toward the German coast. This side is thought to contain eight hundred miles. Thus the whole island comprehends a circuit of two thousand miles. Of all the inhabitants, those of Kent are most courteous and civil, because their country borders upon the sea, and they differ little from the Gauls. The inland people, for the most part, sow no corn, but live upon milk and flesh, and are clothed with skins. All the Britons have their faces painted with woad, which gives them a blue colour, to make them terrible in battle. They wear their hair long; but all the rest of the body is shaven, except the head and upper lip. Ten or twelve live together, having their wives in common; especially brethren with brethren, and parents with children; but the issue is always accounted his to whom the mother was first given in marriage."

And a little after, he says,—“By these it was understood that the capital of Cassibelanus was not far off, situated amidst woods and marshes, and well stored with men and cattle. A town among the Britons, is nothing more than a thick wood, fortified with a ditch and rampart, to make it a place of retreat against the incursions of their enemies. Thither Cæsar marched with his army, and, though the place was strong both by art and nature, he assaulted it in two several places. The enemy, after a short stand, were obliged to give way at last, and retire by another part of the wood. Vast numbers of cattle were found in this place, and many of the Britons either lost their lives or were made prisoners.”

Tacitus, in the Life of Julius Agricola.

“I design here to give a clear account of the site of Britain, and of its inhabitants, though they have been already described by several writers. This I do, not to compare either my care or ingenuity with theirs, but as it was then first thoroughly subdued, so such things as our ancestors, without perfect discovery, have merely illustrated by their pens, shall now be faithfully set down upon knowledge. Britain, the greatest of all the islands known to the Romans, coasteth by the east upon Germany, by the west towards Spain, and bath France on the south; while to the north no land lies against it, but only a vast

and broad sea beating upon its shore. *Livy*, and *Fabius Rusticus*, two most eloquent authors, one among the ancients, and the other among the moderns, have compared the figure of Britain to an oblong scuttle, or two-edged axe; and such indeed is the form and shape of that part on this side Caledonia, from whence the report of the whole being so made seems to take its rise; but there is, besides, a vast tract of ground, which stretcheth out even to the farthestmost point, growing narrow and sharp like a wedge. The Roman fleet, by the orders of *Agricola*, sailed round this extremity, and thus first discovered Britain to be an island. *In this expedition also, the isles of Orkney were found out and subdued. Thule, which had lain concealed and unknown in the depth of winter, and covered with snow, was at the same time explored. The sea thereabout is said to be a sluggish mass, and yields with difficulty to the oar; nor is it liable to the agitation of winds, probably because in those parts there are not any very high lands and mountains, which commonly disturb the air, and occasion tempests.

“But an examination into the nature of the ocean and its tides, does not properly belong to this work, and many have done it before. One thing I will add, that the sea hath no where in the world a more large and free dominion, now receiving the waters of many rivers, and again driving their current back to the original source. Nor is it on the coast only that the flux and reflux of the tide is felt; for the sea forces itself into the recesses of the land, forming bays and islands in the very heart of the country, and foaming amidst hills and mountains, as in its natural channel. Now, what manner of men the first inhabitants of Britain were, whether originating in the country, or imported from afar, cannot be ascertained, since they are a very barbarous people. Their complexions vary, whence some conjectures may be formed; for the red hair and strong limbs of those who inhabit Caledonia, indicate a German descent; while the coloured countenance of the Silures, and their hair being commonly crisped, besides their situation over against Spain, renders it probable that the old Iberians passed the sea, and possessed those places. Those nearest to Gaul likewise resemble the people of that country, either because they retain something of the race from which they descended; or, that in countries which are near and opposite each other, an exposure to the same atmospherical influence may give their bodies a similar cast of complexion. But, generally speaking, it is most likely that the Gauls, being the nearest, peopled the island. In their ceremonies and superstitious persuasions, there is an apparent conformity; nor do they differ much in language. They are alike bold to challenge, and forward to run themselves into dangers; though when those evils come, they are equally affrighted, and anxious to be rid of them. Indeed, the Britons make more show of courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace; for the Gauls also were once, as we read, renowned in war, till, by giving themselves up to an idle pacific life, they became effeminate, and lost their manhood and liberty together. And so it befell those Britons who were subdued of old; but the rest retain the character of the ancient Gauls. Their military strength consisteth in foot; but the inhabitants of some parts make war in chariots. A person of the first rank guides the machine, while his attendants maintain the combat. They were formerly governed by kings, but now they are divided under petty princes, into parties and factions: and this is our principal security against those nations who would be much more formidable, were they not disunited in their counsels; it seldom happening that the people of two or three places will meet and concur to resist a common danger; thus, by fighting separately and in small parties, they are all subdued. The sky is very cloudy, and much given to rain, without extremity of cold. Their days are longer than in our part of the world; the nights light, and, in the farthestmost part of the island, so short, that between the going out and coming in of the day, the space is hardly perceived; and when clouds do not come in the way to hinder it, they affirm that the solar light may be seen at midnight, and that it neither setteth nor riseth, but passeth along, the extreme and plain parts of the earth projecting a low shadow, which is but a little elevated above the horizon, and obscures not the atmosphere so far as to make the night very dark. The soil, with the exception of the olive, vine, and other trees which are proper to warmer countries,

is very prolific in all kinds of grain, which shoot up quickly, and ripen slowly, owing to the excessive moisture of the ground and air. Britain produceth gold and silver, and other metals, which make it worth a conquest. The ocean bringeth forth pearl also, not equal indeed to that of the East, but of a dusky and pale colour, which proceeds, as some suppose, from the want of skill in the collectors. In the Red Sea the fish are taken alive from the rocks; but in Britain they are thrown up by the waves, and so are gathered. I rather believe, however, that it is the nature of the country not to yield pure pearl.

"The Britons endure levies of men and money, and all other burdens imposed by the empire, patiently, if unaccompanied by injuries; but indignities they cannot endure, considering themselves subjects, and not slaves.

"The first Roman that entered Britain with an army, was Julius Cæsar; who, though he landed and terrified the inhabitants with a battle, yet may seem rather to have shewn the place to posterity, than to have gained possession of it. In the civil wars that ensued at Rome, and long after, Britain was forgotten, and so continued to be even in peaceable times. This was the policy of Augustus, and especially of Tiberius.

"That Caius had a design to invade Britain, is certain; but his changeable humour, and chiefly his fruitless projects against Germany, frustrated his purpose.

"Claudius was the first who did any thing effectually, by transporting thither legions and auxiliaries; and employing Vespasian, who here laid the foundation of that grandeur to which he afterwards attained. Some countries were subdued, kings were led captive, and Vespasian thus became known to the world.

"The first lieutenant-general was Aulus Plautius, then Ostorius Scapula, both excellent warriors; and so, by degrees, the nearest part of the island was reduced to a province; and a colony of old soldiers was established there. Certain cities were also given to King Cogidunus, who remained most faithful even in our days, according to the old custom of the Romans, to use even sovereigns themselves as the instruments of subjugating their countries.

"Then Didius Gallus succeeded; who kept what his predecessors had gained, and built a few castles farther in land, that he might obtain the reputation of having made some improvement.

"After Didius succeeded Venianus, who died within a year. Then Suetonius Paulinus governed fortunately two years, reducing other places, and establishing garrisons in them. At last, confident of success, he went against the isle of Mona, which had afforded succours to those who resisted the Roman authority. In this enterprise he left the country behind him open, and unprotected. The Britons taking advantage of his absence, began to deliberate about the miseries of slavery, and their common injuries, which they aggravated by constructions and inferences, saying that their patience, instead of doing them good, had drawn heavier burdens upon them, as men willing to bear any oppression; that whereas in former times they had only one king, now they had two, the lieutenant to suck their blood, and the procurator to drain their property. If these disagreed, their difference was the torment of those under them; and if they concurred, it was their utter ruin; the one harassing them to death with soldiers; the other vexing them by wrongs and indignities. These two oppressors, by their covetousness and lust, laid hold of all without exception. It was observed also, that though men commonly give way, when contending with braver men in the field; yet that the Britons were for the most part dispossessed of their houses, robbed of their children, and obliged to serve cowards, as if they were a people that could die for any other, and were only ignorant how to do it for their own country. A comparison was also made between the small number of the invaders, and that of the people whom they kept in bondage. The Belgians, said they, have shaken off the yoke, though they have no ocean, and only a river for their defence. The Britons therefore should follow the example, for their wives and children, their parents and country. Here was a glorious cause; while the Romans had no other than that of ambition and rapacity: whence it was natural to believe that they would doubtless depart, as Julius Cæsar had done, if the Britons would imitate the

virtues of their ancestors, and not be dismayed by one or two skirmishes. Besides the consideration that men in misery were impelled by a vehement spirit and an invincible courage to undertake great attempts, there was reason to believe that the gods had interested themselves for the suffering Britons, in sending away their oppressor, and confining the army to another island. Now, therefore, being assembled to advise and consult together, they had achieved the most difficult point of all; since, under these circumstances, it was more dangerous to be taken while deliberating, than in action. With these and the like speeches, inciting one another, by common consent they resolved to take arms under the direction of their princess, Boadicea; for in concerns of governing they make no distinction of sex. They began with attacking the soldiers who lay in garrison, and after taking the fortresses, they proceeded against the colony itself; where they omitted no kind of cruelty, which anger, or the rage of victory, could induce a barbarous people to practise. In this state Britain would inevitably have been lost, had not Paulinus, on the intelligence of the revolt, hastened back, when, with one prosperous battle, he restored it to obedience. A few, however, still remained in arms, whose guilt either excluded them from all hope of pardon, or who apprehended the private displeasure of the governor. He, though otherwise an extraordinary man, yet carried himself too haughtily and severely to those who surrendered themselves, and thus, in a manner, he seemed to gratify personal revenge. On this account Petronius Turpilianus was sent in his place, a man of more liberality, and being a stranger to the faults of the Britons, more ready to receive their repentance. Having composed the troubles, and not caring to attempt any thing farther, he resigned his post to Trebellius Maximus.

"This man, though unacquainted with a military life, yet, by adopting a courteous and mild system, managed to keep the country in peace. For now the Britons had learned to endure a courtly tyranny, which indulged them in their favourite vices; and the fear of creating fresh disturbances furnished the governor with a plausible excuse for doing nothing. The soldiery, however, being accustomed to warfare, grew wanton with ease, and began to be mutinous. Trebellius at first absconded, to escape their fury; but soon after he returned to his post, though with only a nominal authority, acting entirely as the army dictated.

"Vectius Bolanus succeeded him not only in his place, but in his laxity of discipline; the civil wars continued the same, with equal negligence in regard to the enemy, and the same licentiousness in the camp. Yet Bolanus, being a honest easy man, contrived to acquire popularity; and if he did not secure the obedience of the people, he at least possessed their good opinion.

"But when Vespasian, to his other achievements, added that of Britain, great captains and good soldiers were sent thither, by whose means the hope of the enemy was extremely abated. Immediately Petilius Cerealis struck a terror into them at his first coming, by invading the Brigantines, the most populous state of the province. Many battles were fought, some of which were very bloody, and the greatest part of the enemy were either conquered or dispersed.

"Cerealis was succeeded by Julius Frontinus, a great man, who closely imitated his predecessor, and sustained the charge with reputation and credit, subduing the puissant and warlike people of the Silures; though, besides the valour of the enemy, he had many straits and difficulties to encounter from the nature of the country."

Cicero, to Trebatius, in the Seventh Book of his Familiar Epistles.

"I hear, that in Britain there is neither gold nor silver. Now, if this be the case, I would fain persuade you to gather all you can, and return speedily to us. But if we can attain our desire, without the help of Britain, do you conduct yourself so as to be reckoned amongst my familiar friends."

Paulus Orosius, speaking of Ireland, hath these words.

"Ireland, which is very near to Britain, is narrower in circuit or space of ground than that island, but more commodious for the goodness of the soil

and temperature of the air. It is inhabited by Scottish families. The island of Anglesey, or rather Man, which lies near to it, is pretty large, and fertile. This place also is peopled by the Scots."

In another place, the same author says:—"The conqueror Severus was drawn into Britain by the revolt of almost all his dependencies there. After fighting many great and signal battles, he judged it best to separate and divide that part of the island which he had regained from the unsubdued nations, for which end he made a great trench, and a strong wall, fortified above with many towers, for the space of one hundred and thirty-two miles from sea to sea." Ado, archbishop of Vienna, gives a similar account, but both err in the length of the wall, by writing thirty-two, for one hundred and thirty-two.

From the 25th Chapter of Solinus.

"Britain is surrounded by many isles, and those not inconsiderable ones, of which Ireland is the nearest to it in size. It is a rude country, on account of the savage manners of the inhabitants; but, otherwise, so full of pasturage and cattle, that if their herds, in summer time, were not now and then restrained from feeding, they would be in danger of over-eating themselves. They have no snakes, and but few birds. The people are inhospitable and warlike. After defeating their enemies, they besmear their faces with the blood of the slain, and make no discrimination between right and wrong. If a woman is delivered of a man-child, she lays its first meat upon her husband's sword, and putting it softly into the infant's mouth, gives him the food upon the very point of the weapon, praying (according to the manner of the country) that he may come to no other end than in battle. They who wish to be fine, ornament the hilts of their swords with the teeth of sea-calves, which are as white and clear as ivory. The men chiefly glory in the beauty of their armour. There is not a bee among them; and if a man carry from thence some dust or little stones to any other place, and strew the same among hives, the swarms will forsake their combs. The sea between Ireland and Britain is stormy and rough most part of the year; so that it can only be crossed in the summer. They sail in boats made of wicker, covered over with hides, and let their passage be ever so long, the people abstain from meat all the while. Those who have thoroughly examined the breadth of this narrow sea, judge it to be one hundred and twenty miles. A tempestuous frith also divides the island of the Silures from the coast inhabited by the Britons; the men of which island adhere still to their old customs. They know not the use of money, but barter one commodity for another. They worship their divinities very devoutly; and the women, as well as the men, boast of their knowledge of future events. The Gallic ocean beats upon the isle of Thanet, which is divided from Britain by a narrow strait. It is happy in corn-fields, and the soil is rich and healthful, not only to its inhabitants, but to strangers. No snakes breed here, and what is more extraordinary, the very earth of that island, to what place soever it is carried, will kill those reptiles."

From the Third Book of Herodian, as translated into Latin by Politian.

"Severus contrived delays on purpose, that he might not make a mean entrance into Rome; for being desirous of victory, and of getting the surname of Britannicus, he sent the ambassadors home before he had accomplished his object. In the mean time, with great diligence, he prepared all things necessary for war: his principal care being to erect bridges over the marshy places, that his soldiers might pass in safety, and fight as well as upon firm ground; for many parts of Britain are swampy, on account of the frequent overflowings of the sea. The barbarians themselves wade through these bogs naked up to the middle, not regarding the mud; for they are ignorant of the use of garments, but gird their bodies and necks with iron, which they value as others do gold. They mark their skins also with various pictures, and the figures of different animals. They are a warlike nation, and fond of slaughter, but content themselves generally with a narrow shield and lance. They wear also a sword hanging down by their naked bodies, but they are wholly ignorant of coats of mail or helmets, which, in their estimation, would

be an hinderance and incumbrance to them in passing over the marshes, the vapours of which, being exhale by the heat, cause almost always a dark and misty air."

Out of the Twentieth Book of Ammianus Marcellinus.

"This was the state of affairs throughout Illyricum, and the eastern parts, till the tenth consulship of Constantius, and the third of Julian, when Britain, by the inroads of those barbarous nations the Scots and Piets, was so much disturbed, that the peace was broken, and the places near the borders laid waste, which caused a general panic throughout the provinces. Cæsar, who had then his winter-quarters in Gaul, where he was distracted with many cares, could not go to the assistance of the Britons, lest he should leave the country which required his presence, exposed to the Germans, who were eagerly bent on cruelty and war. On this account he was pleased to send Lupicius thither, who was a commissary-general of the army, a bold man, and very skilful in military affairs, but too vain of his post, so that being very supercilious and haughty, he spoke in a lofty tone, and strutted like a tragedian in his buskins, leaving it doubtful whether he were more covetous or cruel. Having caused the Heruli, Belgians, and many of the Mœsici to march, he came to Boulogne in the depth of winter; and embarking all his soldiers in the ships which he had provided, sailed to Sandwich, and from thence proceeded to London, to be in readiness to act according to emergency."

Again the same writer, in his 26th book, says, "The Piets, Saxons, Scots, and Attacotti, vexed the Britons with perpetual miseries."

Also in his Twenty-seventh Book.

"It is sufficient for me to say, that at that time the Piets, who were divided into two nations, the Dicaledones, and the Vecturiones; and also the Attacotti, a warlike people, and the Scots, ranging several ways, committed many ravages. The Franks and Saxons, when they had opportunity to make inroads by land or sea, plundered the Gallician tracts near them, and carried off great booty, burning every thing before them, and putting to death all those who fell into their hands. Our warlike commander, to remedy this evil by the favour of fortune, came into these extreme parts, from Boulogne, which is divided from Britain by a narrow strait. The sea here is wont to be raised by high tides, and again levelled in a calm, like a plain, without any prejudice to the mariners. From thence he easily passed over to the opposite harbour of Richborough; whence being followed by the Batavi, Heruli, and Jovii, trusting to their conquering numbers, he came to the old town of London, since called Augusta, where, dividing his troops, he set upon the predatory bands of his enemies, and, as they were laden with spoils, he quickly overcame them, and putting them to flight, rescued from them the captives whom they drove bound before them, and their cattle, and all the prey which our poor tributaries had lost. He restored every thing to the sufferers, except a small part bestowed on his wearied soldiers. Thus he triumphantly re-entered the city, which was before forlorn, but now relieved by him. Elated by this prosperous success, he designed greater matters, and intended to follow safe counsels, for which, however, he took time, having learned, both by prisoners and deserters, that such scattered troops of sundry nations, and those fierce ones too, could not be conquered but by stratagem or surprise. In consequence of this, he made edicts, and offered impunity, by which means he called in stragglers and deserters. Hereupon many returning, he being moved thereby, and anxiously careful, required Civilis to be sent over to govern Britain, a man of sharp wit, and very just and honest, with whom was associated Dulcinius, a very skilful commander in warlike affairs."

Out of the Thirty-ninth Book of Dion.

"Cæsar, the first of the Romans who passed the Rhine, sailed afterwards into Britain, which island is extended 450 stadia at least beyond the Morini. It fronts the rest of Gaul, and almost all Spain, stretching out into the sea.

It was unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans, and their posterity doubted whether it was insular or a continent; different writers, ignorant of the truth, and speaking only by conjecture, calling it one or the other, according to their fancy. But in process of time, when Agricola had the chief command in Britain, and afterwards in the time of Severus the emperor, it was clearly ascertained to be an island. Cæsar, when he had settled things in Gaul, and subdued the Morini, being desirous to go thither, transported his foot where it was most convenient, though he did not disembark where he ought to have done; for the report of his coming being spread abroad, all the Britons had seized the passages. Cæsar then sailing beyond a prominent rock, made his descent in another part, and having repulsed those who opposed him, landed his men before the rest of the Britons could unite to oppose his troops. Not many of the barbarians, however, were slain; for as they fought on horseback, and in chariots, they easily escaped from the Romans, who had no cavalry. Notwithstanding this, the Britons being intimidated by the boldness of the invaders, sent some of the nation of the Morini, their friends and allies, on an embassy to Cæsar, who demanded hostages, which were promised by the Britons; but afterwards perceiving that the vessels of the Romans were shattered by tempests, they changed their minds, yet did not openly set upon them, because their camp was well guarded. Having surprised some of the Romans, who were sent in a peaceable manner to procure necessities, they put almost all of them to the sword, the rest being speedily rescued by Cæsar. Soon after this they assaulted his camp, but were repulsed, without doing any mischief. The defeats which they sustained did not intimidate them, and they continued to hold out against Cæsar, who on his side had no inclination to make a league with them. As however winter was drawing on, his forces were diminished, and the Gauls were taking advantage of his absence, he thought it best to conclude a treaty with the Britons in the best manner he could. Accordingly, having received a few hostages, he sailed back again to the continent, where he quelled the mutiny that had arisen, and settled affairs; thus neither reaping any public or private advantage from Britain, worth his labour, save only the reputation of having made a descent upon the island; for which reason he was much pleased himself, and his friends extolled him greatly at Rome. These persons magnified the discovery of places hitherto unknown, and converted their hopes into enjoyments. Thus anticipating success, and rejoicing as it they had already obtained a conquest, they decreed supplications to the gods for twenty days."

Out of the First Chapter of the First Book of Bede.

"The islanders profess one and the same theology, and that in five tongues, viz. of the Angles, Britons, Scots, Picts, and Latins; which, by the study and meditation of the scriptures, is made common. But in the first place, the Britons only inhabited the island, from whom it took its name; who coming hither, as it is reported, out of the Armoric country, seized upon the southern parts of it. And while they gained a great part of the island, beginning from the south, the nation of the Picts ventured to sea with a few galleys, as is reported, from Scythia, and being driven by the wind beyond the coasts of Britain, landed in Ireland, where they penetrated to the northern extremity, and finding the nation of the Scots, desired from them an allotment for their habitation, but could not obtain it."

Again, the same author, in the fifth chapter of his Ecclesiastical History, says, "Severus, an African, born at Labeda near Tripoli, the seventeenth from Augustus Cæsar, obtained the empire, which he held seventeen years. He being of a fierce disposition, and vexed with continual wars, governed the commonwealth bravely, but with great labour. After quelling the civil commotions, which were very grievous in his time, he was called into Britain upon the revolt of almost all his dependants; where, after many severe battles, he gained part of the island, and divided it from that which was unconquered, not, as some think, with a wall, but with a trench only. For a wall is made of stones, but a trench, wherewith camps are fortified to repel the force of enemies, is made of turf cut out of the earth; yet it is built like a wall, high

above the ground, so that there is a ditch before it, out of which the turfs are dug and heaped up with pallisadoes made of strong wood. Severus having formed this great work with a firm trench, and fortified it with many towers from sea to sea, died at York."

In the 12th chapter of the same book, Bede says, "Afterwards Britain, being despoiled of all her military, and the flower of her valiant youths, who were carried away prisoners by the severity of tyrants, and never returned again, became, by its defenceless state, an object of plunder; particularly to two transmarine nations, the Scots from the south, and the Picts from the north; under whose yoke it groaned many years. I call these transmarine nations, not because they had their habitations out of the island, but because they were remote from the residence of the Britons, two creeks of the sea dividing them, one from the east, and the other from the west running far within land, though they do not reach from one to the other. The eastern part bath in the midst of it the city Guidi; the western, above, that is, on the right hand of it, bath the city Alcluth, which in their tongue signifieth a rock; for Cluth is situated by a river of the same name. In consequence of the incursions of these nations, the Britons sent ambassadors to Rome with letters, craving aid with mournful supplications, and promising perpetual subjection if their enemies were driven out. Upon this a legion was despatched for their assistance, which force proved victorious in defeating the invaders, and driving them beyond the borders. Having delivered the Britons from their enemies, the Romans advised them to build a wall within the island, between the two seas, to serve as a safeguard to them for the future; and then, in great triumph, returned home. Agreeable to this advice, the wall was erected, not so much with stones as turf; but having no artificers fit for such an undertaking, the work proved good for little. They formed it between the two seas or bays already mentioned, for many miles in length; that so, where the waters were not a defence, there, by the advantage of the wall, they might secure the borders from the inroads of their troublesome neighbours. The manifest marks and footsteps of this high wall and work remain to this day. It begins about a mile from the monastery of Kebercurnig, toward the west, in a place called, in the language of the Picts, *Pennachel*, but in the English, *Penneltum*, and bending against the west, is terminated by Alcluth. But the old enemies of the Britons, as soon as the Roman soldiers were departed, fitted out a fleet, and broke into the borders, killing and spoiling all before them; and, as if they were corn ready for the sickle, mowed, trampled upon, and destroyed them. The Britons upon this sent a second embassy to Rome, with new complaints, desiring help for their miserable country, which, though honoured as an imperial province, was now in danger of being totally destroyed. Accordingly another legion was sent, which, arriving in autumn, made a great slaughter of the invaders, and drove all that made their escape beyond the seas. Then the Romans told the Britons, that they could come no more on such chargeable and toilsome expeditions for their defence, but advised them to arm themselves, and fight with their enemies; over whom they might easily prevail, if they would exert their natural strength. Previous to their departure, however, they drew a wall from sea to sea, where Severus had made a trench for the defence of the towns, and to prevent the incursions of the foe. This wall they built of stone, at both the public and private expense, being assisted in the labour by a company of Britons. It was eight feet broad, and twelve high, in a direct line from east to west. Both this wall, and that of Severus, are yet to be seen. When this work was completed, they gave instructions to the inhabitants in the art of defence, and afforded them examples for their training in arms; but on the south shore, where their ships rode at anchor, because from thence the irruptions of the barbarians were most to be dreaded, they erected towers at proper distances, overlooking the sea; and so they took their departure, never to return."

And a little after, Bede describes the Britons as flying, and dispersed, leaving their cities and wall, while their enemies follow, and make a more cruel slaughter than before. "For as lambs are devoured by wolves, so were the poor inhabitants torn in pieces by their foes; insomuch that being driven out of their habitations, and in danger of being starved, they practised robbery

and rapine, to keep themselves alive. Thus they increased slaughter by domestic broils, till the whole country was quite despoiled of food, except what might be got by hunting."

Similar to this is the account given of the same times by Gildas, in his Epistle:—"The Romans built a wall between the two seas across the island, that it might be a terror to enemies, and a defence to the inhabitants. But afterwards the people sent again lamentable letters to Ætius, a man of great authority in Rome, beginning thus: 'To Ætius, thrice consul, the Groans of the Britons;' and a little after they complain, 'The barbarians force us to the sea, and the sea beats us back to the barbarians. Between these two kinds of death, we are either killed on land, or drowned in the ocean, neither have we any fence or relief against one or the other.'"

BOOK IV.

WHEN I undertook to write the history of our nation, I thought proper, in order that the series might appear more plain to the reader, to introduce, as in the preceding books, a few ancient memoirs; especially those which are freest from fabulous vanities, and supported by authors of established credit.

It is currently reported, and there are many evidences to confirm it, that a multitude of Spaniards, either driven from home by their powerful lords, or else voluntarily departing on account of a redundant population, transported themselves into Ireland, and there seized upon those places which were nearest to them. Afterwards, the salubrity of the air, and the richness of the pasturage, invited many others to follow them; besides which, the domestic troubles in Spain, and the inroads of foreigners, to which that country was always subject, led many to wander in search of a quieter habitation. On all these accounts, the first settlers in Ireland drew after them numbers, who were thus encouraged to undertake a voyage to an island already possessed by their own people, and which became, by that means, their second country. This stock of Spaniards did so flourish and increase, in a region fit for propagation, that now they were not contented within the bounds of Ireland, but made frequent migrations into the lesser islands adjacent.

In the mean time, while the Scots, which was the general name of the whole nation, extended their bounds through the islands of *Ebuda*, and formed themselves into separate tribes and kindreds, without either a king or fixed government; a German, or, as Bede writes, a Scythian fleet, arrived upon the coast of Ireland, being driven thither probably by stress of weather; since they had neither their wives nor children with them. These people being very poor, and having nothing left them after so long a voyage but their arms, sent messengers to the Scots, desiring permission to dwell amongst them. The answer returned by them, was, that they were themselves compelled to seek a residence in those small islands; which, from the poverty of the soil, were very unfruitful; and that, if they were not so, the whole of them together would not be sufficient to entertain so great a multitude, even were the present inhabitants to quit them for the accommodation of the strangers. In pity, however, of the common miseries of mankind, and particularly affected with their condition, whom Providence had so grievously afflicted; and who did not seem to be wholly strangers to their lineage, as appeared by their language and customs, they gave them their advice; and, as far as they were able, offered to assist them in the execution of what they recommended. Their counsel was, to sail to the neighbouring island of *Albium*, which was large and fruitful, and in many places uninhabited; while the other parts were very weak, owing to the condition of the few people that were in it, and who were governed by several princes at strife with each other. Under these circumstances, they observed, that, amidst such discords, it would be easy for them, by supporting the feebler side, to make themselves masters of that large country; towards accomplishing which, they would afford them their assistance.

The narrowness of the *Æbudæ*, and the lowness of their own condition, for so it then was, made the strangers attend to this counsel. So these people, who were afterwards, both by the Romans and the neighbouring nations, called Picts, landed upon the coasts of the island bordering on the German sea; and, having expelled the few inhabitants, brought a great part of that district under their subjection; soon after which, in prosecution of the happy friendship formed with the Scots, they intermarried with them, and so in a manner they became compacted with them into one nation. In consequence of this union, many Scots, being either detained by their allies, who were yet but weak, or driven by want and penury, or induced by the love of their relations, fixed their habitations amongst the Picts. At first, these were glad of their coming; but when they grew numerous, fears were entertained lest their friends, by increasing in strength, should become their masters; so that, first in their private assemblies, and afterwards in their public councils, they gave out that measures ought to be adopted not only to hinder foreigners from being admitted among them, but to devise some way to lessen the number of those already admitted. A rumour also was spread abroad, that it was revealed from heaven to the Picts, that their nation should in time be extirpated by the Scots. These suspicions caused the two nations, which before were very amicable, to separate: the Scots betaking themselves to the mountainous places, which, though less fit for culture, were well adapted to a people given to pasturage and hunting; while the Picts possessed the low lands, as being more fertile and fit for tillage, situated near the German sea. Thus the friendship which had been originally formed under so many kind circumstances, was broken; and the seeds of hatred were sown between the two nations, both of whom were of a fierce and implacable disposition. As the occasion of their variance at first was but trivial, so their contentions were for some time of a partial nature, breaking out in petty animosities and slight injuries.

FERGUS, the first King of Scotland, began his reign before Christ, 330.

The Britons, being enemies to both parties, gladly seized this opportunity of fomenting their dissensions; and freely offered aid to the Picts, even before they desired it, against the Scots; which, when the latter perceived, they applied elsewhere for assistance, and procured a foreign king to assist them against the threatened danger. The commanders of the islanders being almost all of equal authority, and disdaining to elect a chief from among themselves; FERGUS, the son of Ferchard, was sent for with forces out of Ireland, as the most eminent person among the Scots, both for advice and action. By the public consent of the people he was chosen king, but while preparations were making for a battle, if need required it, a rumour was dispersed abroad, which came to the ears both of the Scots and Picts, that the Britons were acting a treacherous part, laying plots and counterplots equally pernicious to both nations; and that in the event they would turn their arms upon the conquered and conquerors alike, in order to destroy both, or drive them out of the island, that they might themselves enjoy the whole. This report made both armies doubtful what course to take; and for a time kept them within their respective trenches. At length this brought on a treaty, and the secret fraud of the Britons being made manifest, peace was concluded, and the three different armies returned home. The Britons failing in their first project, had recourse to another stratagem. They sent in robbers secretly amongst the Picts, to drive away their cattle; and when the injured party demanded restitution, they were told to seek it from the Scots, who were accustomed to thieving and plundering, and not from them. Thus their messengers were sent away without satisfaction, and the affair was treated as a matter of derision. The fraud of the Britons being thus fully discovered, the late reproach incensed the hearts of both nations against them, more than the remaining grudges and resentments for their former conduct; and therefore levying as great an army as they could, the two kings invaded their coasts in different directions; and after ravaging the country with fire and sword, returned home with a great booty. To revenge this loss, the Britons

penetrated into Scotland, as far as the Don; and having filled that part of the country with greater terror than loss to the inhabitants, pitched their tents upon the bank of the river. Fergus first sent the women and children, with every kind of moveable property, into the mountains, and other places of security, after which he guarded all the passes, till the Picts came up; with whom he at length joined his forces, and, communicating counsels one with another, they resolved to make a diversion, and lengthen out the war, by making an incursion with their troops into the enemy's country; and so weary them out. But Coilus, the king of the Britons, understanding by his spies the cause of their delay, sent five thousand men before to lie in ambush in the upper grounds, while he determined to lead the rest of his army directly against his opponents. The Picts, however, being made acquainted with this movement, again consulted with the Scots, and, by way of prevention, it was agreed, to assault the camp of the Britons by night. Accordingly, drawing out their forces, the Scots in the front, the Picts in the rear, they attacked their enemies before day; and, by this means, made a great slaughter of the Britons, who were taken by surprise between sleeping and waking. In this battle Coilus himself fell, with the greatest part of his army, and the place, from him, became famous under the name of Coyle, or Koylefield. The Scots hailed Fergus as a conqueror, and settled the regal government upon him and his posterity, by the solemnity of an oath. After settling the country in peace, he went to Ireland, to quell some commotions there; but on his return a sudden tempest arose, and he was drowned, not far from the port called after him Fergus's Rock, Knock-Fergus, or Carrick-Fergus, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. Historians say, that his coming into Albion was at the time when Alexander the Great took Babylon; which was about three hundred and thirty years before the birth of Christ.

FERITHARIS, the second King of Scotland, began to reign in the year before Christ, 305.

Fergus at his death left two sons, Ferlegus and Mainus; but as neither of them was yet able to undertake the government, the chiefs of the clans met together to appoint a successor. This produced great contentions amongst them; some urging the late oath, by which they had bound themselves to preserve the sceptre in the Fergusian family; and others alleging the great hazards they should run under an infant king. At last, after long dispute, a medium was found out; whereby neither the son under age, and unfit for the government, should actually reign, nor their oath be violated. It was therefore settled, that, whilst the children of their kings were infants, one of the kindred, deemed most accomplished for the office, should act as regent; and on his death, the succession pass to the sons of the former king. This law prevailed for almost 1274 years, until the days of Kenneth III., of whom I shall speak in his place. By virtue of this regulation, Feritharis, the brother of Fergus, obtained the kingdom, and managed it fifteen years, with an equity and moderation that gave universal satisfaction to his subjects; while the orphans or pupils, for whom he acted, experienced in him a faithful guardian. But though, by his conduct, he procured peace abroad, and gained the love of his people at home; he could not allay the ambition of his kindred. For Ferlegus, being inflamed with the desire to reign, first communicated his design to the most turbulent of the soldiers, particularly those who were fond of innovation; and having secured them in his interest, he came to his uncle, and demanded of him the crown, which he held, as he alleged, not as his own, but in trust only for him. Feritharis, instead of being disturbed at this rash undertaking of the young man, called an assembly of the states together, and declared to them that he was ready to resign the regal sceptre, adding also many words in commendation of his nephew; with regard to himself, he said he had rather freely and willingly resign the kingdom, with which he was entrusted, now, than wait until death, which was near at hand, should deprive him of it; that so his fidelity towards his relatives might appear to be more the effect of good-will than of necessity. But such was the respect and love which all bore to Feritharis, that they utterly disapproved of this inordinate desire of

the kingdom in Ferlegus, and manifested it by the severity of their looks, and loud acclamations of the whole convention. Notwithstanding this discovery of the treachery of Ferlegus, in conspiring against his uncle, for which he was judged worthy of death; yet the convention, out of respect to the memory of Feigus, and by the desire of Feritharis, did not proceed to that extremity. It was deemed proper, however, to place guards and spies over Ferlegus to watch his actions, and prevent any evil designs which he might entertain. Impatient of this restraint, he contrived, with a few associates, to elude the vigilance of his keeper, and escape first to the Piets, but finding no encouragement in his purposes from them, he passed over to the Britons, where he lived an obscure, and consequently an ignoble, life. Feritharis died a few months after, but whether by disease or treachery is uncertain. The former ambition of Ferlegus, the detection of his conspiracy, and his late flight, raised such suspicions against him of being privy to the death of his uncle, that he was unanimously condemned in his absence. This happened about the fifteenth year after his father's decease.

MAINUS, the third King, began to reign B. C. 290.

Ferlegus being condemned, Mainus was chosen third King of the Scots; a man more like his father and uncle, than his brother. He confirmed and settled peace with his neighbours abroad, punished the wicked and profligate at home, and constantly performed religious exercises; whereby he procured such a character for justice and piety, that both foreigners, as well as his own subjects, held him in great reverence, insomuch that he was better guarded by this opinion of his sanctity, than by his military forces. After reigning twenty-nine years, he died greatly lamented by all good men.

DORNADILLA, the fourth King, began his reign B. C. 261.

He left behind him a son and successor, called Dornadilla; who, in point of equity resembled his father, but was very unlike him in the other parts of his life. For he spent much of his time in hunting, as judging that exercise to be not only proper and healthful in a time of peace, but also very beneficial to harden the body for war. By this exercise, the mind indeed receives the purest pleasures, and is mightily strengthened against covetousness, luxury, and other vices, which spring from idleness. Report says, that the laws about hunting, which the old Scots observe to this day, were of his institution. He died in the twenty-eighth year of his reign.

NOTHATUS, the fifth King, began his reign B. C. 233.

After his death, the people placed his brother, Nothatus, on the throne; because his own son Reuther was too young for such a charge. This Nothatus changed the form of government, which till then had been moderate, and bounded with laws, into an arbitrary domination; and, as if his subjects had been given him to prey upon, not to defend, he punished high and low, promiscuously, with forfeiture of goods, banishment, death, and every kind of misery, so that scarcely any addition could be made to his cruelty. By these severities most of the people were rendered abject; which made one Dowal, of Galloway, an ambitious man, think it a seasonable opportunity to advance himself, particularly as he knew that his own life was insidiously aimed at by the king. Accordingly, having prepared every thing for his purpose, and being accompanied by a great number of his vassals and friends, he presented himself before the tyrant, and openly upbraided him with having murdered the nobility, confiscated their goods and estates, and enslaved the commonalty; at the same time demanding of him the surrender of the kingdom, which he was unable to manage, to the right heir. Nothatus, though thus unexpectedly insulted, was not confounded, but answered peremptorily, that he would maintain what he had done, by his kingly prerogative; adding, that if he had carried it somewhat despotically, it was to be imputed not to his own disposition, but to the contumacy of his subjects, who had compelled him thereto.

These taunts increased the animosities between them, so that at last it came to blows, and Nothatus was slain by Dowal and his partisans, after he had reigned cruelly and avariciously twenty years.

REUTHER, *the sixth King, began his reign B. C. 213.*

This done, Reuther was made king by the party of Dowal, without the suffrages of the people. The nobles hearing of it, though they judged Nothatus to have merited the worst of punishments, yet did not approve so bad an example; which they resented the more, because, instead of calling a public convention, the choice of the chief magistrate had been assumed at the will and pleasure of one man. Besides, they thought it wrong in him thus to advance a young man to the chief power, who was as yet unfit to rule. Some, however, who had more penetration than the rest, saw that only the name of king would be given to Reuther, while the whole power would reside in Dowal. Perhaps, indeed, it did not much concern the people, whether Nothatus or Dowal were king, unless they hoped for a more tolerable life under him; who, being a private man, durst venture to murder his king, and so deliver over the sceptre to another in a covert manner, than under one who was not so extreme or cruel in his government, till, availing himself of their permission, he should become powerful, and possessed of an army. The kindred of Nothatus, in consequence of the reports which were spread abroad, insinuated themselves into the company of those who were disaffected at what was going on; and at last prevailed so far, that war should be declared against Dowal; and that Ferchard, the son-in-law of Nothatus, should be general of their army. Dowal was not backward on his part, but fought two battles in one day; in the last of which he was unsuccessful, and though superior in number, yet his followers were beaten and put to flight, more being slain in the pursuit than in the action. Dowal himself fell with the chief of his faction, and also Gethus, the king of the Picts, with many of his men. Reuther, the new king, was taken prisoner, and pardoned, out of respect to his youth, the memory of his father, and the royal blood which ran in his veins. Neither was the victory unbloody, even to the conquerors, almost all the chiefs of the clans being slain, together with many of the soldiers. This conflict reduced the interests of the Scots and Picts to such a low state, that the survivors fled into desert and mountainous places, and even into the neighbouring islands, lest they should become a prey to the Britons; who, having now got the opportunity which they had long thirsted after, penetrated into the country, as far as Bodotria, now called Forth, without any resistance. After making a little settlement there, they went forward against the Caledonians, and having dispersed those who had collected to oppose them, they seized upon the plain countries of the Picts, wherein they placed garrisons; then, thinking the war to be at an end, they returned home with their army. In the mean time, the scattered Scots and Picts, who had retired to the mountains, woods, and other inaccessible places, harassed the governors of castles and garrisons by robbing them of their cattle and sustenance; and being increased by the accession of greater forces from the islands, they sometimes burnt villages, and plundered far and near, so that the ground was left without tillage in many places. The Britons, either being detained by internal dissensions, or not thinking it prudent to lead their army into such difficult and almost inaccessible places, where the force of the enemy was equal to their own, did, by these slow proceedings, increase the boldness of their opponents. The Scots and Picts were thus miserably afflicted twelve years, during which period a new race of warlike youths grew up, inured, by the great straits which they had undergone, to a hardy life. Messengers were now despatched in various quarters, calling upon the people to fresh exertions. Reuther, in consequence, crossed from Ireland into the *Æbudæ*, and thence into Albium. Having landed his forces in the bay now called Loch-Brien, he there joined with his brother-in-law Gethus, the son of the elder Gethus, and these two consulted together concerning the management of the war. In the issue of this conference, it was deemed best to approach the enemy secretly, whilst unprepared. When they encountered each other, the service was so hot, and the fight so sharp, that neither army had reason to boast; so

that both of them, being wearied with slaughter, made peace for some years. Reuther, or (as Bede calls him) Reuda, returned to his ancient seat of Argyle; and the Scots were, a long time after, from him, called Dalreudini; for Daal, in the old Scottish language, signifieth a part, as some say, or a meadow or plain, as others affirm. From thence this chief made a farther progress, and in a short time enlarged his dominions to their ancient bounds. After a reign of twenty-six years, he died, leaving by his wife, the third daughter of old Gethus, a son named Thereus.

REUTHA, the seventh King, began his reign B. C. 187.

As Thereus was yet hardly ten years old, and therefore too young to undertake the kingdom, according to the established law of succession, his father's brother Reutha was declared king. This prince, being free from wars abroad, endeavoured to reduce the people, who were grown almost wild by their former sufferings, and also insolent upon their late victory, though a bloody one, into a milder carriage and deportment. Accordingly he enacted many public and profitable laws, of which not a few yet remain amongst the Scots. After reigning so well seventeen years, revered and beloved by all; either for want of health, as he alleged, or else fearing the ambitious nature of his nephew Thereus, he resigned the government. The people, however, were with difficulty brought to give their consent to this measure; and on his retirement from the regal state, there was a large panegyric made in his praise.

THEREUS, the eighth King, began his reign B. C. 170.

Thereus was substituted in his stead. In the first six years of his reign, he so managed the government, that Reutha's predictions concerning him seemed to be true. But at the expiration of that time, he ran headlong into all manner of vice, putting the nobles to death upon false charges, and suffering lewd fellows, without fear, to range over all the kingdom, committing rapine and robbery at their pleasure. The Phylarchi, or chiefs of the clans, lamenting the deplorable state of the country, determined to proceed judicially against Thereus, of which being apprized, he fled to the Britons; among whom, without any hope of a return, he ended his days in contempt and ignominy. In the mean time, Conan, a prudent and regular person, was elected viceroy; who restored and strengthened what the other had impaired and weakened. He also checked the licentiousness of robbers; and put affairs into as good order as he could. While thus engaged, the intelligence arrived of the death of Thereus, upon which, in a public assembly or convention of the states, he abdicated the magistracy, about the twelfth year after the accession of that prince.

JOSINA, the ninth King, began his reign B. C. 161.

On the death of Thereus, Josina, his brother, was raised to the seat of government. He did nothing memorable in any other way than that of patronizing the practitioners of medicine; because, when he was banished with his father into Ireland, persons of that profession had been his chief companions. In consequence of this, the nobility followed the humour of the king, so that for many ages there was scarce a person of distinction in Scotland who was not skilled in the art of curing wounds; there being then but little call for the other parts of physic amongst men who were educated parsimoniously, and inured to labour and toil. This king died in a good old age, having reigned twenty-four years.

FINNAN, the tenth King, began his reign, B. C. 137.

His son Finnan succeeded him, who walked in his father's steps, and endeavoured principally to accustom his subjects to a just and moderate government. He laboured to maintain his regal authority more by good-will than force; and in order to cut up the root of tyranny, he made a decree, "That kings should determine or command nothing of great concern or importance without the authority of their great council." He died beloved both by his subjects and foreigners, after a reign of thirty years. He is said to have been much devoted to the Druidical superstitions.

DURSTUS, the eleventh King, began to reign B. C. 107

Nothing so much aggravated the loss of Finnan, as the profligate and debauched life of his son Durstus, who succeeded him. In the first place, he banished from his presence the friends of his father, as the troublesome controllers of his pleasures; then he made the most corrupt youth his familiar associates, and gave himself wholly up to wine and women. He also repudiated his wife, the daughter of the king of the Britons, and even prostituted her to his minions. At length, perceiving that the nobility were conspiring against him, he seemed to awake out of a deep sleep; but, aware that he was not safe at home, nor knowing where, if banished, to find a secure place abroad, in regard he was so hated both by his subjects and strangers too, he thought it his best course to pretend a repentance of his former evil life, by that means thinking he might retain the regal government, and in time be also revenged of his enemies. Accordingly, in the first place, he recalled his wife, thinking thereby to make friends of the Britons. He next assembled the chiefs of his subjects, and, under a solemn oath to do so no more, he obtained an amnesty for what was past. He also committed notorious criminals to prison, as if he had reserved them for farther punishment; and religiously promised, that for the future he would do nothing without the counsel of his nobles. When, by these arts, he had made others believe that he was a true convert, he celebrated this reconciliation and concord with plays, feastings, and other entertainments proper for public rejoicings. Thus while all men's minds were elated, he invited the nobility to supper; and then, having secured them in one place, unarmed and fearing nothing, he sent in his ruffians, who destroyed every one of them. This perfidly, instead of daunting the rest with fear, raised and inflamed their anger; wherefore, gathering a great army, they all conspired to rid the earth of so foul a monster. Durstus perceiving that all other hope failed him, now resolved to try his fortune in a battle, assisted by a few who had been led to join him from the fear of punishment for the wickedness of their former lives. In this fight Durstus was slain, after he had reigned nine years; and though all orders and estates were justly incensed against him, yet they paid so much deference to the regal character, and the memory of his family, that they interred him with his predecessors.

EVENUS, the twelfth King, began to reign B. C. 98.

After this there was a very great contest, in a public assembly of the nobles, some alleging, that, according to their oath made to king Fergus, the ancient custom was to be observed; others fearing, that if they made any one of the kindred of Durstus king, either the similitude of manners would incline him to the same wickedness, or else the propinquity of blood would induce him to study revenge. At last, Evenus, cousin-german, by the father's side, to Durstus, on account of his character, and his extreme hatred against that tyrant, to avoid whom he had sought an asylum among the Picts, was sent for, and unanimously elected king. He is said to have been the first who made his subjects take an oath of allegiance to him, which custom is yet retained by the heads of the clans. Evenus, that he might rectify the manners of his subjects, which were depraved by the former king, brought back the youth to the ancient simplicity in diet, apparel, and conversation; thinking that thereby they would be more valiant in war, and obedient in peace. He diligently visited all parts of his kingdom, administering justice with great moderation, and punishing offenders according to their demerits. He assisted the king of the Picts with aid against the Britons, betwixt whom was fought a long and cruel battle till night parted them; the victory being so uncertain, that both armies separated with equal slaughter and fear. The Britons returned home, while the Scots and Picts retired into the adjacent mountains; but the day after, perceiving, from the high grounds, the flight of their enemies, they came and gathered up the spoils, which they carried away as if they had been the conquerors. Evenus having repelled his enemies, again betook himself to the arts of peace; and that his successors might not have the trouble to travel over the country so often for the administering justice, as

was then the custom, he divided the kingdom into circuits, and settled ordinary judges to do that work. He also appointed informers to bring in accusations against the guilty; but that office being found odious, was either abrogated by a law, or became obsolete by custom. He died in the nineteenth year of his reign, leaving a base-born son, called Gillus, a man of craft and ambition.

GILLUS, the thirteenth King, began his reign B. C. 79.

There were at this time living of the blood-royal, two legitimate twins, Dochamus and Dorgallus, the sons of Durstus. Though their age could not be the cause of the difference, yet there arose a deadly feud between them concerning the kingdom; which was also farther increased by the fraud of Gillus. The matter being referred to the arbitration of their kindred, such was the obstinacy of the factions, that nothing could be determined. Gillus advised each of them to kill his rival, but finding that his secret counsel took no effect, he assembled the chief of the nobles and his kindred, under the pretext of settling the difference; but while they were deliberating, certain persons planted there for the purpose contrived to raise a tumult, and the two brothers were slain. Gillus, counterfeiting fear for his own life, implored the aid of all that were present, and afterwards fled to Evonium, a place that had been fortified by king Evenus. Having garrisoned this fort with some of the nobility, and other persons, he from an elevated place in the castle made a long oration to the people, who in great multitudes were gathered about him, concerning the rashness and obstinacy of the two brothers; and at the same time inveighing also against the assassins by whom they were killed. In the conclusion he told them, that he was left by Evenus guardian of the kingdom, as well as of his domestic affairs, till a new sovereign should be chosen. When the people heard this, though they believed it false, yet when they saw him so strong, for fear of a greater mischief, they instantly swore fealty to him, and declared him king. But though he had secured the consent of the people, still, not thinking himself safe from the posterity of Durstus, as long as any of them were alive, he resolved to destroy his nephews. Of these children of Dochamus, the son of Durstus, there now remained three, whose names were, Lismorus, Gormachus, and Ederus. These youths were educated in the Isle of Man, whither Gillus went, on pretence of bringing them home; and to the two elder he behaved with great reverence and respect, carrying them with him into Albium, under the artful plea, that as they were of a royal stock, they should be brought up in his court, suitable to their princely quality. As for Ederus, the younger, he left him guarded by soldiers, who were to kill him on an appointed day. But the disposition of Gillus being well known to all, the nurse, suspecting treachery to be hatching against the child, conveyed him by night secretly into the country of Argyle, where she bred him up for some years privately in a cave under ground. Gillus being exasperated by his disappointment, put the two eldest brothers, together with their keepers, to death: but on being informed that Ederus was conveyed to Ireland, he gave over making any farther search after him. His cruelty, however, rested not here; for though he had slain the nephews of Durstus, yet, not judging himself sufficiently secure as long as any one of the royal progeny was left alive, he caused all those who bore any alliance or friendship to them to be also put to death. The nobles, grieved at this state of affairs, and thinking that what was bad at present, would gradually become worse, entered into a combination against him, and carried the matter with so much secrecy, that a war was begun against Gillus, before he had notice that any preparations were making towards it. But in levying an army against his opposers, he soon perceived how inconstant the fealty of man is toward wicked and flagitious princes: for there were very few who came to him at his summons; and those who did were such dissolute characters as were afraid of peace, on account of the wickedness of their former lives. Gillus, therefore, distrustful his forces, left his army, and passed in a fishing-boat over to Ireland. In the mean time, the Scots, that they might not be without a legal government, made Cadwal, the chief of those who had combined against Gillus, their

viceroy; to whom, upon an accommodation, the forces of his enemy submitted, and were received into his protection. When Cadwal understood that Gillus was about to renew the war, and, in order to it, was raising as many debauched persons as he could, he resolved to prevent him before he could gather an army, and so to pursue him wheresoever he fled. The first thing he did was to sail into the *Æbudæ*, or *Hebrides*; where he caused Ederus, the only branch of the family of Durstus then alive, to be brought to him, and gave orders for his liberal and royal education. Gillus, on hearing this, returned again into Ireland; and there engaged the clans of that nation to attempt his restoration, promising, in case of success, to give them the *Æbudæ* islands for their reward; by which allurements he collected a great army. Cadwal in the mean time having prepared all things for his enterprise, was suddenly called back, to clear himself from a false suspicion of affecting or aspiring to the kingly government.

EVENUS II. the fourteenth King, began his reign B. C. 77.

Under these circumstances, Cadwal in the first place exerted himself in procuring the election of Evenus, an eminent person, and the son of Doval, brother to king Finnan, to the regal title. Evenus having accepted the government, caused all places which were exposed to his enemies, especially those on the coast, to be filled with strong garrisons, that so his enemies might not without resistance make a sudden descent into his kingdom. Gillus, apprized of this, altered his resolution, and sailed to the isle of Isla, where he wasted the country all around with fire and sword, and then returned into Ireland. Evenus sent a great army thither, under the command of Cadwal, that so he might cut the enemy off at the fountain head. Gillus on his part was not inactive; but being deserted by his men, who followed him for booty rather than affection, he changed his apparel, and, with a small company, fled into a neighbouring wood. The rest of the army, being thus deserted both by their general and fellow-soldiers, yielded to Cadwal. After the battle was ended, they sought a long time for Gillus, and at last found him in a dark cave, where he was slain, the third year after the commencement of his reign, and his head was brought to Cadwal. But though matters were thus happily settled in Ireland, Cadwal was far from fortunate in his passage, for being tossed up and down in a grievous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his army, and all the spoils they had gotten. This misfortune affected his spirits to such a degree, that not long after he died of grief. The king endeavoured in vain to comfort him, by extolling him for his valour and success in war, and casting all his miseries upon the perverseness of fortune. The new monarch, elated by this success, renewed a peace with the Picts; and, to secure it, took to wife the daughter of Getus, the third king of that nation. But the sudden arrival and landing in Albium of the people of Orkney, quickly disturbed the public joy. Evenus, however, fell suddenly upon them, drove them out of the field to the mountains, and from thence to the sea; where in their fright and hurry, whilst crowding and hindering one another in endeavouring to embark again, they all perished; and Belus, their king, despairing to obtain quarter, slew himself. Evenus, having finished the war, returned to the work of peace, and founded two towns for trade in convenient places, namely, Inverlochy and Inverness, both of them receiving their names from rivers running near them; for Enner, amongst the ancient Scots, signifies a place where ships may come to land. Evenus also subdued the inhabitants of the *Æbudæ*, who, by reason of their long wars, were grown extremely licentious and quarrelsome. After reconciling their animosities, and appeasing their disturbances, the king soon after died, having reigned seventeen years.

EDERUS, the fifteenth King, began his reign B. C. 60.

On the decease of Evenus, Ederus, the son of Dochamus, was made king, who, whilst he was reaping the sweet fruits of peace, which had been established both at home and abroad, and giving himself up, according to the ancient custom of the nation, to the sports of the field, received the sudden news, that one Bredius, an islander, related to the tyrant Gillus, had landed with a great army,

and was plundering the country. Upon this, Ederus presently collected his forces in considerable numbers, with whom he marched as silently as he could in the night, and having passed by the camp of his enemies, set upon their ships in the road, which, by this surprise, were easily mastered, and burnt. In the morning, he led his army against the camp, which he easily took, for the soldiers being negligent, and in disorder, many were slain on the spot, hesitating whether to fight or fly; while the rest, having their escape by sea prevented by the burning of their ships, were taken and executed. Where the booty could be ascertained, it was restored to the owners. A few years after this, another of the kindred of Gillus, and from the same island, raised a similar commotion, with the like event and success; for his army was overthrown, his fleet burnt, and the plunder recovered. Thus having settled a firm peace, Ederus, being very old, fell sick, and died in the 48th year of his reign.

EVENUS III. the sixteenth King, began to reign B. C. 12.

He was succeeded by Evenus III. a son unworthy of so good a father, for not content with one hundred concubines of the noblest families, he published his impurities and his shame to the world. For he made decrees by which every man might marry as many wives as he was able to maintain; and he also enacted, that before the marriage of a nobleman's daughter, the king should have one night's lodging with her; while the nobles should enjoy the like privilege in regard to the wives and daughters of their vassals. Luxury, cruelty, and covetousness, followed, as they commonly do, this flagitious wickedness. For the income and revenue of the king not answering his expense, he contrived, upon pretended causes, to put the wealthier part of his subjects to death. He also encouraged thieves, and went shares with them, so that criminals were never punished. Thus the favour which he at first gained by indulging young men in promiscuous lusts, was again lost by his cruelty and rapaciousness. A conspiracy of the nobles being formed against him, he soon perceived that the pretended friendship and union of the wicked was not to be relied upon. For, as soon as his soldiers came to fight, he was deserted by them, and fell alive into the hands of his enemies, by whom he was thrown into the common gaol; and, at the requisition of Cadallanus, who succeeded him as regent, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. But there one of his enemies, either out of some old grudge for injuries received from him, or else hoping to gain favour or impunity by the murder of the king, strangled him by night in the prison, when he had reigned seven years. The murderer, however, was executed for his wickedness.

METELLANUS the seventeenth King, began his reign B. C. 4.

Metellanus, the relative of Ederus, succeeded Evenus in the throne; a prince no less dear to all for his excellent virtues, than his predecessor was hated by them for his abominable vices. He was so highly prized and esteemed on account of his amiable character, that, during his reign, there was peace both at home and abroad. But it was some alloy to his happiness, that he could not abrogate the filthy laws of Evenus, being hindered by his nobility, who were too much addicted to luxury. His demise was in the thirtieth year of his reign.

CARACTACUS, the eighteenth King, began his reign A. D. 35.

On the death of Metellanus, without issue, the kingdom was conferred on Caractacus, the son of Cadallanus, a young man of the royal blood. Soon after his accession to the throne, he reduced to submission, but not without trouble, the people of the Æbudæ islands, who had raised commotions upon the death of their last king. Yet here I cannot easily believe what our writers, following Orosius, Eutropius, and Bede, relate, viz. That the Orcades were subdued by Claudius Cæsar, in this reign. Not that I think it a very hard thing for him to attempt a few islands, one by one, which lay scattered up and down in a stormy sea, and having but a few, and those unarmed, inhabitants to defend them, who could not mutually help one another; nor do I think

it incredible, that a navy might be sent by Claudius on that expedition, he being a man, as Orosius says, who sought for war and victory all the world over; but because Tacitus affirms, that, before the coming of Julius Agricola into Britain, that part of it was utterly unknown to the Romans, the story is improbable. This Caractacus reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by his brother

CORBRED, the nineteenth King, who began to reign A. D. 55.

He also subdued the islanders in many expeditions, a people that, almost in every interregnum, affected innovation, and excited new tumults. He likewise quite suppressed the banditti, which most infested the commonalty. Having settled peace, he returned to Albium, and making his progress over all Scotland, repaired the places that had been injured by war, and, in the eighteenth year of his reign, departed this life.

DARDANUS, the twentieth King, began his reign A. D. 72.

On the death of Corbred, the convention of states placed Dardanus, the nephew of Metellanus, on the throne, passing by the son of the late king, because of his young and tender years. No man before him ever came to the crown, of whom greater expectations were conceived, and no one ever more egregiously deceived the hopes of the people. Previous to his accession, he gave great proof of liberality, temperance, and fortitude; so that at the beginning of his reign he was a tolerably good king; but, by the time he had sat three years on the throne, he ran headlong into all sorts of wickedness. He banished the sober and prudent counsellors of his predecessor, because they were adverse to his lewd practices. Only flatterers, and such as could invent new pleasures, were his bosom friends. Cardor, his own kinsman, who had been chief justice and chancellor in the former reign, was put to death, for venturing to remonstrate with him on account of his licentiousness. After this, many other persons, merely on account of their virtue or wealth, were, on various pretences, deprived of life. At last, to free himself from the fears of a successor, he formed the resolution of destroying Corbred Galdus, his kinsman, and also his brothers, who were royally educated with a view to the kingdom. The charge of this assassination was committed to Cormorac, one of his intimate friends. This man, being prevailed with by many gifts, but more promises, was sent to perpetrate the villany; but attempting it with less caution than such a butchery required, he was taken in the attempt, with a naked falchion in his hand, by some of the people of Galdus; and on being put to the torture, made a full confession of the crime, and so was executed immediately. This wicked plot being divulged abroad, occasioned a general combination of nearly all classes of people against the king: insomuch that having slain many of those who were panders to his lust, as fast as they could be met with, they endeavoured at last to make their way to the tyrant himself, as the source and fountain of all mischief. In the mean time, Conan, one of the king's parasites, a man of mean descent, but highly esteemed and intrusted by his master, levied some troops, and had the confidence to send them against the nobles; but, being deserted by them, he was taken and hanged. The commons, having now obtained Galdus for their general, seized upon Dardanus, who was seeking for a hiding-place to secure himself. Just as they were about to take him, he attempted suicide; but, being prevented, was brought to Galdus, who caused him to be immediately put to death. His head was carried about in mockery, and his body thrown into a common sewer, after a reign of four years.

CORBRED II. the twenty-first King, began to reign A. D. 76.

Corbred II. surnamed Galdus, succeeded him; a prince equally dear to the lords and the common people, as well for the early proofs which he had given of his personal virtue and promising ingenuity, as for the memory of his worthy father. Some imagine, that he was that Galgacus who is mentioned by Tacitus, and that he was surnamed Galdus by the Scots, because he had been educated amongst the Britons. For the Scots, according to their ancient custom, term all strangers Galds, or Galls; as the Germans call them

Wals, as I have already shewn more at large. After presuming the government, he increased the great hopes which had been preconceived of him; for, making an expedition into the islands of Sky and Lewis, he quelled the seditions which had been lately raised there, and suffered to gather to a head, by the negligence of Dardanus. He also distinguished himself in this like a good prince, with a due and prudent mixture of mercy and severity. He put to death the leaders of those banditti, and forced the rest, for fear of punishment, either to go into voluntary exile, or else to return to their former rural employments. He, as I believe, was the first of the Scottish kings that ever advanced his ensigns against the Romans, who had, by little and little, extended their empire even to his very borders. For Petilius Cerealis first broke the forces of the Brigantes, and his successor Julius Frontinus conquered the Silures.

It is very probable, that the Scots and Picts sent succours to those nations which lay near their dominions. Julius Agricola, who succeeded the former generals, having overcome the Ordovices and reduced the isle of Mona or Man, when he came to the narrowest part of Britain, thinking that it was not far to the end of the island, was encouraged to undertake the conquest of the whole. Accordingly, in the third year after his arrival, he invaded and plundered the neighbouring countries of the Scots and Picts, until he came to the river Tay; and though his army was much distressed by the rigour of the season, yet he had time to build forts in all places convenient for defence; by which means he defeated the designs of his enemies, and withal broke their force. For hitherto the adverse party, being men inured to hardship, would, though they lost ground every summer, very frequently recover it back again in winter, when the Roman legions were dispersed into winter-quarters: and sometimes they would assault and take those castles and garrisons of the enemy which were not sufficiently fortified. At this time, however, by the skill of Agricola in building forts, and by his diligence in making them defensible, but chiefly by relieving them with his forces every year, their attempts were defeated. In the fourth year of his government, perceiving that the friths of the Forth and Clyde were only divided by a small tract of land, he fortified that part with garrisons, and then spoiled the countries which lay towards the Irish sea. In his fifth year, he fitted out a fleet, with which he made descents in many places, and after plundering the maritime coasts, erected fortifications, and placed garrisons in them on a line opposite to Ireland, with a view not only for present advantage, but also that he might from thence more easily transport an army to that country. By this prudence of Agricola, the Scots and Picts were shut up in a narrow corner, and being thus secluded from any commerce with the Britons, prepared themselves for the last great shock, the decisive blow; neither was Agricola less careful, but commanding his navy to fetch a compass about, to discover the utmost parts of the island, he led his army beyond the Forth, and drew towards the Caledonians. The enemy being here drawn as in a desperate case to their last hazard, assaulted some of the Roman garrisons; who were struck with such terror, that some of them, fearing either the number of their foes, or their obstinacy, were of opinion, that it would be best for them to retreat with their army into a place of greater safety. But the general, being resolved to fight, when he was informed that the enemy approached him in three brigades, drew towards them, after dividing his army into three squadrons, which project had nearly proved his utter ruin. For the enemy, perceiving his design, concentrated their entire force, and made an assault on one of his legions by night, and having killed the sentinels, were almost in possession of the whole camp. But the timely arrival of the other legions put a stop to their progress, and after fighting desperately till daylight, they were at length put to flight, and retreated into the mountains and woods. These actions happened about the eighth year of the expedition of Agricola. Both parties now prepared themselves, as for the finishing stroke, against the ensuing spring: the Romans judging, that one victory would put an end to the war; and their opponents considering their all to be at stake; and that they were to fight for their liberty, lives, and for all that is dear and sacred amongst men. Reflecting therefore, that in former battles they were overcome by stratagem rather than

valour, they betook themselves to the higher grounds; and, at the foot of Mount Grampius, waited the approach of the Romans. There a bloody fight began betwixt them; and the victory hung a great while in suspense; till at last, all the valiant men of the Caledonians being slain, the rest, dispirited, were forced to retreat to their fastnesses. After this battle, Agricola would doubtless have completed the subjugation of all Britain, had he not been called home by Domitian; not to do him honour on account of his victories, though that was the pretext, but to accomplish his destruction and death. On his departure, sedition rose very high in the Roman camp; which greatly rejoiced the Scots and Picts, who being much encouraged thereby, began to creep out of their hiding places, and perceiving that the Romans had neither the same general nor discipline as before, they sent messengers about to try the inclination, not only of their own countrymen, but likewise of the Britons. Thus emboldened by the advantages which they obtained in some small skirmishes, they began to take fresh courage, and ventured to assault garrisons; till at last, with a regular army, they resolved to run the hazard of a pitched battle. By this means the Romans were driven out of their territories, and forced, with doubtful success, to contend with the Britons for their ancient province. Galdus having gained a respite from arms, made a progress over all the districts of the country, and resettled the old owners in their habitations, which had been almost destroyed by the war, while in those parts that were wholly depopulated, he placed his soldiers. He restrained the robberies which were very prevalent in his time, and composed the differences that had begun to arise betwixt his people and the Picts. At length, in great glory and esteem, both with friends and foes, he died in the thirty-fifth year of his reign.

LUCTACUS, the twenty-second King, began his reign A. D. 110.

This good father was succeeded by Luctacus, who was as had a son; for, despising the counsel of his nobles, he gave himself wholly up to wine and women. Neither nearness of alliance, reverence of the laws, respect of nobility, or of conjugal relation, could restrain him from violating those unfortunate persons whose beauty attracted his notice. Besides this, he was brutally cruel, and insatiably covetous. The young, who are always inclinable to the worse, too soon and too easily degenerated into the manners of their king. So that at last, after defiling the nation with lust, rapine, and slaughter, when no single man durst oppose his exorbitant power; an assembly of the states was convened, in which some of the nobles spoke so freely concerning the state of the kingdom, that he commanded them, as seditious persons, to be led out to execution. This raised the people against him in such numbers that both he and the hated ministers of his vices were slain, when he had scarcely finished the third year of his reign. Out of honour to his father, his body was allowed to be interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors; but his associates were ignominiously exposed, and had not the privilege of common burial.

MOGALDUS, or MOGALLUS, the twenty-third King, began his reign A. D. 113.

After him, Mogaldus the grandson of Galdus, and nephew to Lactacus by the mother's side, was elected king. At the beginning of his reign he equalled the best of princes; but, when he grew older, he was tainted with vices, and degenerated into the manners of his uncle. At his first entrance on the government, that he might with the greater ease reform those vicious practices of his predecessor, which had even corrupted the public manners, he made peace with his neighbours; restored the ancient ceremonies in religion, which had been carelessly neglected; banished all disorderly characters from court, and did every thing by the advice of the estates, according to the ancient custom; which deportment procured him the love of his people, and the respect of foreigners. Having settled matters at home, he next turned his mind to warlike affairs, drove the Romans from the borders of his own kingdom; and sent troops to assist the Picts against them. He also gained some prosperous battles, by which he so weakened the Roman power, that the Britons, being encouraged in the hope of recovering their

liberty, took up arms in many places. This confidence increased, when the Emperor Adrian recalled Julius Severus, a brave and skilful warrior, out of Britain into Syria, to quell the seditions of the Jews. The tumults occasioned hereby, increased to such a pitch, that at last Adrian himself was forced to cross from Gaul into Britain. But he, being a greater lover of peace than war, desired rather to maintain the bounds of his empire, than to enlarge them. Whereupon, when he came to York, and found the country beyond it harassed by hostilities, he resolved to take a particular view of the devastation, and so marched his army to the river Tyne. Here, being informed by the old soldiers who had followed Agricola nearly to the utmost bounds of Britain, that there would be more pains than profit in conquering the rest of the island, he built a wall and trench for the space of eighty miles, between the friths of the Tyne and Esk, to exclude the Scots and Picts; and having settled the state of the province, returned back from whence he came. Here I cannot but remark incidentally, that since there yet remain several marks of this wall in many places, it is wonderful how Bede should have omitted all mention of it; especially as *Ælius Spartianus* hath taken notice of it, in the life of Adrian; and also *Herodian*, in that of Severus. I cannot persuade myself that Bede could be so mistaken, to think, as many yet do, that this wall was not made by Adrian, but by Severus.

The Roman province being placed in a state of security, the excursions of their neighbours were prevented, and peace was kept up between them for a great while. The Britons readily cherished it, and the Scots and Picts obtained hereby an opportunity of dividing the neighbouring lands amongst themselves. But this peace, besides the prejudice it did to the body, by weakening its vigour, through sloth and idleness, also enervated the mind, by the allurements of pleasure, which then began to cunsnare it. For by this means *Mogaldus*, who had been hitherto unconquered in war, forgetting the glory of his ancestors, ran headlong into all kinds of vice; and, besides other pernicious and foul miscarriages prejudicial to the public, made a most iniquitous law, "That the estates of such as were condemned should be forfeited to his exchequer, no part thereof being allotted to their wives or children." This law is yet observed and pleaded for by the officers of the revenue, who are willing to gratify the passions of the king, though the original framers of it then did, and those who now support it, do know, that it is an unjust and inhuman institution. *Mogaldus* having thus made himself obnoxious and hateful to the nobles and commons, being unable to resist their combinations, with one or two of his companions sought by flight to escape from their fury; but before he could execute his project, he was taken, and put to death, after a reign of thirty-six years. This was about the sixth year of the reign of the Emperor Antoninus Pius.

CONARUS, the twenty-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 149.

Conarus his son succeeded him, who began his reign very ill, and concluded it as unhappily. For he was not only conscious and privy to, but also a partner in, the conspiracy against his father. However, to cover his faults, at the outset there happened to break out a war, very opportunely for him. The Britons, having passed the boundary, and taken away great store of men and cattle, Conarus, by the advice of his council, joined his army with that of the Picts, crossed Adrian's wall in many places, and made great havock in the country of the depredators; with whose forces and the Romans he maintained a great and bloody battle. The slaughter was almost equal on both sides, which occasioned peace betwixt them till the next year. As, however, the Romans were not the victors in this conflict, they regarded it in the light of a defeat, and even looked upon themselves in a manner as conquered. Their own forces being much lessened, and Adrian putting no great confidence in the Britons, who, as he found, conceived some hopes of liberty from his misfortunes, sent to Antoninus Pius for reinforcements; laying the blame of the violation of the peace upon the Scots and Picts, and of the loss and slaughter of his men, upon his allies. Upon this, the emperor sent over *Lollius Urbicus* as lieutenant-general, who overcame the enemy in a sanguinary conflict, and drove them beyond the wall of Adrian, which he caused to

be repaired. Afterwards there was a cessation of arms for many years, as if a silent truce had been made: for the Romans judging it sufficient for their purpose to keep the enemy from ravaging and plundering, fixed their camp on the borders; and Conarus, who loved nothing in war but the licentiousness that was the consequence of it, made haste to return home, that he might devote himself to pleasure: and now those vices, which he had before concealed, in order to gain the love of others, began to appear openly. And having, by his art of dissimulation, made the kingdom sure to him, he was just as profuse in spending his immense treasures for the gratification of his inordinate passions, as his ancestors had been diligent and industrious in procuring them; inasmuch, that in a very short time he was reduced to great want. At length, convening an assembly of the estates, he made a long and plausible oration on the grandeur and splendour which was necessary for kings, and complained of the lowness of his exchequer; thus covering his vices under the specious name of gallantry and magnificence. He also became an earnest suitor, that a valuation of every man's estate should be made, and a proportionable tax imposed on each individual. This speech was very disagreeable to all who heard it, and they answered, that the matter was of more moment than to be determined on a sudden. The estates, having obtained a short time for consultation, upon asking every particular man's opinion, soon found, that this new device of demanding such a vast sum of money, did not proceed from the nobles, but from some court parasites; and accordingly they agreed to place the king, as being unfit to reign, under restraint, till, on his abjuration, they should appoint another in his stead. When they met the next day, he who was first demanded to give his vote, made a sharp speech and invective against the former part of the king's life, saying, that bawds, parasites, minstrels, and troops of harlots, were not fit instruments for government, as being not only useless in war, and troublesome in peace, but costly, and full of infamy and disgrace. He added, that it was a false complaint that the income of the king was not sufficient for his expense; since it had enabled a great number of their former sovereigns to appear formidable to their enemies in war, and to live nobly and splendidly in time of peace. But if any were of opinion that the public revenue was too narrow, then, said he, let an addition be made, not out of the pockets of the subjects, but from the king's domestic patrimony. He farther added, that the measure of expense was not to be taken from the lust and exorbitant desires of men, which were infinite, but from the ability of the people, and the real necessities of nature; and therefore it was his opinion, that those villains, upon whom the public patrimony was conferred, and for whose sake the king had ruined so many worthy persons of good rank and quality, by despoiling them of their estates, and putting them to death, should be compelled, by law, and torture too, to refund that to the lawful owners, which they had unjustly gained as the reward of their flattery. In the mean time, he advised, that the king should be kept a prisoner, till they could substitute another, who would not only inure himself to thrift, but also teach men, by his example, to live hardily and parsimoniously, as his forefathers had done; that so the strict discipline, received from their ancestors, might be transmitted to posterity.

This speech, as it was sharp enough of itself, so it seemed more cutting to those who had tender ears, and were unaccustomed to such free and bold discourses. The king, on his part, did not endeavour to allay the heats of his people by fair and gentle words, but rather, by fierce and menacing expressions, did the more vehemently inflame and provoke them. These disputes and contentions raised the commotion to such a height, that some who were next the king laid hands on him, and conveyed him, with a few others, to a cave under ground, where they imprisoned them. The courtiers who had been the authors of such wicked counsels, were presently put to death; and, to prevent any tumult of the common people upon this dissolution of the bonds of government, one Argadus, a nobleman, was made viceroy, till a public convention should assemble, to set up a new king. Argadus, though in the beginning of his administration he settled all things with great equity, and thereby procured much commendation by his moderate deportment; yet

when his mind was corrupted by prosperity, he soon lost all the credit of his former meritorious life. For he encouraged domestic factions, and strengthened his authority by foreign aids, having such great familiarity with the chief of the Picts, that he took a wife from amongst them, and gave his daughters to them in marriage; by which practice it soon appeared that he aspired to the crown. These things being laid to his charge in a public assembly, wherein he was much blamed for his sudden degeneracy and apostasy, he was altogether ashamed, and, conscious of the truth of the accusation, burst into tears. As soon as his weeping gave him liberty to speak, being unable to purge himself from the alleged crimes, he craved mercy, and humbly deprecated the punishment of his offences; "which," said he, "if I can obtain, I will recompense and make amends for my errors in government, by my future care, industry, and valour." These things he humbly supplicated upon his knees, so that the anger of the nobles being now turned into pity, they lifted him up from the ground, and directed that he should continue in the government, remitting his own punishment to himself; feeling well satisfied on their part, if he did now truly and heartily repent of what he had hitherto done amiss. From that day forward, Argadus assembled the wisest men of the whole kingdom about him, and did nothing but by their advice. During the remainder of his magistracy, he also enacted many laws for the good of the public; of which the chief was, the laying a restraint on the powers of the provincial judges, and forbidding them to pass the same sentence upon all offenders, without regard to the measure of the crime, or alleviating circumstances. He also either corrected, or put to death, flagitious persons; and amended the public manners, which had been corrupted through a long course of licentiousness, not only by inflicting legal punishments on transgressors of the laws, but by affording them the leading example of his own regular life. Whilst these things were acting, Conarus, partly afflicted with grief, and partly worn out by diseases, ended his loathsome and ignominious life in prison, in the fourteenth year of his reign.

Ethodius, the twenty-fifth King, began his reign A. D. 163.

Ethodius, who was set up in his stead, was the sister's son of Mogaldus. He immediately called a convention of the estates, to whom he highly extolled Argadus; and, after bestowing on him great honours and large rewards, made him prime minister for the direction of the government. Having taken a survey of his dominions, according to custom, he sailed over to the Æbudæ islands, where Argadus was appointed to quell the disturbers of the public peace; who soon suppressed them, and brought them prisoners to the king. After putting down these combustions, he returned into Albium; but the islanders, freed by his absence from their present fears, deceived also by false reports, that he was engaged in a foreign war, and provoked besides, rather than suppressed, by the punishment of their associates, began to raise new tumults. Argadus, upon this, was again sent over to suppress them, but, in the battle that ensued, he was treacherously slain. This blow made the king lay aside other business, to proceed thither in person, where he so wasted them with some light occasional skirmishes, and by frequent alarms and inroads, that, feeling their inferiority in force, they retired into a valley, encompassed on all sides with craggy rocks, having only one passage leading to it, that so the conveniency of the place, as they thought, might contribute to their safety. Ethodius, perceiving that the enemy had, by this step, reduced themselves to a strait, disposed his guards in fit avenues; and also made a wall and a ditch at the mouth of the passage; by which means they were brought to such an extreme scarcity, as to be under the necessity of yielding themselves up at discretion. They were willing to accept of any conditions; but the king gave them only these, that two hundred of them, such as he chose, with their general, should be surrendered to him, and the rest return home. The punishment of those who were thus given up, being instantly inflicted, had almost raised a new sedition; for the common soldiers were so enraged at the terrible spectacle, that, for want of arms, they threw stones at the king's troops; which tumultuous fury produced much bloodshed. Thus Ethodius, having

settled peace every where, in order to the administration of justice, made a progress all over his kingdom, greatly delighting himself in hunting by the way; for which sport he made many laws, of which a great part are observed to this day. His end was melancholy, for the Irish musician or harper, who lay all night in his chamber, according to the custom of the Scottish nobility, slew him, out of revenge, for having, as he said, put a kinsman of his to death. The murderer, when he was led forth to execution, was so unconcerned at his torture, that he seemed to rejoice, as if he had only done his duty, and acted his part with applause.

SATRAEL, the twenty-sixth King, began to reign A. D. 195.

Ethodius being thus slain, when he had reigned near thirty-three years, and his son being not of age to govern, his brother Satrael was elected king. This wan, who was of a depraved, but cunning disposition, endeavoured to establish the kingdom in his own family, and to destroy the sons of Ethodius; in order whereunto, those nobles who were most dear to that monarch, were, by calumnies purposely devised, set aside and put to death. Afterwards, because the commoners regretted the slaughter of their nobles, he began to oppress them also; which matter, in a little time, increased the general hatred conceived against him to such a degree, and so diminished his authority, that tumults and seditions were the consequences. As he durst not appear to suppress them, because he knew that he lay under a public odium, he kept himself private in his own house, where he was slain by his own men in the night, after reigning four years.

DONALD I. the twenty-seventh King, began his reign A. D. 199.

Donald, another brother of Ethodius, was set up in his room, who exhibited in his whole character a perfect contrast to the vices of Satrael, by as great and many opposite virtues. This prince's clemency, joined with his love of equity, did very much enhance the value of his other excellencies. He, by the terror and weight of his authority, and also by inflicting punishments promptly, quelled all intestine commotions; and in order that the soldiery, who were before wanton and idle, and spoiled by luxury, might be rendered more ready to resist an enemy, he caused a muster of them to be made, and accustomed them to training and exercising their arms, and military discipline, by which means, in a short time, the new recruits equalled the valour of the veteran troops. The peace which he enjoyed abroad, greatly forwarded his purposes. The Roman legions, some few years before, had made a mutiny in Britain, as desiring any other general rather than Commodus, and especially Ælius Pertinax, who had been sent to suppress them; so that leaving the Scots and Picts, they turned their arms against one another. It was also a farther advantage to the pacific objects of Donald, that he, first of all the Scottish kings, embraced the Christian religion; though neither himself nor some of his successors, even with the assistance of a great part of the nobility, who favoured the design, could wholly extirpate the old heathenish rites and ceremonies. But the expedition of the emperor Severus, which happened in his time, greatly disturbed all his measures, both public and private. For Severus, being very skilful in military affairs, brought more forces into Britain, with a view to the conquest of the island, than ever any Roman general had done before. Among other causes for this expedition, one was the dissolute conduct of his sons, occasioned by the vices reigning in Rome, and the effeminacy of the army, the consequence of sloth and want of employment. To remedy these mischiefs, he thought it best to put them upon action. Soon after his arrival, the private tumults, which were then breaking forth, were suppressed, and the Scots and Picts, leaving the countries near the enemy, retreated to places of greater safety, and more difficult of access. Severus, that he might, once for all, put an end to the British wars, led his army through all the waste places that had been abandoned by their former inhabitants, against the Caledonians. Though these enemies did not dare to give him battle in the field, he was much incommoded by the coldness of the country, and underwent a great deal of trouble, felling woods, levelling hills, filling up the marshy grounds, and erecting bridges over rivers, to make a

passage for his army. In the mean time, the Caledonians, too fearful to fight so great a multitude in a pitched battle, left, scattered about, herds of cattle, on purpose to delay and draw off the Romans, who, for the sake of the booty, were easily enticed to stray far from their camp. Accordingly, many being thus dispersed, were taken in the ambushes laid for them, while others, injured by continual rains, or wearied with long marches, were not able to follow, and fell in many places by their companions, that so they might not fall alive into the hands of their enemies. But though the Romans, according to Dion, lost fifty thousand of their soldiers, they did not give up their enterprise till they had penetrated even to the end and extreme bounds of the island. As for Severus himself, though he was so sick during this whole expedition, as to be carried in a covered horse-litter; yet, by his incredible firmness and perseverance, he compelled his enemies to accept conditions of peace, and to yield up to him no small part of their country. He also built a wall, as a mound to the Roman empire, between the friths of Forth and Clyde; where Agricola, before him, had also determined to bound their province. This wall, in that part which toucheth the river Carron, had a garrison on it, so situated, and the ways and passages so laid out, that it was like a small city; which some of our countrymen, by mistake, think to be Maldon; but it is more probable, that this was the city which Bede calls Guidi. A few years before this was written, some footsteps of trenches, walls, and streets, appeared; neither yet are the walls so demolished, but that they discover themselves visibly in many places; and when the earth is a little dug up, square stones are drawn out, which the owners of the neighbouring countries use in building their houses. Nay, sometimes stones with inscriptions on them are found, which shew that it was a Roman pile of building. These words of *Ælius Spartianus* demonstrate the noble grandeur of the structure; "He strengthened Britain by a wall drawn across the island, from sea to sea, which is the greatest ornament of the empire." By these words he seems to intimate, that it was not a trench, as Bede would have it, but a wall; especially since he gives such a commendation to a work, which is shorter by half than the wall of Adrian. Nay, this fortification, at the nearest distance, is yet eighty miles from the wall of Adrian. There are also other indications of the place, if I mistake not; for, a little below that garrison of which I have spoken, is a round edifice on the opposite side the Carron, made of square stones, heaped on one another, without lime or mortar. It is not larger than a small pigeon-house; the top of it is open, but the other parts are whole, save that the upper lintel of the door, wherein the name of the builder is thought to have been inscribed, was taken away by Edward I. king of England; who did also, as much as he could, invidiously deface all the rest of the old Scottish monuments. Some think, and have written, though erroneously, that this structure was the temple of *Claudius Cæsar*. But my conjecture is rather, that it was the temple of the heathen god *Terminus*. There are also, on the left bank of the same river, two hillocks, or barrows of earth, raised, as it sufficiently appears, by the hands of men in a small plain. A great part of the lesser one, which inclines more to the west, is swept away by the washings and overflowings of the river. The neighbouring inhabitants still call the parts *Duni Pacis*. Peace being again procured by this division of the island, and all matters being accommodated in some measure, Donald departed this life, having, according to one account, reigned 21 years, but 18 according to others. He was the first king of Scotland that coined money of gold and silver.

ETHODIUS II. the twenty-eighth King, began to reign A. D. 216.

Ethodius II. son of the former king of that name, but of weak intellects, succeeded Donald. Though he was of too languid and soft a disposition for the government of such a fierce and warlike people, yet the nobles, in a convention, bore that reverence to the progeny of king Fergus, that, notwithstanding his sloth, since he was not guilty of any notorious wickedness, they continued to obey him as their monarch. But they set deputies over all the provinces, to administer justice there; whose moderation and equity did so regulate matters, that Scotland was never in a more pacific state. For they not only punished offenders, but prevented the immoderate covetousness of

the king from proving a burden to the people. Ethodius, in the twenty-first year of his reign, was slain in a tumult of his own officers.

ATHIRCO, the twenty-ninth King, began to reign A. D. 231.

As Athirco, his son, manifested greater ingenuity than is usually found in such a youthful age, he was therefore made king. By his manly exercises in riding, throwing the dart, and vying with his young courtiers in feats of arms, as also by his bounty and courteous demeanour, he won to himself the love of all. But his vices increasing with his age, by his excessive avarice, peevishness, luxury, and sloth, he so alienated the minds of good men from him, that the more the sons were delighted with his nefarious practices, the more their fathers were offended by them. At last a conspiracy of the nobles was formed against him, occasioned by one Nathalocus, a nobleman, whose daughter, being first deflowered by him, and then ignominiously beaten with rods, he prostituted to those ruffians who were about him. Athirco endeavoured to defend himself against the conspirators; but perceiving that his force was too weak, and that his domestics forsook him on account of his lewd practices, he laid violent hands on himself, in the twelfth year of his reign. After his death, Dorus, either because he was his brother, or else had been a pander to his lust, fearing lest the nobles, in the heat of their provocation, should exercise their rage upon all the royal lineage, saved himself by flight, with his three young nephews, Findochus, Carantius, and Donald. Neither was he mistaken in his opinion; for Nathalocus, who had received so signal an injury, not content with the exile of Dorus, suborned emissaries to kill him, and the children of his brother who were with him among the Picts. But these assassins on their arrival meeting a person who very much resembled Dorus in stature and physiognomy, slew him by mistake.

NATHALOCUS, the thirtieth King, began his reign A. D. 242.

Nathalocus, thinking that he had slain the man who stood most in his way, offered himself as the first candidate for the kingdom of Scotland. A great part of the nobility were against him; yet, by means of promises and bribes, he carried his point, and was elected to the sovereignty. But his manner of governing the kingdom was not better than the means by which he procured it. Suspecting that the nobility, in the public conventions, were adverse to him, he employed only as his ministers such plebeians, as, from their audaciousness and perjury, he knew would easily incline to any wickedness. Besides the suspicions just mentioned, he was encountered with a far more grievous one; for, by intercepting letters directed to some of the chief nobles, he understood that Dorus, and the children of Athirco, were still alive, and brought up amongst the Picts, in hopes of the kingdom. To avoid this danger, he invited those nobles of whom he was most jealous, to come to him, pretending he had need of their advice in the public affairs of the kingdom. When they were assembled, he shut them up in prison, and the next night caused them all to be strangled. But that which he hoped would cure his fears, proved a firebrand to raise up another conspiracy. The friends of those who were murdered, being apprehensive of danger to themselves, and grieving for the loss of their relations and kindred, unanimously took up arms against the tyrant; who whilst he was raising an army to oppose them, was slain by one of his own domestics, about the twelfth year of his reign. Some of our countrymen add a tale in the case, which is more handsomely contrived than likely to be true. They say, that the man who slew Nathalocus, having been sent by him to soothsayers, to inquire concerning his victories, life, and kingdom, an old witch answered, "That the king should not live long, and that his danger would arise, not from his enemies, but from his domestics." When he pressed the woman, "From which of them?" she replied, "Even from thyself, man." Upon this, he cursed the woman; but in his way home, in a great agitation, he thought with himself, that her answer could not be concealed; and that as it was not safe for him to declare it, lest he should render himself suspected to the king, who was a depraved person, and guided wholly by his fears; therefore it seemed to him a safer course, to gain the favour of many, by killing the tyrant, than to preserve him at the hazard of his own life. Pre-

gently, after his return, having obtained leave for a private audience to declare the answer of the oracle, or conjurer, he slew the king, who had just entered upon the twelfth year of his reign; and so the man freed his country from bondage, and himself from danger.

FINDOCHUS, the thirty-first King, began his reign A. D. 253.

When the death of the last king was made public, the sons of Athircio were recalled home. Findochus the eldest, besides being of the royal family, was also happy in several rich gifts of nature. He was exceedingly handsome, tall of stature, and in the flower of his age; and having, besides all these accomplishments, the recommendation of enduring adversity heroically, he was chosen king. Neither did he deceive the expectations of the people: for in his ordinary deportment he was very courteous; in administering justice, equal and impartial; and a conscientious performer of all his promises. But Donald the islander, being weary of peace, sailed over with a numerous army into Albium; and making havock of the villages where he came, returned home with a great booty. His pretence for the war was to revenge the death of king Nathalocus. Findochus speedily raised an army against him, and transporting them into the island, overthrew Donald in battle, and forced him to fly for refuge to his ships; so that many were slain in the fight, and others were drowned, whilst they endeavoured in a hurry to get on shipboard. The boat in which Donald himself endeavoured to escape, sunk by being overloaded, and so he perished. However, the islanders, not disheartened with this overthrow, after the departure of the king, sent for forces out of Ireland, and renewed the war, making Donald his son their general, in the room of his father: under whom they again made a descent upon the main land, and carried away much booty. Upon this, Findochus again conveyed his troops into the *Abudæ* isles, and going through all of them, inflicted severe punishment on the plunderers; and having overthrown the forts into which they were wont to fly, he made such a slaughter of the men, and carried away so much plunder, that he left many of the islands almost desolate. After his departure, Donald, who had fled for safety into Ireland, returned from thence, and endeavoured to recruit his armies, but found the population so lessened, that he gave up the thoughts of engaging in an open war, and resolved to adopt guile and stratagem. In prosecution of this design, and yet not daring to trust the king, though he had given him the public faith for his security, he sent to him two of his friends, persons both bold and crafty, as with a secret message. On coming to Findochus, they boasted of their lineage and descent, and withal grievously complained of the wrongs which they had received from Donald; but as the king did not believe them, they applied themselves to Carantius his brother, a shallow and ambitious person. Being admitted into an intimate familiarity with him, they were, by his means, made acquainted with the secret affairs of the state and commonwealth; and after feeling his pulse, and finding out his disposition, they ventured at last to tell him, that they were sent over purposely to kill the king. He hearing this, and looking upon the crown as made sure to him by the wickedness of other men, shewed them all the countenance and favour imaginable. Every thing being prepared for the perpetration of the designed murder; whilst the king was hearing one of them relate the various adventures of his life, and his people were busy in running to see a wild beast of an extraordinary size, the other assassin thrust him through the breast with a hunting-spear, and so murdered him. This black and execrable deed occasioned a great clamour, and brought together a mighty concourse of people: some take up their dying king; others pursue the murderers, who were luckily caught, and executed according to their impious deserts; yet they were not put to death before they had been racked; by which means they confessed the design of Donald, and the wickedness of Carantius, who had withdrawn himself to dissemble the matter. Upon this discovery, the traitor fled to the Britons; who, on being made acquainted with the cause of his exile, abhorred him for his wickedness, in consequence of which he went over to the Roman camp.

DONALD II. the thirty-second King, began to reign A. D. 264.

The best of men, as well as of kings, being thus treacherously slain in the eleventh year of his reign, Donald, the youngest of his three brothers, was placed on the throne in his stead. Whilst preparing to revenge his brother's death, word was brought to him that Donald the islander had entered Murray, not now as a robber, but as a king. Upon this, he collected immediately a few soldiers, who were near at hand, leaving orders for the rest to follow, and marched directly towards the enemy. Donald, the usurper, being informed by his spies that the king had but a small force with him, continued his march day and night, and by that means prevented the news of his approach. The king being thus surprised, and seeing that he could not avoid a battle, performed more than could have been expected from such a handful of men; but at length he was overcome by numbers, and fell, grievously wounded, with thirty of his principal nobility, into the hands of the enemy. About three thousand men were slain in the fight, and two thousand taken. The king died within three days; either of his wounds, or of grief for the overthrow, having scarcely reigned one complete year.

DONALD III. the thirty-third King, began to reign A. D. 265.

Upon his death, Donald the islander, who had before usurped, without the least right, the regal title, now assumed also the whole state of a legitimate king. This advantage he was the more induced to take, by relying on the fears of the nobility, whose relations he retained as prisoners, and threatened, in case of opposition, to put to death. He was a tyrant in his government, and cruel to all his subjects, without any discrimination: for he was not content, by an edict, to forbid any others to bear arms, but his own servants and officers too. Besides all this, he caused several noblemen to suffer a violent death, because he considered their destruction as necessary to the establishment of his throne. He also proceeded to sow seeds of discord amongst those who survived his barbarity; neither did he think any sight more agreeable than the mutual slaughter of his subjects; counting their ruin as his gain, and judging himself freed from so many enemies as were slain, out of both armies. Being afraid of nothing more than the union of his people against him, he kept himself commonly within the verge of his own palace; and, conscious of the wrong he had done to all, he was as much afraid of them as they were of him, for which reason he seldom went abroad. After these miseries had lasted twelve years, Crathilinus, the son of king Findochus, with much search was found out, to revenge the public wrongs and calamities. He had been bred up privately with his foster-father, and was believed to be dead. Having few about him, equal to him in strength or cunning, and dissembling his name and his lineage, he first applied himself to court, where he was received into near familiarity by the king, who, on account of the dexterity of his wit, made him his principal favourite. At last, when all things succeeded according to his desire, he discovered his quality to a few confidential friends; and having imparted to them his design, a small party was collected, which induced him to seize a convenient opportunity to slay Donald, and depart privately with his associates.

CRATHILINUS, the thirty-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 277.

When the death of the tyrant became known, both the fact, and the perpetrators of it, were extolled to the skies with a general acclamation. Crathilinus, therefore, upon the discovery and legal proof of his descent, was made king, with more unanimity and applause than ever any one had been before him, especially as he had been the author, not only of their liberty, but of their safety also. At the beginning of his reign, by public consent, he caused the children and kindred of the tyrant to be put to death, that thereby he might extirpate tyranny to the very root. He afterwards made a progress over all his kingdom, according to custom, to administer justice; and he repaired, as carefully as he could, the damage done by Donald. Having thus established peace at home and abroad, he spent his leisure hours in hunting, agreeable to the manner of the age and country, Being on Mount Grampius,

at this royal sport, near the borders of the Picts, he very nobly entertained the gallant youths of that nation who came to visit him. Not content with that friendship which had been betwixt them, grounded on old acquaintance, and strengthened by a mutual peace, he took them also into a nearer acquaintance and a closer familiarity; but this intimacy had nearly proved his ruin. The Picts having stolen a favourite dog, belonging to the king, the keeper sought the animal, but just as he had discovered where it was concealed, he was killed in the endeavour to recover it. Upon this, a great uproar arose, and a multitude of both parties gathered together, between whom there was a sharp combat, and many were slain on both sides; amongst whom were not a few of the young nobility of each nation. By this means were sown the seeds of a most cruel war between the Scots and the Picts; for, from that day forward, they infested each other with hostile incursions, and never gave over till they met in the field with complete armies. Neither could peace be made up between them upon any terms, though both kings desired it. For though they were not ignorant how dangerous it was for them to be at war one with another, the Romans and Britons being their perpetual enemies and assailants; yet they were so infuriated, and set upon the desire of revenge, that, whilst they were eager on that account, they were inattentive to the public calamity impending on them both; so that unless Carausius, a Roman exile, and of mean descent, but a good soldier, had interposed, they had fought it out to the last man, even till the two nations had been utterly destroyed. This Carausius, being sent by Dioclesian to that part of the coast of Gaul, where Boulogne now stands, to defend Belgic Armorica from the incursions of the Franks and Saxons, after he had taken many of the barbarians, would neither give up the spoil to the provincials, the right owners, nor yet send it to the emperor. This gave umbrage, because it appeared that he purposely allowed the barbarians to plunder, in order that he might rob them at their return, and enrich himself with the spoil. For this reason, Maximianus commanded him to be slain; but he, assuming the imperial authority, seized upon Britain; and to strengthen his party against Bassianus, the Roman lieutenant-general, reconciled the discords betwixt the Scots and Picts, and entered into a firm league and alliance with them both. The Romans made many attempts against him; but, by his skill in military affairs, he defeated all their designs. When he had replaced the Scots and Picts in possession of those lands which they formerly held, he was slain by his companion Allectus, after reigning seven years. Allectus then reigned three years, and was slain by Asclepiodotus; and thus Britain was restored to the Romans, in the twelfth year after its revolt. But neither Asclepiodotus, nor his successor Constantius Chlorus, did any memorable thing in Britain; only the latter had Constantine, afterwards emperor, by Helena his concubine. Amidst these transactions, died Crathinthus, after a reign of twenty-four years. He purged the land from the idolatrous superstition of the Druids, and planted the pure Christian religion in its stead.

FINCORMACH, the thirty-fifth King, began his reign A. D. 301.

Fincormach, his cousin-german, succeeded him, who not only performed many brilliant exploits against the Romans, by the aid of the Britons and Picts, but gained some battles over them without any auxiliaries. At length, when the Romans, after being weakened by their civil wars at home, and perpetual molestations abroad, had obtained a little quiet, the Scots were also glad to embrace a peace; who, being thereby freed from external cares, principally endeavoured to promote the Christian religion. They embraced this occasion for it, because many of the British Christians, being afraid of the cruelty of Dioclesian, had fled hither; amongst whom some persons, eminent for learning and integrity of life, fixed their abode in Scotland, where they led a solitary life, with such an opinion of their sanctity, that, when they died, their cells were changed into temples or churches. From hence the custom subsequently arose, amongst the ancient Scots, of giving temples the name of cells. This sort of religious men were called Culdees, whose name and distinction continued till a later kind of monastics, divided into many orders, expelled them; yet these last were as far inferior to the former in learning

and piety, as they exceeded them in wealth, ceremonies, and pomp of outward worship; by all which they pleased the eye, but infatuated the mind.

Fincormach, having settled affairs in Scotland with great equity, and reduced his subjects to a more civil kind of life, left this world in the 47th year of his reign.

ROMACHUS, the thirty-sixth King, began his reign A. D. 348.

After his death there was a great contest about the kingdom between three cousin-germans, the sons of the three brothers of Crathilinthus, whose names were Romachus, Fethelmachus, and Angusianus, or rather Æneanus. Romachus alleged that his father was the eldest of the three brothers of Crathilinthus, and his mother a descendant from the blood-royal of the Picts; as also, that he himself was of a stirring and active disposition, and likely to procure friends and allies.

Angusianus set up his plea on account of his age and experience in the world, as also his admirable deportment, to which was added the favour of the people. But his principal ground consisted in the circumstance, that Fethelmachus, who was before his competitor, now relinquished all claim in his favour. This contention appeared likely to be decided by arms, for nothing could be concluded in the first convention of the estates, and when that was dissolved, the whole kingdom was divided into two factions. Romachus, upon this, being the least popular, called in the forces of the Picts to his assistance, that so he might strengthen himself by foreign aid.

Angusianus being informed that ambushes were laid for him, judged it better, once for all, to try the issue of a battle, than to live in perpetual solicitude and fear. For this end, gathering his party into a body, he fought with Romachus; but being overcome, he and Fethelmachus fled together into the *Abudre* islands.

But perceiving that he could not be safe there, because his prowess rendered him formidable to the heads of the factions, and that he was also amongst a people naturally mercenary, and easily corrupted by the promises of Romachus, he fled into Ireland with his friends. Romachus having thus got rid of his rival, and obtained the kingdom, rather by force than the good will of the people, exercised his power with a tyrannical sway over his enemies. To give a colour of law to his proceedings, when he went about the country to hold the assizes, he asked no counsel of others, as was usual, but took all capital causes into his own cognizance; so that he made great execution amongst the people, and struck a panic fear into the hearts of all good men. At length, when every one was wearied by the evil state of affairs, the nobility formed a sudden combination against him; and, before he could gather his forces together, he was taken in his flight to the Picts, and put to death in the third year of his reign. His head being fastened to the top of a pole, was carried about much to the joy of the people.

ANGUSIANUS, the thirty-seventh King, began his reign A. D. 351.

After this, Angusianus was recalled, by general consent, to rule the kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, those who had acted as the ministers of cruelty and covetousness to Romachus, being afraid to live under a good king, stirred up Nectamus, king of the Picts, to make war upon him, in revenge of his kinsman. Angusianus, being a lover of peace, sent ambassadors at different times to advise the Picts, that both nations would be much injured by these divisions, particularly as the Britons only watched for an opportunity to destroy them both. But these remonstrances were ineffectual and made no impression on the Picts, either out of confidence of their strength, or out of anger and vexation of spirit. So that perceiving them to be averse from peace, Angusianus led forth his army against them; and, after a sharp conflict, obtained the victory. The king of the Picts made his escape, with a few of his people; and, after recovering a little from his fear, being inflamed with rage and fury, he persuaded his subjects, though with great difficulty, to raise a new army: with which he marched into Caledonia. Angusianus once more offered terms of peace; but no regard being given to his proposals, he adjourned with his forces to meet the enemy. The fight was

maintained with equal obstinacy on both sides; one striving to retain their acquired glory, the other endeavouring to wipe away the ignominy and disgrace which they had received. At length, Angusianus being slain, the Scots broke their ranks and ran away. Neither was the day unbloody to the Picts; for their king likewise, and all his valiant warriors, fell in the battle. The loss, therefore, in a manner, being equal on both sides, occasioned a peace between them for some short time. Angusianus reigned little above one year.

FETHELMACHUS, *the thirty-eighth King, began his reign A. D. 353.*

Fethelmachus, who was made king in room of Angusianus, had scarcely reigned two years, when he levied an army, and committed great ravages in the country of the Picts. At length the two armies met, and a great slaughter ensued on both sides. The main body of the Picts, having lost both wings, were almost surrounded and taken; yet their fate was not unrevenged. The king of the Picts died of his wounds three days after. The Scots followed up their victory, and, having no army to withstand them, made a great spoil all over the country: for the Picts, having received so great a blow, never durst oppose them with their whole force; but only sent out small parties as time and place suited, to harass the straggling troops of their enemy; that so they might not plunder far from home. In the mean time, one Hergustus, a crafty man, having undertaken the command of the Picts, being inferior in force, applied himself to fraud; for he sent two of his countrymen, under the pretext of being Scots, to kill the king. They, according to their instructions, treated with a certain musician about the murder; for persons of that description were wont then to lodge in the chambers of princes and noblemen, to amuse them while awake, and also to lull them to sleep: which custom still continues, in all the British isles, amongst the old Scots. Accordingly, on a night agreed upon between them, the Picts were introduced by this minstrel, and so murdered the king as privately as they could; yet they did not manage it so secretly, but that the king's attendants were awakened by hearing his dying groans; in consequence of which they pursued the villains, who escaped to a steep rock, where they hurled stones down upon their pursuers: notwithstanding which they were taken and executed.

EUGENIUS, or EVENUS I. *the thirty-ninth King, began his reign A. D. 357.*

Fethelmachus being thus slain, in the third year of his reign, Eugenius, or rather Evenus, the son of Fincormachus, succeeded him. About this time, Maximus, the Roman general, thinking to conquer the whole island, if he could destroy both the Scots and Picts, first of all courted the latter, who were then the weaker party, and therefore more ready to treat with him. These he allured with vain promises, that, if they would continue faithful in their alliance with the Romans, they should have the land of the Scots, with other possessions, divided amongst them. The Picts caught this bait, and, being blinded by anger, desirous of revenge, and regardless of consequences, joined their forces with the Romans, and spoiled the country of the Scots. The first battle fought between them was at Cree, a river of Galloway; and as the Scots were few in number, they were easily overcome; and being thus put to flight, the Romans pursued them in every direction, without any order, so sure were they of victory. In the mean time, the Argyle men, and some other forces of the remote parts, who were coming up to join with their vanquished friends, fell so fiercely upon the scattered troops of the Romans, that they made a great slaughter amongst them. Eugenius collected those of his troops whom he could recall from flight; and having summoned a council of war, was advised, that since his forces were not sufficient to carry on the war, to return to Carrick. But as Maximus was pursuing his victory, word was brought him, that all was in a flame in the interior parts of Britain. The Scots were glad of his departure, as being eased of a great part of their enemies, and though they were scarcely able to defend their own, yet, between anger and hope, they resolved, before the summer was past, to perform some great exploit against their nearest antagonists. Accordingly, they poured in the remainder of their forces upon the Picts; putting, in their progress, all they met, without distinction, to fire and sword. Maximus,

though he threatened and spoke contemptuously of the Scots, yet, being equally joyful at the destruction of both nations, as soon as he found an opportunity, marched against the former, on pretence of revenging the wrongs done by them to the Picts. The Scots, on the other side, having now to fight, not for glory, empire, or booty, but for their country, fortune, lives, and whatever is near and dear to men, drew together all that were able to bear arms; even women as well as men, according to the custom of the nation, prepared for the last encounter, and pitched their tents not far from the river Down, and near the camp of their enemies. Both armies being arrayed in order of battle, first of all, the auxiliaries set upon the Scots, where some fighting in hope, others incited by despair, there was a very sharp, though short, engagement. At length the Picts and Britons were repulsed with great loss, and would certainly have been wholly routed and put to flight, if seasonable relief had not come to them from the Romans. But Maximus bringing on his legions, the Scots being inferior in number, as well as in the use of arms and military discipline, were driven back and almost ruined. Their king, Eugenius himself, was slain fighting, being unwilling to survive his soldiers; and the greatest part of his nobles fell with him, as loath to forsake their monarch. Maximus, having obtained this victory sooner than he expected, and scarcely finding any on whom he might vent his fury, returned to his former clemency: for after marching over many provinces of the Scots, he granted mercy to such as yielded themselves, and caused them to till the land; withal adding his commands, that they should be contented with their own, and not offend their neighbours. The Picts resented this clemency, by alleging that the Romans and their allies would never obtain a firm or solid peace as long as the nation of the Scots, a people who were always unquiet, and took every opportunity to plunder, remained alive. They added, further, that Britain would never be secure whilst any of the Scottish blood remained in it: that they were like wild beasts, who would not be tamed by any act of kindness, nor would they be at peace, let them suffer ever so many losses; so that there could be no end of war, till the whole nation was extinguished. Maximus urged many things in reply to these barbarous demands, saying, it was the ancient custom of the Romans, when they overcame any nation, instead of extirpating them, to make many of them denizens of their city; that though they had almost conquered the whole world, yet never any people were wholly eradicated by them; and that he himself, having slain the Scottish king, with the flower of his army, had so quelled them, that now they were no longer to be feared, but rather pitied by their enemies. He farther observed, that his hatred against the Scots was as great as their's; but that if they considered the matter well, it would be a much more joyful spectacle, to behold them living in misery, than to triumph over their graves; for that it was a more grievous punishment to linger out a dying life, than, by one death, to put an end to all suffering. This was the sum of his discourse, not so much out of affection for the Scots, as in dislike of the cruelty of the Picts. Moreover, he had an eye to the future, as judging that it would be extremely hazardous to the Roman province, were the forces of the Picts to be doubled by the extirpation of the Scots. Notwithstanding all this, the Picts so plied him with complaints, supplications, and gifts, that at length they obtained an edict from him, requiring all the Scots to depart out of Britain by a certain day, under penalty of having every man that was found there after that time put to death. Their country was then divided betwixt the Picts and Britons. Thus the surviving Scots, as every man's fortune led him, were scattered over Ireland, the Æbudæ islands, through Norway, and the Cimbric Chersonesus, being kindly received every where by the inhabitants. Now the Picts, though they made public profession of the Christian religion, yet could not forbear committing injuries against the priests and monks; who, in that age, were held in great veneration. These poor ecclesiastics, therefore, were dispersed into all the countries round about, and many of them went into Icolmkill, one of the Æbudæ islands, where, being collected together in a monastery, they obtained, and transmitted to posterity, a high opinion of their piety and holiness. The rest of the Scots being afflicted by wars, exiled from their country, and in despair of returning thither again; were stimulated by the inhabitants

of the *Æbudæ* isles, a people of a fierce and unquiet nature, idle, poor, and though abundantly numerous, yet wanting necessaries to attempt something of themselves. Accordingly, having collected a flotilla of small vessels and boats under Gillo their commander, they landed on the coast of Argyle; where, after effecting a descent, they dispersed and scattered themselves about the country, which was almost wholly destitute of inhabitants, to collect booty, but while so employed, they were attacked by the Picts, then in garrison there, for the support of the people; and their retreat being cut off, the invaders were slain to a man. Their whole navy was also taken, and kept for service against the islanders.

Not long after, those Scots who had fled to Ireland, partly out of remembrance of their old alliance, and partly out of commiseration of their fortune, easily prevailed with a nation, naturally inclined to war and plunder, to afford them aid to recover their country and ancient patrimony. Ten thousand auxiliaries were allowed them, who, landing in that part of Scotland which is opposite to Ireland, struck a great terror into the people all over the country. But while elated with their first success, and consulting how to carry on the war, the Albine Scots, well knowing the strength of the Romans, and how much they exceeded other nations in skill and military affairs, would have persuaded them to be content with their present victory, and to return home with their booty, and not stay till all Britain should be gathered together to assault them. They advised also, that since the forces of all Ireland, if they had been there, could not withstand the Roman army, which, by its conduct and valour had almost subdued the universe; therefore they should deal with them, not by open force, but by subtlety. It would be best, they said, to watch opportunities; and since they could not match their enemy in numbers, force, or military skill, to tire them out with toil and labour; and that this was the only method of rightly managing the war with them. The Irish Scots, on the other side, blamed those of Albium, whose former valour was now grown so languid, that though they were the offspring of those who had almost overthrown whole armies of the Romans, yet could not now look them in the face. Nay, there were some of the Albine Scots themselves of the same opinion, alleging, that the method of war, proposed by their countrymen, was vain and frivolous, serving only to gall the enemy, but not to recover their own country; and that therefore they ought to follow, their good fortune, and not think of returning, till they had attained their end. They observed, that by acting thus, no doubt Providence, that had favoured them with such prosperous beginnings, would bless their arms, so as to lessen the power of the enemy, either by raising up new tumults among the Britons, or by calling off the Roman legions to a war nearer home. They added, that the occasion now offered was not to be neglected, lest hereafter it might be sought for in vain. This opinion prevailed, and so they joyfully returned to their purpose. Thus, whilst in the hope of recovering what they had been deprived of, they indulged their own will, rather rashly than prudently, being immediately overpowered by greater forces, and losing the best part of their men. This slaughter being made known in Ireland, cut off all expectation of the return of the Scots, and made the Irish fear, lest they also should not long retain their liberty; so that after many consultations, they could find no way more advisable, than that of sending ambassadors into Britain, to make peace with the Romans on the best conditions they could procure. At their arrival, Maximus severely rebuked them, for having, without provocation, brought upon themselves the Roman arms. The ambassadors, in excuse, laid the blame on the rude rabble, and so they obtained pardon. Peace was then made on these conditions, that the Hibernians, should henceforward maintain an amicable relation with the Romans, and avoid giving shelter either to their enemies, or those of their allies. The Hibernians, having thus obtained better terms than they expected, returned joyfully home. That which inclined Maximus to make this easy pacification, was, not the fear of the Hibernians, for he little regarded any disturbance they could give him, but the ambitious projects which occupied his mind, made him willing to leave Britain not only quiet and free from war, but impressed with affection and gratitude. When he perceived that after the

defeat and slaughter of so many armies, the forces of the empire were shattered and weakened by their civil commotions; and that in consequence the imperial dignity was no longer conferred by the senate and people, but by the soldiery, he naturally thought that his being the first to conquer Britain, together with his other military exploits, gave him a fair prospect of attaining that elevation. In this posture of affairs, therefore, he determined, if fortune offered him an opportunity, to seize the diadem, and to omit nothing for the attainment of so glorious an object. Prompted by this hope, he treated his soldiers with great affability, and bestowed on them many gifts; he also consulted, in all his important affairs, the noblest of the Britons, recruited his army from the native troops, and committed several garrisons, in various places, to their charge. The lands of the Scots were likewise divided by him betwixt the Picts and the Britons. To the Picts he left their ancient possessions free; only exacting a small tribute from the remotest corner of the Scottish kingdom, which he had given to them as a testimony, according to his own representation, that all Britain had been by him partly overcome, and partly settled in a condition of peace. By these artifices he strangely won the affection of the common soldiers: so that all things being in readiness, according to his expectations, he assumed the purple, pretending that he had been compelled so to do by his soldiers. After him, Constantine was chosen general by the Britons, being recommended only upon the account of his name; for otherwise he was originally no more than a common soldier. When he was slain, Gratian, a person descended of British blood, ruled over the island. But Maximus being killed in Italy, and Gratian in Britain, Victorinus was sent from Rome to govern Britain as lieutenant. He, affecting to enlarge the empire during his administration, commanded the Picts, who were reduced into the form of a province, to use the Roman laws, and inflicted a great penalty upon those who dared to do otherwise. Besides this, when Hergustus, their king, died during the agitation of these things, he forbade them to choose a successor, or to set up any other magistrate, except such as should be sent from Rome. This the Picts looked upon as a great slavery, and began, though too late, and to no purpose, to resent it. They complained of having been basely and unworthily betrayed by a nation nearly related to, and in amity with, them; and that though sometimes they were at variance, yet they were their associates, at all hazards, against a foreign enemy. It appeared now, however, that they suffered according to their demerits, in having deprived themselves, not only of all aid, but even of all mercy and pity. For who could be concerned at their calamity, that called to mind to what miseries and necessities they had reduced their ancient friends? The oracle, which foretold that the Picts in time should be extirpated by the Scots, was now realized, and the former were punished for their treacherous conduct towards their brethren: nay, the judgment which had fallen upon them was the greater of the two, since exile is more tolerable than servitude. Banished men are still in some sense free; but the Picts were goaded with reflecting, that the evils they endured were brought upon themselves by their own misconduct. In this calamitous condition, that they might have one to resort to, and to hold a consultation with, for the remedying of these miseries, they created Durstus, the son of Hergustus, for their king. The nobles being assembled about him to provide, a remedy for their sufferings, expressed by their complaints the severity of the bondage they endured. They alleged, that they were now not in an imaginary, but a real slavery; that they were shut up within the wall of Severus, as wild beasts, separated from all human commerce; and that all their soldiers, under the splendid name of war, were in fact drawn out as cattle for the slaughter: that, besides the hatred of the neighbouring nations, they were bitterly reproached by the monks, who exclaimed that the Almighty justly despised and rejected their prayers, for having so cruelly persecuted his ministers, though they were their brethren, and of the same religion with themselves, in that they would not suffer them, by whom Heaven might have been appeased or supplicated, to live in the same country with them. These things grievously pinched their consciences; so that, adversity infusing some sparks of religion into their minds, and also some ease from their miseries being obtained, they at last pitched upon this,

as the only way to recover their liberty ; that after they had reconciled themselves to the Scots, they would also endeavour to appease the wrath of the Deity, whose wrath they had provoked by their perfidiousness. In pursuance of this good resolution, and understanding that young Fergus, of the blood-royal, was in exile in Norway, they thought, if he were recalled, the rest also might be induced, by his influence, to return. To effect this, they despatched an embassy to him, but secretly, for fear of the Romans, to sound his inclination, whether he still felt any regard for his native country, and was willing to aid in its deliverance.

BOOK V.

AFTER Eugenius was slain by the Romans, as hath been already related, and all the Scots were banished their country, the king's brother, whether Echadius, or Ethodius, is uncertain, for fear of the treachery of the Piets, and diffident of his own security, took shipping, and, committing himself to the winds and fortune, sailed into Scandinavia, or Norway, together with his son Erthus, and his nephew Fergus. On his landing, he repaired to court, where the king of the country, being informed who he was, from whence he came, and the adverse fortune he had experienced, gave him a favourable reception ; and as his language, habit, and mien, procured credit to his story, he was admitted into near familiarity with the Scandinavian monarch. Fergus living there till he grew up to maturity, his father and grandfather being dead, he addicted himself wholly to military studies ; at which time many expeditions were made, by the united powers of the north, against the Roman empire ; some falling upon Hungary, and others upon Gaul. Fergus, both out of love to arms, and hatred to the Romans, followed the Franks, in their war against the Gauls ; but that expedition did not prove very prosperous ; so he returned into Scandinavia with greater glory than success : and when his name began to be famous, not only there, but also among the neighbouring nations, his renown reached the Scots and Piets. The former were in great hopes of recovering their own country again, and the Piets entertained as strong an expectation of obtaining their ancient liberty, if, by laying aside their old grudges, they could obtain Fergus for their general, and thus try their fortune against the Romans ; whose affairs were at this time in so low a condition, by the successes of the neighbouring nations against them, that their condition afforded incitements enough to provoke their ancient enemies to revenge the injuries they had received. For their emperors, besides being weakened by civil wars, were so harassed on every side by the Gauls, Vandals, Franks, and Africans, each of whom made inroads upon them, that, omitting the care of foreign affairs, they recalled their armies into Italy, to defend the imperial city. In the midst of these commotions, those officers who commanded the British legions, looking on the Roman affairs as desperate, studied each his own advantage, with a view to the establishment of distinct tyrannies. Neither were they content to oppress the islanders with every kind of cruelty and avarice, but they even made incursions upon one another. Thus the number of the legions daily lessened, and the hatred of the provincials against them increased ; so that all Britain would have certainly rebelled, if their power had been equal to their will. To aggravate their miseries, as well as those of the Britons, Constantine, the last Roman general in Britain, when elected to the imperial throne, not only withdrew the regular army, but the native troops ; so that the whole island was left defenceless, and exposed to the violence of any foreign enemy that might have chosen to attempt an invasion. This was the principal cause of the secret negotiations carried on between the Scots and Piets, and which speedily came to the conclusion of a treaty of friendship ; and a mutual application to Fergus, requesting him to take the regal title, which descended to him from his ancestors. Fergus being a military man, ambitious of honour,

and not well satisfied with his present station, readily accepted the proffered sceptre on the terms proposed. When the intelligence of his intended return was spread abroad, many of the banished Scots, and several of the foreigners too, who were his acquaintance and fellow-soldiers, animated with the same hopes, accompanied him home, and landed in Argyle. Thither all those exiles who were in Ireland and the circumjacent islands, having had notice given them of his coming, resorted speedily to him: drawing along with them a considerable number of their clans and relations, and several young soldiers, who wished to profit by the change.

FERGUS II. the fortieth King, began his reign A. D. 404.

Fergus, having collected these forces, was inaugurated the fortieth king of Scotland, according to the manner of the country. The black book of Paisley places his return in the sixth year of the emperors Honorius and Arcadius, but others in the eighth of their joint reign, that is, according to the account of Marianus Scotus, in the year 403; or, according to Funccius, 404; and about 27 years after the death of Eugenius, the grandfather of Fergus. Those who allege, on the authority of Bede, that this was the first coming of the Scots into Britain, may be convinced of its being a manifest untruth, by the very history of that writer. When the assembly of the states was dissolved, Fergus, being born and bred to seats of war and arms, judged it convenient to make use of the favourableness of fortune, and the alacrity of his men; but withal, designing to prevent the report of his coming, he demolished all the neighbouring fortresses, because he had not soldiers enough to garrison them. Having, however, recovered and settled his kingdom, as soon as the season of the year would permit, he prepared for an expedition against the enemy. In the mean time the Britons were divided into two factions. Some of those who were desirous of liberty, and weary of a foreign yoke, were glad of the arrival of the Scots; while others preferred their present settlement, though attended with many and great inconveniences, before a dubious liberty, and a certain war. On this account, being fearful of the danger hanging over their heads, and conscious of their own weakness, they agreed upon a double embassy, one to the Picts, and another to the Romans. They desired the Picts not to desert their old allies the Romans and Britons, nor to take part with their ancient enemies, who were represented as a company of poor, pitiful, and despicable creatures. They farther sent them admonitions, promises, and, in case of noncompliance, threatened them with a grievous visitation from the Romans, against whom, with their whole united forces, they could never stand; much less could they now cope with them, since one part of them was exhausted by draughts and detachments of soldiers, and the other worn out with all manner of miseries.

The ambassadors to the Romans were commanded to urge the necessity of sending aid in time, whilst there was any thing left to be defended against the rage of a cruel enemy; in which case the Britons would still remain firm in their obedience; but if not, it would be better for them to leave their country, than to endure a servitude worse than death, under savage nations. Accordingly the Romans, though closely pressed by wars on every side, yet ordered one legion to be sent from Gaul to defend the province, but with an injunction to return as soon as affairs were settled. The Britons, having received these auxiliaries, came by surprise upon the plundering troops of the invaders, who were carelessly straggling up and down, and defeated them with great slaughter.

But the confederate kings having raised a well-disciplined and regular army, came to the wall of Severus, and meeting their enemies by the river Carron, a bloody battle was fought between them, with prodigious loss on both sides. Victory, however, attended the Romans; who, being in a little time about to return into Gaul, were satisfied with driving back the foe, and repairing the wall of Severus, which in many places was demolished. Having done this, and garrisoned it with Britons, they departed. The allied powers, though superior to their adversaries in swift marches, and fatigue of labour; yet, being inferior in number and force, resolved at first not to fight any more pitched battles, but rather to weary out their opponents by frequent inroads

and not put all to the hazard of a single fight, since they had not yet sufficient force for a general engagement. But when they heard that the Romans had quitted Britain, they altered their resolution, and gathering all their troops together, destroyed the wall of Severus, which had been but slightly repaired and was negligently guarded. Having by this means gained a larger space to range in, they made the country beyond the wall, which they were not able to keep, for want of men, useless to the Britons, for many miles.—It is reported, that the principal man in demolishing the fortification, was a person named Graham; who, transporting his soldiers in ships, landed beyond the wall, and, by surprising the guards, made a passage for his men. It is not certain among writers, whether this Graham was a Scot or a Briton; but most think, as I also do, that he was the latter, and that he was not only descended of the Fulgentian line, one of the most noble families in that nation, but that he was father-in-law of king Fergus. The wall then being thus razed, the Scots and Picts committed most inhuman cruelties and outrages upon the people of the country, without distinction of age or sex, for at that time the Britons were weak, and unaccustomed to war. In this affliction they sent a second lamentable embassy to the Romans, complaining of the unspeakable calamities they endured, and with great humility and earnestness supplicating aid. They also alleged, that if the Romans were not moved at the destruction of the Britons, and the loss of a province, lately so splendid, yet that it became them to maintain their own dignity, lest their name should grow contemptible amongst those barbarous nations. Accordingly, another legion was sent to their relief, who coming, as Bede says, in autumn, a season of the year when they were not expected, made great slaughter of their enemies. The confederate kings now collected what forces they could, to beat them back; and being encouraged by their former successes, and also by the friendship and alliance of Dionethus, a Briton, they ventured to advance upon the Romans. This Dionethus was well descended in his native land; but having always advised his countrymen to shake off the Roman yoke, and then especially, when so fair an opportunity was offered, and the whole strength of the empire was engaged in other wars, he was treated by his own men as an affecter of novelty, and hated by the Romans, as a friend to the Scots and Picts. These last, learning that it was the design of the Romans, to begin with destroying Dionethus, and then to fall upon themselves, to obviate their purpose, made forced and rapid marches towards them. Having succeeded in uniting their forces with those of Dionethus, they began a sharp encounter with the Romans; who, surrounded by numbers, both in front and rear, were put to flight. The ranks of the legionary soldiers being thus broken, the confederate kings, in the eagerness of pursuit, fell amongst the reserve of the Romans, who stood in good order, and repulsed them with great slaughter. Had the Romans followed up this advantage, they would have given the Scots a total overthrow; but as their force which at first was inconsiderable, was now reduced by the loss of some of their soldiers who could be ill spared out of a small army, therefore they rejoiced the less on account of the victory.

Maximianus, as our writers call him, who commanded the Roman legion, being alarmed at this check, retired into the midst of his province, and the combined kings returned to their respective states. Upon this Dionethus assumed the supreme authority by arraying himself in purple after the manner of the Romans, and behaved as though he had been emperor of the Britons. When the Romans understood that their enemies were dispersed, they gathered what force they could together, and having increased them by British auxiliaries, marched against Dionethus, who infested the provinces adjoining to him; for they thought it would be easy to subdue him, from whom their danger was nearest, before his allies could come to his relief. But the three kings united their forces sooner than the Romans imagined, and after encouraging their soldiers as well as they could, without delay drew out their armies in order of battle. The Roman general placed the Britons in the front, and his legions in the reserve. It was a very sharp fight; but the front giving ground, Maximianus brought up his forces, and stopped the Britons, who were just ready to run; and then sending a division of troops to fall on the rear, some brigades of the Scots, being thus encompassed

formed a circle, where they bravely defended themselves till the greatest part of the enemy falling upon them, slew every man. The loss of these, however, gave an opportunity for the rest to escape. There fell in this fight, Fergus king of the Scots, with Durstus king of the Picts, while Dionethus, who was wounded, with great difficulty escaped to the sea, and in a small vessel returned home. This victory struck such a terror into the Scots, that it renewed the memory of ancient times, and many consulted about the place where it would be advisable to seek a retreat under their misfortune. Fergus, who at his death had reigned sixteen years, was a man of an heroic spirit, and may deservedly be called the second founder of the Scottish kingdom; or rather it may be said of him, that he exceeded the former prince of that name. The first Fergus came into a country that was almost empty by the consent of the Picts, without having the resistless power of the Romans to dispute with; and opposed only by the Britons, who, though somewhat superior, yet not much, to the Scots, in accoutrements and provisions for war, were however far inferior to them in enduring the hardships of the field. But the latter Fergus, when almost all the Scots capable of bearing arms were slain, himself brought up in a foreign land, and, after twenty-seven years of banishment from his native country, being sent for by subjects who were as unknown to him as he was to them, marched with a mixed army, collected out of several nations, against the Britons, who were at that time assisted by the Roman forces; so that if Providence had not manifestly favoured his designs, he might seem to have undertaken an attempt bordering upon madness. He left three sons who were mere children, namely Eugenius, Don-gardus, and Constantius. Graham, their grandfather by the mother's side, was by universal consent appointed guardian over them; with authority, till they came of age, to manage the government as regent. He was a person of such a virtuous disposition, that, even at a turbulent period, and amidst a fierce nation, who were not always obedient, even to kings of their own nation, there happened in his time, though an alien, no civil dissensions.

EUGENIUS, or EVENUS II. the forty-first King, began to reign A. D. 420.

Eugenius, or Evenus II. the eldest son of Fergus, had the name of king, but the power was in the hands of Graham, who caused a muster to be made of the soldiers all over the land; and finding that the losses in men sustained in the recent contests, exceeded expectation, and could not be retrieved, he forbore from enforcing any fresh levies. As for the Roman legion, having relieved their allies, and being, agreeably to their orders, now about to return to the continent, they previously spoiled all the enemy's country within the wall of Severus, and slew the inhabitants; but though they restored the lands to the Britons, they kept the plunder and booty to themselves. Thus the Scots and Picts, who survived their late loss, were again shut up between the two friths of the sea. The Romans then having rendered this service to the Britons, prepared for their departure, telling them with how great and strong armies they were beset, who had conspired to destroy the very name and empire of Rome; so that for the future they could not take so much pains, nor be at such a great expense, to maintain places at that distance. They informed the Britons that no further succour was to be expected from them, and therefore advised them to take up arms for their own defence, and to inure themselves by continual exercise, to military hardships; and that if they had offended before through slothfulness, they should begin and make amends now by industry and hardiness, instead of becoming so contemptible to their enemies, who in fact were inferior to them in number and force, as to suffer them to plunder their country with the facility of a pack of hunters roaming for their prey. The Romans, besides this counsel, and that they might do them a lasting good, which should be of great service to them in future times, undertook for the Britons a great and memorable work. For they gathered a vast company of labourers out of their whole province, the Romans and Britons both vying who should be most forward, and just in that place where the trench was drawn by Severus, thirty miles long, there they built a wall of stone eight feet broad, and twelve feet high; distinguished at proper distances by castles, some of which were of the size of small towns. It was finished, and bounded

on the west by a place now called Kirkpatrick, and on the east began from the monastery of Aberkernick, as Bede affirms; in which country, about little more than a century since, there was a strong castle of the Douglas family, called Abercorn, but without the least sign of any monastery.

Moreover, lest their enemies should, as had formerly been the case, make a descent by ships into places beyond the wall, they set up many beacons, or watch-towers, on the higher grounds along the shore, from whence there was a large prospect to the sea: and, in convenient parts, they appointed garri-sons, but these proved such cowardly and effeminate wretches, that they could not stand the face of an armed enemy. The legion did this beneficial and obliging work for their provincial allies, before their departure: withal, earnestly exhorting them to defend their country with their own arms; as they could never more hope for assistance from the Romans, whose affairs were now brought to such an exigence, that they could no longer help their friends, especially those who were so far remote. When the Scots and Picts understood for certain, by their spies, that the Romans were gone, and would return no more, they assaulted the wall with all their might, and much more eagerly than before. They not only cast down their opposers, by hurling darts at them, but also pulled them down headlong from the ramparts with cramp-irons, as Bede calls them; which were, as I understand, crooked instruments, or hooks, fastened to the tops of long poles; so that the upper fortification being thus deprived of its defenders, they next applied engines, and destroyed the foundations; and thus an entrance and passage being made, they forced their affrighted enemies to leave their habitations and dwellings, and to flee for safety wherever they could find it. For the Scots and Picts were so eagerly bent on revenge, that the Britons had good reason to think all their former calamities tolerable, compared to those they were now forced to endure. Afterwards the invaders, rather wearied than satisfied with the miseries they had inflicted, returned home, and began at last to consider that they had not so much taken away the goods of their enemies, as wasted and spoiled what should have been the reward of their victory. They, therefore, convened an assembly of the states, wherein it was debated how so great a conquest might be improved; and their first resolution was, to fill those lands which they had taken with fresh colonies, for the increase of a new population. This counsel seemed the more wholesome and advisable, because of the number of valiant, but indigent, officers and soldiers, who were straitened in their old habitations. This turn of prosperity being signified to the neighbouring nations, encouraged not only the Scottish exiles, but a great company of strangers besides, who lived but poorly at home, to flock hither as to a prey; for they supposed, that a man so spirited and discreet as Graham was, would never lay down arms till he had brought the whole island of Britain under his subjection. But in this they were mistaken; for he, having run so many hazards, was more inclinable to peace, with honour and glory, than to risk permanent felicity, by throwing himself into uncertain dangers. Accordingly, he made peace with the Britons, who were not only willing to accede to his terms, but very earnestly desirous of the proffered amity. The conditions were, that each people should be contented with their own bounds, and abstain from wrong and violence towards one another; while Adrian's wall was constituted the barrier. After concluding this peace, Graham divided the lands not only among the Scots, but also among the foreigners who had followed his ensigns. By this means almost all the provinces obtained new names, because those who peopled them were, for the most part, born abroad, and the rest were perfect aliens. Galloway, a country next to Ireland, falling by lot to the Irish, is thought to have had its name, so famous in their own country, from them. Caithness was so called because it was mountainous; Ross, because it was a peninsula; Buchan, because it paid great tribute in oxen. Strathbogy, Nairn, Strathnaver, Loch Spey, Strathearn, and Monteth, took their respective names from several rivers of the same appellation. Lochaber was so called from a loch, or rather bay of the sea. Many of the provinces situated on this side the Forth, as Lennox, Clydesdale, Tweeddale, Teviotdale, Liddesdale, Eskdale, Ewesdale, Nithsdale, Annandale, and Douglasdale, had their surnames from rivers. Many places, however, re-

tained their ancient denominations; and some had their's only a little changed. Graham, afterwards, in order that he might bridle licentiousness, which was grown to a great height by the long continuance of war, recalled the monks and teachers of the Christian religion out of banishment, to their own homes; and, that they might not be burdensome to an indigent people, he allowed them a yearly income out of the fruits of the earth; which, though small, according to the circumstances of the times, was, however, deemed a handsome competency for modest and temperate men. Besides this, Graham placed garrisons in the most convenient passages, to prevent any sudden incursions of the enemy; and he also repaired those places which were demolished, and erected new fortifications. But though the fury of war was extinguished throughout the whole island, and the Britons had, as it were, escaped from a dangerous tempest, to enjoy the sweets of public peace; yet it was doubtful whether their former or present condition did them most mischief. For, as their cities were razed, their villages burnt, their cattle driven away, and all their instruments of husbandry lost; they who survived this cruelty, were forced to keep themselves from starving by hunting; and instead of plundering their enemies, to commit acts of outrage upon their own countrymen; so that domestic feuds were like to be the consequence of the peace which had been settled. Contentions also arose between them and foreigners: for though they abstained from open wars, yet every now and then they spoiled the countries contiguous to them: particularly the Irish, who, on their side, encouraged with the hopes of booty, vexed the poor people, already miserably enough distressed, with their invasions by sea. Their last calamity and the worst of all, was a famine; which so broke the spirit of this fierce people, that many of them voluntarily surrendered themselves to their enemies. At last, the scanty number that remained, lurking in caves and dens, being grown desperate by necessity, came abroad, to scatter the wandering troops of the plunderers; but chiefly of the Irish, whom they forced back to sea, and compelled them to depart from Albion. This evil was no sooner removed, than a calamity nearer hand began to press upon them. The Scots and Picts, their perpetual enemies, were not contented with taking their cattle from them by stealth, but watched an opportunity to commit more flagrant injuries. Eugenius, the son of Fergus, who till now had lain still, under the tutorage of another, having his strength increased by a long peace, and much augmented by the number of young recruits that flocked to him, was ambitious of distinction against the Britons. There happened likewise a private cause of war; for Graham, his grandfather by the mother's side, and nobly descended, as I have already said, in his own country, was of that party who were anxious to free themselves from Roman slavery. This was the original cause of his being persecuted by the contrary faction, who were then most powerful; and so he fled to the Scots, his old allies, between whom many courtesies had formerly passed. After his death, Eugenius, by his ambassadors, demanded a restitution of the fertile lands which had belonged to his ancestors, situated within the wall of Adrian; intimating plainly to the Britons, that, unless they restored them, he would make war upon them. When the ambassadors had declared their message in an assembly of the Britons, there were such heats amongst them, that they came almost to blows. The fiercest of them exclaimed, that the Scots did not seek for lands so much, having already enough of their own, as for war; and that they did not only insult over their calamities, but also were resolved to try their patience: if the lands were denied, then a war would presently follow; and if they were restored, then a cruel enemy was to be received into the heart of their country; notwithstanding which, they should not have even peace then, unless it could be imagined that the covetousness of the Scots would be satisfied with the concession of a few acres, who were not content with the large provinces, which were divided in the late war. These persons, therefore, maintained that it was good to oppose their immoderate and insatiable desires at the beginning, and to repress their licentiousness with arms; lest, by the grant of small things, their cupidity should be enlarged, and their boldness increased to demand still greater things. There was in this assembly one Conan, a nobleman, who was very eminent among his countrymen for his prudence. This person discoursed

much and gravely, concerning the cruelty of their enemies, and of the present state of the Britons, observing, that almost all their young soldiers were drawn out for foreign service; and adding withal, that war abroad, seditions at home, and hunger occasioned by want, would weaken, if not distress, the miserable remainders of his countrymen. As for the Roman legions, he said, they were gone home to quell their own civil wars, without any hopes of return; and therefore he gave his advice, that they should make peace with their formidable enemies, if not on advantageous one, yet the best they could procure. This counsel he gave, as he alleged, not out of any respect to his own private interest, but merely in consideration of public necessity; which appeared by this, that as long as there was any probability to defend themselves against the cruelty of their enemies, he never made mention of peace at all. Conan said he was aware that the peace, which he now recommended, would not be a lasting one, but only prove a small respite from war, till the force of the Britons, weakened by so many losses, and almost ruined, might be refreshed, and gather strength by a little intermission.

Whilst he was thus speaking, a great clamour ran through the whole assembly, which put him into some consternation; for the seditious cried out, that he did not respect the public good, but only endeavoured to obtain the kingdom for himself, by means of foreign aid. Upon this he departed from the council, calling heaven to witness, that he had no private end of his own in persuading them to peace; notwithstanding which, so violent was the commotion raised among the multitude, that they fell upon and slew him. His unhappy fate made the wiser sort refrain from speaking their mind, and giving their votes freely, though they evidently saw that the destruction of their country was at hand. The ambassadors returning home without their errand, the Scots and Picts left off all other business, and prepared wholly for war. The Britons foreseeing the same, after their fit of passion was somewhat over, sent ambassadors to the Scots, on pretence of making peace, and to prevent immediate hostilities. They were instructed to offer the Scots money; and to give them hopes, that they might get more from them by an amicable treaty, than they could expect to obtain by war; the chances of which were doubtful, and the issue uncertain. It was observed, that it was not the part of wise men to neglect the benefit which was in their view, and, upon casual prospects, to run themselves into positive and assured dangers. Nothing, however, was obtained by this embassy; for Eugenius was informed by his spies, that the Britons only dissembled in their pacific overtures, whilst they were intent upon making warlike preparations of an extensive nature. The Scots and Picts having their old hatred thus inflamed, and invited by the calamities of the Britons, or else lifted up with confidence of success, refused any conditions, except the relinquishment of their all; so that both armies prepared for the last encounter. The confederate kings having been conquerors for some years, grew high in their expectations, and flattered themselves with gaining a greater victory than they had ever experienced; while the Britons, on the other hand, had before their eyes all the miseries that a fierce and conquering enemy could inflict upon them. In this posture of affairs, and temper of spirit, when both parties came in sight of one another, such a sharp fight commenced between them, as had never been before seen by the inhabitants of Britain. It was so obstinately maintained, that, after a very long and hot combat, the right wing of the Scots, though with difficulty, was forced to give ground; which Eugenius perceiving, having before brought all his reserves into action, he at last commanded the squadrons which had been left to guard the baggage, into the fight. These being entire and fresh men, routed the Britons who were opposed against them; so that the victory began on that side, from whence the fear of a total overthrow proceeded. The other Britons following the fortune of the first brigade, fled also into the woods and marshes near the place where the battle was fought; but while they were thus straggling, dispersed, and unarmed, the detached parties of the enemy fell upon and slew numbers of them. There fell of the Britons in this fight, fourteen thousand, but the loss of the victors did not exceed four thousand. After this fight, the Britons having lost almost all their infantry, sent ambassadors to the Scots and Picts, soli-

citing peace upon any conditions whatever. The confederates, seeing they had all in their power, were somewhat inclined to mercy; and therefore offered terms which, though hard enough, were not so severe as they might have propounded. These were, "That the Britons should not send for any Roman or other foreign army to assist them; that they should not admit them, if they came of their own accord, nor permit them to march through their country; that the friends and enemies of the Scots and Picts should be treated by them as such; and that, without their permission, they should not make peace or war, nor send aid to any who desired it; that the limits of their kingdom should be the Humber; that they should also make present payment of a certain sum of money by way of fine, to be divided amongst the soldiers, and continue the same subsidy yearly; and that, as a security, they should give one hundred hostages, to be approved of by the confederate kings."

These conditions were very unacceptable to some of the Britons, and it was only out of mere necessity that they submitted to them. The same controlling power of fate, arising from their circumstances, which made them comply with these terms at first, compelled them also to keep the peace for some years. The Britons being thus left weak, and quite forsaken by their foreign allies, that they might have a leader to resort to for public advice, chose for their king, Constantine, their countryman, a nobleman of high descent, and of great repute, whom they sent for out of Gallie Britanny. He perceiving that the forces of his new subjects were broken, as well abroad by wars, as at home by feuds, robberies, and discords, thought fit to attempt nothing by arms; but, during the ten years of his reign, he maintained peace with his neighbours; till at last he was murdered by the treachery of Vortigern, a potent and ambitious man. Constantine left three sons, of whom two were under age; while the eldest, being unfit for government, was sent to a monastery, and there confined. However, he at last was elected king, by the assistance of Vortigern, who was desirous of obtaining wealth and power under the title and influence of another man. Peace affording large opportunities of cultivating and tilling lands, after a most grievous famine, such a plentiful crop of grain was produced, that the like was never before heard of in Britain. From hence arose those vices which usually accompany a state of tranquillity; as luxury, cruelty, lust, drunkenness, which are far more pernicious than all the evils of war. Truth and sincerity were so far from being any where to be found, that equity, performance of promises, and constant good discipline, were not only subjects of scorn and laughter among the rabble, but even among the monks, and those who professed a religious life; of which Bede the Anglo-Saxon, and Gildas the Briton, make heavy complaints. In the mean time, the ambassadors who had been sent to the Roman consul, Ætius, brought word, that no relief could be expected from him. From these letters of the Britons to Ætius, I shall here recite some clauses, as they are delivered by Bede; both because they are a succinct history of the miseries of that nation, and also because they demonstrate how much many writers are mistaken in their chronology. The words are these: "To Ætius, the third time consul, the complaints of the Britons." And a little after, "The barbarians drive us to the sea, the sea beats us back again upon the barbarians; we have no choice but one of these two kinds of death, either to be killed or drowned." Now, it is to be observed, that Ætius in his third consulship had Symmachus for his colleague, in the 446th year after Christ; at which time no aid could be obtained from him, because he was then principally intent upon observing the motions of Attila. The rest of the Britons being driven to this desperate case, Vortigern alone rejoiced at the public calamity; and in the general confusion thought he might, with greater impunity, perpetrate the wickedness which he had long before meditated. This was, to cause the king to be slain by the guards whom he had placed about his person; after which, to remove the suspicion of so foul a parricide, in a pretended fit of anger, as if he were impatient of delay in executing revenge, he caused the same soldiers to be put to death, without suffering them to speak for themselves. Thus having obtained the kingdom by the highest degree of villany, he maintained it in no better a manner than he usurped it. For, suspecting the faith of the people towards him, and not

confiding in his own strength, which was but small, he engaged the Saxons to take his part, who were then become great pirates at sea, and infested all the shores far and near. Vortigern accordingly procured their captain, Hengist, with a strong band of soldiers, to come over with three galleys, and assigned lands to him in Britain; by which means Hengist was induced to fight, not as for a strange country, but for his own demesne and estate, and therefore was more likely to do it earnestly. When this was spread abroad, such large numbers of the three nations, Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, are said to have flocked out of Germany into Britain, that they became formidable even to the inhabitants of the island. In the first place, about the year 449, Vortigern being strengthened by those auxiliaries, gave battle to the Scots and Picts, whom he defeated, and drove beyond the wall of Adrian. As for what relates to Eugenius, the king of the Scots, there are two reports of him. Some say that he was slain in fight beyond the river Humber; others, that he died a natural death. However he came by his end, it is certain that he governed the Scots with such equity, as deservedly to be reckoned amongst the best of their kings. For though he spent the first part of his life, almost from his childhood, in war, yet he made such a proficiency under the discipline of his grandfather, from whom he learned equanimity of mind and temper, that the usual licentiousness of camps neither drew him to vice, nor made him negligent of his religious duties. In like manner, when prosperity shone upon him, he continued in the same course, and was totally free from all pride and arrogance. And on the other side, the peace and calm which he enjoyed, abated not at all the sharpness of his understanding, nor did it break his martial spirit; but he led his life with such an evenness of behaviour, that, merely by the advantage of his natural disposition, he equalled, or rather exceeded, those princes, who, after being instructed in the liberal arts, come from thence to the helm of government.

DONGARDUS, the forty-second King, began to reign A. D. 452.

The same year that Eugenius died, which was in the year 452, his brother, Dongardus, succeeded him in the throne. He was of a similar disposition to his predecessor; for, as he was willing to embrace peace upon good conditions, so, when occasion required, he was not afraid of war. And, therefore, in reference to either state, he not only prepared all things necessary to resist the invasion of an enemy, but likewise trained up the youth and soldiery of his country to labour and sobriety; that so they might be restrained from vice, and their minds kept from growing feeble and languid by long quiet, and too much prosperity. But the seditious at home, raised by the Britons, were the cause that his arms were not much famed abroad. Being thus freed from that incumbrance, he gave himself wholly up to the reformation of religion; for the relics of the Pelagian heresy did now very much trouble the British churches. To confute them, Pope Celestine, during the reign of Eugenius, sent over Palladius, who instructed many that grew afterwards famous for learning and sanctity of life; especially Patrick, Servan, Ninian, and Kentigern. This Palladius is reported to have been the first who introduced episcopacy into Scotland; whereas, till then, the churches were governed only by monks, with less pomp and external ceremony indeed than by bishops, but yet with greater integrity and sanctity of life. The Scots being thus intent about purging and settling religion and divine worship, escaped free from that tempest of war which then distracted almost all the rest of the world. In the second year of Dongardus, Vortigern was deposed, and his son Vortimer chosen king of the Britons. He renewed the ancient league with the Scots and Picts, that so he might more easily break the power of the Saxons, which was a triple alliance that the three nations had entered into against the Romans in the days of Carausius. Dongardus did not long survive this league, for he died after having reigned five years.

CONSTANTINE I. the forty-third King, began his reign A. D. 457.

Constantine, his youngest brother, succeeded him in the government; who, in his private condition, lived temperately enough, but as soon as he mounted

the throne, gave a loose to debauchery. He was covetous, and cruel to the nobility, but exceedingly familiar with men of an inferior rank. He gave himself wholly up to the debauching both of young and married women; indulged himself in riotous feasts; and had always musicians and stage-players about him, with all other parasites that would administer to his lusts and pleasures. The nobility of Scotland, being offended at these disorders, came often to him, to put him in mind of his duty, but he received their admonitions haughtily; told them to look after their own affairs; and said that he had sufficient advice from others. He added, that they were much mistaken, if they thought to prescribe to their king, under the pretext of giving him counsel. But while he was thus arrogant towards his subjects, he was no less abject and submissive to his enemies; for he granted them peace when they asked for it, and forgave them the injuries which they had committed; nay, he demolished some castles to please them, and delivered others into their hands. This conduct of his so far incensed the Scots and Picts, that the one were ready to rebel; and the others, who had before dealt secretly with the Saxons, set up for themselves, and at last made a public league with them.

Now, amongst the Scots, there was one Dongal, of Galloway, a man of great authority over the common people, who, for the present, restrained the multitude by an insinuating oration; in which he acknowledged, that many of those things which they complained of were true, and that what they desired was just. But, granting this, he told them that if a war should break out, as an addition to their other miseries, the kingdom would be so endangered, as hardly to be saved from destruction; especially now that the Picts were alienated from them; that the Britons, since the death of Vortimer, were but uncertain friends; and that the Saxons, who were very strong, potent, and cruel in their victories, and in whose friendship no faith was to be reposed, were ever intent upon the destruction of their neighbours.

The people being thus appeased by the wisdom and prudence of some of their grave elders, the king continued to reign, though with the hatred and contempt of all. At length, however, he is said to have been slain by a nobleman of the *Æbuda*, for ravishing his daughter, in the fifteenth year of his reign. This is the common report concerning his death; but I rather incline to the opinion of John Fordun, who says, in his *Scoti-chronicon*, that he reigned twenty-two years, and at last died of a lingering distemper. In his time Aurelius Ambrosius came into Britain, out of the Lesser Britany beyond sea; he was the son of Constantine, who held that kingdom some years before; but, being treacherously slain, and his brother, who reigned after his father, being also murdered by Vortigern, through the like treachery, the two other remaining sons of Constantine were conveyed by their father's friends into Gallic Britany. I think this original of Aurelius Ambrosius is more to be depended upon than that which others deliver, among whom is Bede; for they say that he was the last of the Roman stock who reigned in Britain. These two brothers, when Vortimer was murdered by the fraud of his step-mother, and Vortigern had made himself king without authority or right, being now grown up and fit to govern, returned, with the favour and expectation of all men, into the island, to recover their inheritance, bringing with them no inconsiderable number of Britons out of Gaul. On their arrival, and before they would venture to alarm the foreign settlers, they subdued Vortigern in Wales, and then sent messengers to the Scots and Picts, desiring their alliance, and craving the assistance of their arms against the Saxons, who were the most bitter enemies of the Christian name. This embassy was kindly received by the Scots, who renewed the league that had been made with Constantine; and from that day it remained almost inviolate, till the kingdom of Britain was oppressed by the Angles, and the kingdom of the Picts by their neighbours. But the Picts answered the British ambassadors, that, having already made a league with the Saxons, they saw no cause to break it; but were resolved to run all hazards with them for the future, and to be partakers of their good or bad success. Thus the whole island was divided into two great factions, the Scots and Britons waging continual war against the Picts and Saxons.

CONGALLUS I. *the forty-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 479.*

To Constantine succeeded Congallus, the son of his brother Dongardus. He was of a warlike temper, but durst not then attempt any thing considerable, because the people were degenerated and enfeebled by lasciviousness and luxury, during the reign of his uncle. And though many, in compliance with his disposition, as usually kings have many parasites, often persuaded him to take up arms, yet he could never be brought to hearken to it. His principal object was to correct the public manners; neither did he attempt to reduce the ancient discipline, till he had appointed new magistrates; by whose means he cut off many suits and controversies, and restrained thefts and robberies. Having settled peace at home, he endeavoured to reclaim others to a more civil course of life; in the first place by his example, and in the next by gentle punishment; or else by discarding those as infamous who refused to be reformed, and persisted obstinately in their evil courses; and thus he quickly brought all things to their primitive condition.

The Britons, perceiving, as I have already said, that at the beginning of his reign he gave himself wholly up to the study of peace, began to persuade Aurelius Ambrosius to recover Westmoreland from the Scots, who had possessed it many years. But after several embassies had passed betwixt them, and the matter appeared likely to be decided by the sword, a fear of the common enemy put an end to the dispute; so that the league made by Constantine was renewed, and no alteration took place in regard to Westmoreland. Congallus, however, had war with the Saxons throughout the whole of the rest of his reign; but it was a slow, intermitting, and predatory one; according as parties met by chance when out upon plunder, and carrying off their several booties; in which kind of fighting, the Scots being nimble, light, and mostly horsemen, accounted themselves superior to their enemies. But they never came to a pitched battle; for Congallus was of opinion, that it was best to trust as little as possible to the decision of fortune, and therefore he sent part of his forces to help Aurelius Ambrosius; and with the rest he wearied out his enemies, never suffering them to rest by night or day. Merlin and Gildas lived in the days of these and the succeeding kings. They were both Britons, and transmitted a great name to posterity, who conceived a high opinion of their prophecies and divinations. Merlin was somewhat the elder of the two, but a cheat and impostor, rather than a prophet. His vaticinations are still scattered up and down; but they are obscure, and contain nothing of certainty, either that could encourage hopes before their accomplishment, or indeed to satisfy men when they are fulfilled; so that there is no truth in them on any account. Besides, they are so framed, that you may accommodate or apply them to different or contrary events, according to your fancy. Notwithstanding this, they are still daily republished, and augmented with new additions, such is the folly of credulous men, that what they understand not, they will boldly affirm to be as true as gospel; and though they are caught in a notorious lie, they cannot endure to be convinced of it.

Gildas, who was later than Merlin, was a learned and good man, and one held in great veneration both in his lifetime and after his death, because he was excellent in learning, and eminent for sanctity. But the prophecies which go under his name, are such ridiculous sentences, so coarse and ill-constructed in the language, and also in the whole series of their composure, that no wise man can believe them to have proceeded from him whose name they bear. Each of these men had a patron suitable to his own disposition. Merlin was the favourite of Vortigern, and afterwards of Uther, to whom he was not only a seer, but a pander to his lust. The friend of Gildas was Aurelius Ambrosius, a person no less admirable for the probity of his life, than for his victories in war; after whose death Gildas retired into the abbey of Glastonbury, in Somersetshire, where he lived and died very devoutly. Our books of the life of Aurelius Ambrosius make mention of him. Aurelius was succeeded by Uther, the youngest of the three sons of Constantine, in the year of our Lord 500. And in the following year, Congallus, king of Scotland, departed this life, in the twenty-second year of his reign.

GORANUS, the forty-fifth King, began his reign A. D. 601.

Goranus, his brother, succeeded him, and, after his example, governed Scotland with great piety and justice, as far as foreign wars would permit him. He not only travelled all over the country, according to the practice of the good kings of old, to punish offenders, but also to redress the injuries which great men committed against the poor, who, in such cases, dared not complain. To curb their oppressive way of lording it over their inferiors, he appointed informers, who were to find out miscarriages, write them down, and bring them to him; a remedy necessary, perhaps, for those times, but a very hazardous one in our days. To him it was chiefly owing that the Picts deserted the Saxons, and entered into a league with the Scots and Britons. At that time, Lothus was king of the Picts, a person who excelled the princes of his age in all accomplishments, both of body and mind. Goranus dealt earnestly with him, to break his alliance with those barbarous nations; alleging, that he ought to remember his own country, in which they were all born, and especially their common religion: that he was much deceived, if he imagined that the peace betwixt him and the Saxons would be faithfully kept, when once the Britons and Scots were overthrown; seeing he had to do with men of savage cruelty and insatiable avarice: that they had given sufficient proofs how little they esteemed leagues, or any other principle, when, under the pretence of a conference, they wickedly slew the nobility of the Britons, to whom they were under the greatest obligations: that the son-in-law was saved alive by the father-in-law, not for any alleviation of his calanimity, but for upbraiding him as an enemy. He added, that the sacred tie of treaties, which amongst other nations are accounted the firmest bonds of union, was amongst them as a snare or bait, to entrap the simple and unwary. To what purpose then was it to run so many hazards, to free themselves from the tyranny of the Romans, if they must of their own accord give themselves up to the much harder and baser servitude of the Saxons? This was not to make a change of condition, but of masters only. Nay, it was to prefer a bloodthirsty and barbarous tyranny to one that was comparatively mild and gentle. It was a foolish and wild thing, he said, to take away their lands from the Scots and Britons, to deliver them to these Germans, and so to despoil those who were but lately their friends, and endeared to them by many ancient courtesies and respects, that they might enrich pirates, the common enemies of mankind, even to their own destruction. He concluded, that it ought to be esteemed the most grievous thing of all, by one who was a true Christian, to consent to a league, whereby Christianity might be extinguished, while profane rites were renewed, and wicked oppressors, the enemies of piety and humanity, be armed with power against God and his law.

Lothus knew that all this remonstrance was true, and therefore committed the whole affair to the management of Goranus. He then easily persuaded Uther, not only to make an alliance, but to contract an affinity also with the Picts; giving him Anna, who was either his sister, or else his daughter, begotten in lawful wedlock, for a wife. I am rather of their opinion who think she was his sister, as judging that the mistake arose from hence, that Uther had another natural daughter, called Anna, by a concubine. After this league between these three kings, many victories were obtained over the Saxons, so that the name of Uther began to be great and formidable throughout Britain. When all the commanders of the Saxons were slain, and the power of those that remained was broken, whereby things were made almost hopeless and desperate among them, Uther might have been accounted one of the greatest kings of his age, had he not, by one foul act, brought a cloud over all his eminent virtues. There was one Gorlois, a noble Briton, of great valour and power, with whose wife Igerne, a beautiful lady, Uther, while in a private condition, fell in love, but her chastity being a long time proof against his desires, at last her continency was conquered by Merlin, a man audaciously wicked; and in this adulterous commerce Uther had a son by her, named Arthur. Uther, on the death of his lawful wife, being now freed from

nuptial bonds, and become a king, and so, as he thought, above law, not being able to bear the absence of Igerne, attempted a very rash project. Having invented an accusation against Gorlois, he besieged his castle, took it, slew him, married Igerne, and owned Arthur for his own son, educating him nobly, with the design of leaving him heir to the kingdom. But seeing his wife's incontinence could not be concealed, that he might somewhat extenuate it, a tale was forged, not much unlike that which had been often acted in theatres, about Jupiter and Alcmena, namely, that Uther, by the art of Merlin, was changed into the shape of Gorlois, and so had his first night's lodging with Igerne; and indeed this Merlin was a man of such a character, that he had rather be famous for a wicked deed, than none at all. Arthur, the spurious offspring of an illicit amour, on growing up, appeared so amiable in the lineaments of his person, and inclinations of his mind, that the eyes of his parents, and of all the people too, were fixed upon him, predicted his future greatness, and concurred in regarding him as their future king. And his father was so much pleased with this humour of the people, that he cherished it by all the arts he could; so that now it was the common opinion, that none but Arthur should be heir to the crown. Uther died when he had reigned seventeen years, and presently Arthur was set up in his stead; though Lothus, king of the Picts, strenuously opposed it, grievously complaining, that his children, for he had two, by Anna, the aunt of Arthur, who were now of years, should be deprived of the kingdom; and that a bastard, begotten in adultery, was preferred before them. On the other side, all the Britons espoused the cause of Arthur, and denied that he was spurious; because Uther having married his mother at last, though after his birth, by that means treated him as his legitimate son, and continued so to do. But although they pretended this colour of right, yet that which availed Arthur most, was his great ingenuity, and the proofs of virtue which he often evinced. There was even a secret impulse, as it were, on the minds of all men, presaging his future greatness; so that they cordially with one voice adhered to his party: upon this, Lothus, being borne down not only by the plea of right, which from this time was always observed in Britain, but also by the affections of the people running another way, desisted from his enterprise in demanding the kingdom; which he did so much the rather, because he was loth to trust his children, for whom that kingdom was desired, to the Britons, who had shewn themselves so averse to them. Besides, the entreaties of his friends prevailed with him, for they all alleged, that no kingdom ought to be so dear to him, as to make him, merely for the sake of a throne, to prejudice the cause of religion by joining in affinity with infidels, who would no more inviolably keep their league and alliance with him, than they had done before with the Scots. Moreover, the liberal and promising disposition of Arthur, and the greatness of his mind, even above his age, very much affected him; insomuch that the alliance made by former kings, betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Britons, was again renewed, which produced so great a familiarity, that Lothus promised to send Galvinus, the youngest of his two sons, to the British court, as soon as he was old enough to bear the fatigue of the journey. Arthur assumed the regal government before he was quite eighteen; but as his courage was above his age, so success was not wanting to his daring spirit. His father had divided the country by prescribed boundaries, with the Saxons, and had made peace with them on certain conditions: but the fair opportunity which now offered them, by the youthful age of the king, more prevailed with them to break the peace, than the sanctity of the league could induce them to observe it. Arthur, that he might quench the fire in the beginning, gathered an army together sooner than any man could imagine; and, being assisted with auxiliaries by the Scots and Picts, he overthrew the enemy in two great battles, after which he compelled them to pay him tribute, and to receive laws from him. With the same eagerness and celerity he advanced to London, the metropolis of the Saxon kingdom; and having settled things there, marched his army towards York; but the report of auxiliary forces coming out of Germany, and the approach of winter, obliged him to raise the siege of that place. In the following summer he returned to York, which immediately surrendered to him; so great was the

dread that his unexpected success during the preceding year had struck into the minds of men. Here he took up his winter-quarters, and was resorted to by the principal persons of the neighbourhood, as well as of his own subjects, who spent the latter end of December in mirth, jollity, drinking, and the ordinary vices of those irregularities; so that the representations of the old pagan feasts, dedicated to Saturn, were here revived; though the number of days they lasted were doubled, and amongst the wealthier sort trebled, during which time they counted it almost a sin to treat of any serious matter. Gifts were sent mutually from one to another; frequent invitations and feastings passed between friends, and the faults of servants were not punished. Our countrymen call this feast Yule, substituting the name of Julius Cæsar for that of Saturn. But the vulgar are persuaded, that the nativity of Christ is then celebrated; though it is plain, that they exhibit the lasciviousness of the Bacchanalia, rather than the memory of our Lord's nativity.

In the mean time, the Saxons were reported to have pitched their tents by the river Humber; which rumour, whether true or not, induced Arthur to march towards them. As the Britons, however, were rendered effeminate by pleasures, they were in consequence less fit for military service; insomuch that they did not seem the same men who had overthrown the Saxons in numerous battles; and by their luxurious idleness they had increased in rashness, as much as they had lost in the ancient severity of discipline. Thus being degenerated, advice was given by the discreeter sort, to send for aid from the Scots and Picts. This counsel was adopted; ambassadors were despatched, and the desired assistance easily obtained. Those who had been almost disjoined by ambition, were now reconciled by a mutual concern of religion, and so strongly animated by emulation, that forces were sent from each king, sooner than could well have been imagined. Lothus also, that he might give a public testimony of his sincerity, brought his sons, Modredus and Galvinus, with him into the camp, giving the latter to Arthur, as his companion; whom he received with so great courtesy, that from that day forward they lived and died together. The army of the three kings being thus ready, and their camps united, it was unanimously agreed, that as the danger was common to them all, and the cause of it the same, they should drive out the Saxons, and restore the Christian rites and religion, which they had profaned. The armies drawing near each other, Occa, son of a former chief of the same name, then general of the Saxons, hastened to give battle. In the confederate army, the two wings were allotted to the Scots and Picts, and the main force to Arthur. The Scots, at the first onset, wounded Childeric, commander of that quarter of the enemy opposed to them; and this misfortune so terrified the rest, that the whole wing was broken. On the other side, Colgernus the Saxon, after having reproached the perfidiousness of the Picts, assaulted Lothus, whom he knew by his habit and his arms, with great violence, and dismounted him; but while so engaged, he was himself suddenly surrounded by his enemies, and run through the body with spears, by two Picts. The main body, where the fight was sharpest, having lost both wings, at length gave ground; and Occa being wounded, was carried to the sea-side, with as many as could get on shipboard with him, and transported into Germany: such of the remaining Saxons as persisted with the greatest obstinacy in their errors, were put to death; the rest, by pretending to embrace the Christian religion, were saved.

There were other great forces of the Saxons yet continuing in the eastern part of England, and also in Kent. The following summer, therefore, Arthur marched against them, having ten thousand Scots and Picts for his allies. Congallus, the son of Eugenius, commanded the Scots; and Modredus, the son of Lothus, headed the Picts; both young men of great hope, and who had often given good testimonies of their valour and conduct. When this army of the three kings was about five miles from the enemy, and their camps distant one from another, the Saxons being informed by their spies, that the Picts, who were farthest distant from the other forces, were very careless and secure, made a sudden and unexpected assault on them in the night. Modredus defended himself very gallantly for some time; but, when things became

desperate, he mounted on a horse with Galanus, his father-in-law, and fled to Arthur. That prince was not dismayed at the loss of the Picts, but spent the day in making proper arrangements; after which his army marched in the third watch, and came upon the enemy with a treble force, before they knew of his approach. The Saxons, in a terrible dismay, dispersed themselves in every direction, having no time to take counsel, or to arm themselves; thus their camp being entered, they were slain by the Britons, but especially by the enraged Picts, who were cruel to all without distinction.

Some writers of English antiquity say, that Arthur fought twelve pitched battles with the Saxons; but, as they give only the names of the places where they were fought, and nothing else, I shall take no farther notice of them. To speak briefly of his famous actions, this is manifest, that he wholly subdued the forces of the Saxons, and restored peace to his country, after which he went over to settle things in the Lesser Britany, in France, trusting the kingdom, in the mean while, to Modredus, his kinsman, who was to manage the government till his return. I have no certainty of the exploits he performed in Gaul: for as to what Geoffrey of Monmouth attributes to him there, it hath no shadow or semblance of truth in it; so that I pass it all by as an impudent forgery, unworthy of belief. But to return to our subject.

Whilst Arthur was absent, and intent on settling the Gallic affairs, the seeds of a pernicious war were sown in Britain. There was a certain man in Arthur's retinue, named Constantine, the son of Cadur; who, for the excellent endowments of his body and mind, was highly in favour with all men. He secretly aimed at the kingdom, and did every thing to gain the people over to his interest. Upon this the nobles, at a convenient time, when the king was free from business, suggested their advice concerning his successor; beseeching him to add this also to the innumerable blessings he had procured for his country, that in case he died childless, he would not leave Britain destitute of a king, especially when such great wars were like to be waged against them. Some ventured to name Modredus as nearest of kin, and already accustomed to government, both in peace and war; and one likewise who had given good proof of his virtue, in his viceroyship; concluding that he was likely to improve the British affairs. It is said, however, that the multitude, who favoured Constantine, cried out that they would not have a stranger to be their king; and that Britain was not so deficient in great men, as to be without a qualified person for the throne, born within its own territory. They added also, that it was a foolish thing to seek for that abroad, which they could have at home. Arthur knew, before this, the love of the people to Constantine; and therefore, though aware that he was an ambitious man, he easily assented to their choice; and, from that day, gave him such public marks of distinction, as cherished in him the hopes of the kingdom. The friends of Modredus took this ill, and looked upon it as a great wrong to him; alleging that, by the league made between Arthur and Lothus, it was expressly provided, that none should be preferred to the succession of the kingdom before the sons of the latter. To this the opposite party answered, that the contract was extorted by the necessity of the times against the common good of the nation, and that they were not obliged to keep it, now Lothus, with whom it had been made, was dead; and that therefore the Picts would do well to be satisfied with their own territories, and not invade those of other men. They added, that the kingdom of Britain, by the divine blessing, was now in such a state, that it could not only defend itself against new injuries, but also revenge old ones.

These things being communicated to Modredus, quite alienated his mind from Arthur; and at first inclined him to set up for himself, and to maintain his own dignity: but, upon reflection, he suspended hostile operations till he had sounded the disposition of the Scots. Having brought them over to his party, an army was raised, consisting of many Picts, Scots, and some Britons, who were led to join Modredus, either for the equity of his cause, the love of his person, or their private hatred of Arthur. Nay, Vanora, the wife of Arthur, was thought not to be ignorant of these new cabals, as she was suspected of being too familiar with Modredus. Both armies pitched their tents by the Humber, and just as they were about to engage, the bishops, on both

sides, endeavoured to restore peace, but in vain; for Constantine's friends obstructed them, affirming, that the felicity of Arthur's fortune would bear down all opposition. Upon this, a desperate fight began, but two things especially turned to the advantage of Modredus and his confederates: one was, a marsh that lay between them, which could not easily be passed; the other was this; in the heat of the fight there was one suborned to spread a report among the Britons, that Arthur was slain, and therefore, as all was lost, every one should shift for himself. This stratagem had the desired effect, and the Britons instantly fled. There was, however, a great slaughter in both armies, neither was the victory decisive to either party; for, on the one hand, Modredus was slain, with his brother Galvinus; while Arthur himself was mortally wounded, and a great plunder taken.

I very well know what fabulous matters are reported by many concerning the life and death of Arthur, but they are not fit to be related, lest they spread a mist over his famous actions; for when men confidently affirm lies, they cause the truth itself many times to be called in question. This is certain, that he was a great man, and very valiant, animated by a pure love of his country, which he freed from servitude, and that he restored the true worship of God, which he also reformed when it was corrupted. I have spoken of these things, concerning his lineage, life, and death, at a greater length than the nature of my design required; for I never meant to record all the exploits of the Britons, but to free and preserve the affairs of our own nation from the oblivion of time, and the fabulous tales of some loose and unprincipled writers. I have insisted the longer on the exploits of Arthur, partly because some entail them out of envy, and others heighten them with ostentatious hyperboles. He died in the year 542, after he had reigned twenty-four years.

But to return to the affairs of Scotland. Goranus, the king, now grown old, departed this life, after he had governed Scotland thirty-four years; and it is thought that he was treacherously slain by his subjects. There was one Torcetus, chief justice in criminal matters, a man no less cruel than covetous, who being guilty of many foul deeds against the wealthier people, flattered himself that he should easily get his pardon from the king, because it was by this means that he had augmented his treasury. The people could not easily obtain admittance to their sovereign, now grown weak with age and sickness, to make their complaints; and even if they had access, they were persuaded that their allegations would not meet with belief, against so great an officer and high a favourite. They, therefore, set upon Torcetus, and murdered him; but after the heat of their anger was over, and they began to reflect upon the heinousness of the fact they had committed, and knew that there was no pardon to be expected for them, they turned their wrath and fury upon the king himself; in consequence of which, by the instigation of Donald of Athol, they entered into his palace, and slew him also.

EUGENIUS III. the forty-sixth King, began his reign A. D. 535.

Goranus was succeeded by Eugenius, the son of Congallus, who, when requested by some of the nobility to revenge the death of his uncle, treated the motion so coldly, as to create a suspicion that he was not unconcerned in the murder, which idea was increased by his taking Donald of Athol into his special favour. Upon this, the wife of Goranus, for fear, fled with her small children into Ireland. But Eugenius, to purge his life and manners from this foul imputation, so governed the kingdom, that none of the former kings could be justly preferred to him. He assisted Modredus, and also Arthur, against the Saxons. He sent several captains to make daily incursions into the English borders, but never fought a pitched battle with them himself. He died in the year 558, having reigned twenty-three years.

CONVALLUS, the forty-seventh King, began to reign A. D. 558.

His brother Convallus next governed the kingdom, and did so ten years, with the greatest peace and tranquillity; a man whose excellent virtues rendered him worthy of eternal memory; for besides his equity in matters of law, and the deep-rooted aversion which he had to all covetousness, he vied even with the very monks themselves in sobriety of life; though they at that time,

practised a most severe discipline. He enriched priests with lands and other revenues, more out of a pious intention, than with any good success. By the example and authority of his own life, rather than by the severity of laws, he corrected the manners of the soldiers, who in the time of peace had degenerated to effeminacy and luxury. He also sent to call home the sons of Goranus, who, for fear of Eugenius, had fled into Ireland; but before their return he died, in the year 568. He never fought a battle himself, but only assisted the Britons with auxiliary forces against the Saxons, with whom they had frequent combats, the successes of which were very unequal.

KINNATELLUS, the forty-eighth King, began his reign A. D. 568.

On his death, the throne came to his brother Kinnatellus; at the beginning of whose reign Aidanus, the son of Goranus, came into Scotland, by the persuasion of Columba, a holy man, who, two years before, had come out of Ireland. This person introduced Aidanus to the king; who, beyond his own, and the expectation of all other men, received him very graciously, and desired him to be of good cheer, for it would shortly be his turn to reign. Accordingly Kinnatellus, worn out with age and sickness, and not capable of enduring the administration of affairs, placed Aidanus at the helm of government, and so died, having reigned fourteen, or, as some say, fifteen months. On this account, a few writers leave him out, and will have it, that Aidanus immediately succeeded Convallus; but the greater number place Kinnatellus between them.

AIDANUS, the forty-ninth King, began to reign A. D. 569.

Aidanus being nominated to the government by Kinnatellus, and confirmed by the people, was installed by Columba; whose authority was so great in those days, that neither prince nor people would undertake any thing without his advice. After he had, in a long speech, exhorted the king to rule equitably over his people, and the nation to be loyal to their king, he earnestly pressed them both to persevere in the pure worship of God, for that then both of them would prosper; but if they were guilty of any defection from it, they must expect destruction as the reward of their apostasy. Having performed this service, he returned into his own country.

The first expedition of Aidanus, was against the robbers who infested Galloway; of whom he put the ringleaders to death, and fear restrained the rest; but he met with a great storm at his return. For after holding three conventions of the states in Galloway, Aber or Lochaber, and Caithness, and thinking that all things were settled, a tumult arose amongst them while hunting, where much blood was spilt, and the king's officers, who came to punish the offenders, were repulsed and beaten. The principals in the affray, for fear of punishment, fled into Lothian, to Brudeus, king of the Picts; and when ambassadors were sent to demand them of him, according to the league between the two nations, he refused. This gave rise to a sanguinary war, which, however, was quickly put an end to by the means of Columba, who was highly esteemed by both nations, according to his distinguished merit.

In the mean time England was again divided into seven kingdoms, and the Britons were driven into the peninsula of Wales; but the Saxons, not satisfied with such large dominions, kindled a new war between the Scots and Picts. The chief author and incendiary in this contest, was Ethelfrid, king of Northumberland, a covetous man, who was weary of peace, out of a craving desire to enlarge his territories. He persuaded the Picts, though not very easily, and much against the inclination of Brudeus, to seize cattle in the lands of the Scots, judging that this would produce a new war. Aidanus, being well apprised of the treachery of the Saxons, in order to strengthen himself with foreign aid, renewed the ancient league with Malgo the Briton. He also sent his son Grifinus, and his sister's son, Brendinus, the military chief of Eubonia, now called the Isle of Man, with troops, who, joining those of the Britons, entered Northumberland; and, after three days' march, came up with the enemy. The Northumbrians, however, declined an engagement, because they expected the arrival of Ceulinus, king of the East Saxons, a very warlike man, who was coming with great forces. But the Scots and Britons intercepting Ceulinus, fell upon him in the march, and wholly de-

stroyed the van of his army, which was a long way before the rest, together with his son Cutha. They durst not, however, attack those behind, lest they should be circumvented and surrounded by Ethelfrid, who was at no great distance. The two kings of the Saxons, having joined, renewed the fight, with much slaughter on both sides, and the Scots and Britons were vanquished and put to flight. There were slain of the Scottish nobles, Grifinus, and Brudinus; while, of the opposite army, Ethelfrid lost one of his eyes; and Brudeus was carried wounded out of the field, to the great astonishment and dismay of his party.

The following summer, Ethelfrid united his forces with those of the Picts, and marched into Galloway, supposing he should find all things there in great consternation, on account of their ill success in the preceding year. But Aidanus coming with his forces thither, sooner than his enemies thought, set upon the straggling plunderers, and drove them full of terror to their camp. Thus having chastised their rashness, and supposing they would remain quiet during the night, he passed by their camp, and joined the Britons. The allied armies then pitched their tents in a narrow valley of Annandale; and their enemies, as being sure of their destruction, beset the passages entering into it. But they, after fortifying their camp, as if they intended to keep that ground, took an opportunity, in the night, when the tide was out, to pass over a ford, which, though full of dangerous quicksands, was well known to them; and so they marched into Cumberland, and afterwards into Northumberland, making great havock in every place to which they came. The enemy followed them closely, and, when they came in sight of one another, both armies prepared for the fight. The Scots and Britons made four commanders, in addition to what they had before; who were noble persons, of great experience in military affairs, that so the common soldiers might have a greater number of captains to restrain their impetuosity, and guide them properly. These super-added officers were Constantine and Mencrius, both Britons; and Calenus and Murdaeus, who were Scots. By their conduct and encouragement the soldiers fell upon the enemy with such spirit, that they were presently broken and put to flight. There goes a report, that Columba, being then in the Isle of Icolmkill, told his companions of this victory at the same hour in which it was obtained. Of the Saxon nobles there were slain, in the fight, Ciolinus and Vitellius, both great warriors, and of noble descent. About eleven years after this victory, the Saxons and Picts having infested the adjacent country, a day was appointed on which the Britons and Scots should meet; and, with their united forces, set upon the invaders. Aidanus, though now aged, came to the place at the set time, where he waited for the Britons, who disappointed him, and failed in their engagement; notwithstanding which the Scots ventured to commit hostilities, and plundered the country of cattle. Ethelfrid having this opportunity of taking the field, set upon the dispersed parties, and made so great a slaughter of them, that Aidanus, after losing many of his men, fled for his life. The victory, however, cost the Saxons dearly; for they lost Theobald, the brother of Ethelfrid, and some of the squadrons which followed him were almost wholly cut off. Aidanus did not long survive this sad overthrow; for, being informed of the death of the holy man, Columba, whom he so highly honoured, and plainly foreseeing to what cruelty the remnant of Christians were likely to be exposed, grief and age so wore him out, that he died in the year of our Lord 604, after reigning thirty-four years. In his time, a certain monk, named Austin, being sent by Pope Gregory, came into Britain. This man, by his ambition, in teaching a new form of religion, mightily disturbed the old, for he did not so much instruct men in the doctrines of Christianity, as in the ceremonies of the Roman church. The Britons, long before his coming, had been taught the principles of the Christian religion by the disciples of John the Evangelist,* and were further instructed in the same by the monks, who, in that age were learned and pious men. As

*This is a gross mistake. We know of no disciples of John who came into Britain; nor is there any thing certain respecting the first introduction of Christianity into this island. All that is known on the subject is, that, when Austin came over, he found bishops here, upon whom he wished to exercise pontifical authority, which they rejected.

for Austin, he laboured to reduce all things to the dominion of the bishop of Rome, on whose authority he pretended to be the sole archbishop of the Isle of Britain; and introduced a dispute, neither necessary nor useful, concerning the day on which Easter should be kept. By this means he greatly troubled the churches: and so loaded the Christian discipline, which was then inclining towards superstition, with new ceremonies and fictitious miracles, that he scarce left any mark or footstep of true piety behind him.

KENNETH I. *the fiftieth King, began his reign A. D. 604.*

After Aidanus, Kenneth was elected king. He did nothing memorable in his time; and died the fourth, or, as some say, the twelfth month, after he began to reign.

EUGENIUS IV. *the fifty-first King, began his reign A. D. 605.*

After him, Eugenius, the son of Aidanus, was proclaimed king, in the year of our Lord 605. He was brought up, according to the Black Book of Paisley, piously and carefully under Columba, and was very well instructed in human learning; but he departed from the institution of his master, in being more addicted to war than peace, for he harassed the Saxons and Picts with daily incursions. His government, also, was very severe and rough to those who were proud and contumacious, and who sooner felt the point of his sword than received from him any overtures of peace; but to such as made an abject submission, and solicited forgiveness for their offences, and voluntarily surrendered themselves, he was very merciful and easy to forgive; nor was he at all insolent in his victories. This is what that book reports concerning Eugenius. But Boethius, on the contrary, says, that he lived in great peace; which happened not so much from his foreign leagues, as from the discords of his enemies, who kept up a civil war among themselves. For the English, who inhabited the southern parts, and professed the sacred name of Jesus Christ, whilst they were endeavouring to revenge the injuries offered them, deprived Ethelfrid, the most potent king of Northumberland, not only of his dominion, but his life. Edwin succeeded him, on which the family of Ethelfrid fled into Scotland, amongst whom were seven of his sons, and one daughter. This happened in the tenth year of the reign of Eugenius; who, as these Saxons flew to him for refuge, though he knew them to be enemies both to him and the Christian name, entertained and protected them with great courtesy and humanity as long as he lived. He gave them a royal reception, and took great care to have them piously instructed in the Christian religion. He died in the sixteenth year of his reign, and was much lamented by all men, every one deeming the loss his own, and considering the death of the king a personal misfortune.

FERCHARD I. *the fifty-second King, began his reign A. D. 622.*

His son Ferchard succeeded him in the year of Christ 622, and in the thirteenth year of Heraclius the emperor. He being a politic man, cunning and wicked, endeavoured to change the lawful government of the land into tyranny; in order to which he nourished factions amongst the nobility, thinking by that means to effect what he designed, with impunity. But the nobles, perceiving his malicious aim, secretly made up the breach amongst themselves; and, calling an assembly of the states, summoned him to appear before them; and, on his refusal, stormed his castle, and so drew him forcibly to judgment. Many and grievous crimes were objected against him, particularly that of fostering the Pelagian heresy, and contemning baptism, with the other sacred rites.* As he was not able to purge himself from any of these charges, he was committed to prison; where, that he might not become a public spectacle of disgrace, he put an end to his own life in the fourteenth year of his reign.

* It is singular that Buchanan should not have more particularly noticed this remarkable instance of ecclesiastical despotism. The offences, for which Ferchard was deprived of his throne and liberty, were mere matters of opinion, and in no case injurious to the commonwealth.

DONALD IV. *the fifty-third King, began his reign A. D. 635.*

His brother Donald, or Donevald, mounted the throne in his stead ; who, bearing in mind the virtues of his father, and the miserable end of his brother, made it his business to maintain the true worship of God. This he not only took care to preserve at home, but sought by all lawful means to propagate it abroad. On the death of Edwin, he furnished the relations and the children of Ethelfrid, who had, for many years, remained exiles in Scotland, with accommodations to return home ; bestowed upon them gifts, sent forces to accompany them, and gave them free liberty to pass and repass, as occasion should require. This Edwin was slain by Ceodwalla, as Bede calls him, king of the Britons, and Penda, king of the Mercians ; one of whom was his enemy, out of an old pique to the nation ; the other on account of his having embraced Christianity ; but both, still more from an ambitious spirit of encroachment. The victory is reported to have been more cruel than any in the records of history ; for whilst Penda endeavoured to root out the Christians, and Ceodwalla to destroy the Saxons, their fury was so great, that it spared neither sex nor age. After the death of Edwin, Northumberland was divided into two kingdoms. Osticus, cousin-german to Edwin, was made king of the Deiri ; and Eanfrid, as Bede calls him, though our writers name him Anderfridus, the eldest son of Ethelfrid, became king of the Bernici. Both renounced the Christian religion, in which they had been diligently educated, one by the monks, the other by Paulinus the bishop, and revolted to their ancient superstition. They were, however, shortly after, deprived of their estates and lives too, by Penda. Oswald, the son of Ethelfrid, who succeeded them, was a studious promoter of Christianity. He sent ambassadors to Donald, requesting some divines to instruct his people in religious knowledge. This was accordingly done by Donald, and the persons sent by him were men of great sanctity and learning ; who were accordingly received with great honour, and bountifully rewarded. Neither did Oswald think it below his royal dignity, to interpret the meaning of the sermons which they preached to the people, who did not so well understand the Scottish language, and he would often gather them together for that purpose ; as is expressly stated by Bede. Donald died in the fourteenth year of his reign, leaving behind him a precious memory of his virtues.

FERCHARD II. *the fifty-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 648.*

Ferchard, his brother's son of that name, who succeeded him, was a person of the most flagitious nature ; having every vice stamped upon his heart. He was insatiable in his desires of wine and wealth : his cruelty towards men was perfectly inhuman, and his impiety towards God thoroughly diabolical. After exercising his barbarity and rapine among strangers, he turned his fury upon his own domestics. He murdered his wife ; and ravished his daughters ; for which crying sins he was excommunicated from the society of Christians. But, as the nobles were about to assemble, in consultation, to inflict upon him the punishment he merited, Coleman, the holy bishop, stopped them, by openly denouncing speedy vengeance upon the king, who was present in the midst of the court when the sentence was delivered. And truly the event verified the prediction ; for within a few days after, as he was hunting, he was bit by a wolf, and fell into a fever ; which, with his former intemperance, brought on a loathsome and incurable disease. In this state he is said to have cried out, that he was deservedly punished, because he had not hearkened to the wholesome admonitions of Coleman. Thus humbled to a sight of his enormity, and Coleman comforting him with hopes of pardon, in case he truly repented, he caused himself to be carried abroad in a litter, meanly apparelled ; and there made a public confession of his wickedness. Thus he died, in the year 668. Scotland groaned under this monster twenty years.

MALDUINUS, *the fifty-fifth King, began his reign A. D. 668.*

Malduinus, the son of Donald, succeeded him ; who, that he might strengthen those parts of the kingdom which were weakened by the tyranny of his pre-

decessor, made peace with all his neighbours: but, after restoring tranquillity abroad, he was disturbed by a sedition at home, originating in the contentions between the people of Argyle and Lennox. Malduinus went in person against the authors of this commotion, that he might punish them without injury to the common people. To avoid the wrath of the king, these men then composed their private animosities, and fled into the western isles. On being demanded by the king, they were delivered up, and their punishment brought the rest to a sense of their duty.

About this time, the Scottish monks, who had propagated the Christian doctrine with great success in England, became the objects of jealousy and envy to the young persons whom they had instructed, and who, thinking themselves wiser than their masters, obliged them to return to their own country. This treatment broke off the harmony that had hitherto subsisted between the respective kingdoms; but, through the meekness of those who had received the wrong, the two nations were preserved from a formal war, though frequent incursions were made, and skirmishes happened in divers places. At length, by reason of the frequent injuries thus mutually offered, and the driving away of cattle on both sides, open hostilities appeared inevitable, but the rupture was prevented by the death of Malduinus. After reigning twenty years, his wife, out of jealousy, strangled him; for which, at the end of four days, she was burned alive. There broke out at this time a terrible plague over all Europe, such as was never recorded by any writer before; only the Scots and Picts were free from the contagion.

EUGENIUS V. the fifty-sixth King, began his reign A. D. 684.

Eugenius, the fifth son of king Dongardus, now began his reign. He had an earnest desire to live on terms of amity with Egfrid, king of Northumberland, but finding that this prince was insincere in his professions, and endeavoured to deceive him by feigned truces, he played the same game of policy, and turned Egfrid's artifices upon himself. Thus, while both made a show of peace in words, they each secretly prepared for war. When the armistice was ended, Egfrid, though his friends dissuaded him from it, united his forces with the Picts, and, entering into Scotland, sent out his foragers all over Galloway. But he was defeated by Eugenius, the Picts giving ground in the fight, so that, after losing nearly all his army, and himself being wounded, Egfrid hardly escaped, with a few followers, to his own country. The next year, contrary to the advice of his friends, he marched with an army against the Picts; who ensnared him, under the feint of retreating, into an ambush, and cut him off, with all his men. The victors laying hold of this fair opportunity, recovered those large territories which had been taken from them in former wars; and the Britons, who freed themselves from the government of the Angli, or English, together with the Scots, also entered Northumberland, and made such a havock there, that it never afterwards recovered itself. Soon after, Eugenius died, in the fourth year of his reign.

EUGENIUS VI. the fifty-seventh King, began his reign A. D. 688.

Eugenius VI. the son of Ferchard, succeeded Eugenius V. as Alfrid did his brother Egfrid, in Northumberland. Both kings were very learned, especially in theology, according to the state of knowledge at that time; and they were also friendly to one another, on the account of their common studies, so that the peace was faithfully maintained betwixt them. Alfrid made use of this tranquillity to settle his kingdom, though in narrower limits than before; but the Scots had neither an established peace, nor yet a declared war, with the Picts; excursions being frequently made with various success. Cuthbert, an English, and Adamannus, a Scottish, bishop, laboured to reconcile the two parties, and, though not quite successful, yet they ordered matters so well as to prevent a pitched battle. In the mean time, Eugenius, being inflamed with an inveterate hatred against the perfidiousness of the Picts, was about to adopt more vigorous measures, when he died, having reigned ten years. In his time, it is reported, that blood reigned all over Britain for seven days, and that, in consequence, the milk, cheese, and butter became ensanguined.

AMBERKELETH, the fifty-eighth King, began his reign A. D. 698.

After him, Amberkeleth, the son of Findanus, and nephew of Eugenius V. obtained the kingdom. At the beginning of his reign, he affected temperance; but soon returned to his natural disposition, and broke out into all manner of wickedness. Garnard, king of the Picts, laying hold of this opportunity, mustered a great army, and invaded the Scots. Amberkeleth was with great difficulty prevailed upon to take arms for his defence; but just as he had so done, being in a retired place, with only two servants, he was slain with an arrow, shot by an unknown hand, when he had not reigned full two years. Some say that his death was occasioned by pressing upon the enemy in a thick wood, where he was wounded by an arrow, and so died ten days after.

EUGENIUS VII. the fifty-ninth King, began his reign A. D. 699.

Eugenius VII. brother of the preceding monarch, was declared king by the suffrage of the soldiers in the field, that so the army might not disband, nor be without a head. He, putting little confidence in troops levied by a slothful prince, lengthened out the war by repeated truces, and at last concluded it, by marrying Spondana, the daughter of Garnard. She, not long after, was murdered in her bed by two men of Athol, who had conspired to destroy the king. Eugenius himself was accused of the crime, but falsely; and before he was brought to judgment, the murderers were found out, and he was acquitted. The offenders were put to the most excruciating tortures. Matters being settled abroad, the king turned himself to the arts of peace, and though his delight lay very much in hunting, his chief care was the advancement of religion. It was his first design, and by his appointment, that the noble acts and enterprises of kings should be registered in monasteries. He maintained an uninterrupted peace seventeen years with all his neighbours and then died, at Abernethy.

MORDACUS, the sixtieth King, began his reign A. D. 716.

Eugenius, a little before his death, recommended to the nobles Mordacus, the son of Amberkeleth, for his successor. There was peace all over Britain during his reign, as Bede says about the end of his history. He imitated Eugenius, not only in maintaining concord, but in the endowment of monasteries; among which was the convent of Whitehorn, that had been demolished. He died just as he had entered the sixteenth year of his reign.

ETFINUS, the sixty-first King, began his reign A. D. 731.

In the year of our Lord 731, Etfinus, the son of Eugenius VII. entered upon the kingdom. In imitation of his predecessors, he kept the nation in great peace during the space of thirty-one years that he managed the government. When aged, and incapable of performing the executive office himself, he appointed four vicegerents to administer justice to the people. Whilst these presided over the affairs of Scotland, some loose persons resuming their former extravagant courses, either by the neglect, or, as others think, by the encouragement of the magistrates, threw all things into confusion. Their evil practices were the less taken notice of, on account of the excessive cruelty and pride of one Donald, who, ranging over all Galloway, either made the country people pay him tribute, or else he robbed them, and reduced them to great want.

EUGENIUS VIII. the sixty-second King, began his reign A. D. 761.

Amidst these tumults, the king died, and Eugenius VIII. the son of Mordacus, was set up in his room. His first object was to reduce Donald, whom he defeated in many sanguinary conflicts; and, at last, having taken him prisoner, caused him to be publicly executed, to the joy of all the spectators. He also put Mordacus, the governor of Galloway, to death, for having taken part with Donald, and set besides a pecuniary fine on the rest of the deputies; and so made satisfaction to the people who had been robbed, out of the estates of the offenders. Thus, wicked men were terrified into fear by these punishments; and as a great calm ensues after a violent tempest, so

the king now confirmed the leagues formerly made with the neighbouring states. Notwithstanding all this, he, who had gained so much glory in war, on the ratification of peace, abandoned himself to all manner of vice. Persisting in this course, and refusing to be reclaimed, either by the advice of his friends or of the priests, all the nobles conspired to depose him; which they did in a public convention, in the third year of his reign. The companions and associates of his wicked practices ended their lives at the gallows; to the rejoicing of all men, who made a holiday at their execution.

FERGUS III. *the sixty-third King, began to reign A. D. 764.*

Fergus III. the son of Etfinus, succeeded him; who, under a like counterfeit pretence of virtue, while at heart he was horribly vicious, died after the like violent manner, having also reigned three years. He was poisoned by his wife; but others say, that, after frequently upbraiding him with his infidelity, for keeping a number of women, and finding her remonstrances disregarded, she strangled him at night, while sleeping in his bed. When inquiry was made into his death, and many of his friends were accused, who, though severely tortured, would confess nothing, the queen, though otherwise of a haughty and impetuous disposition, yet, pitying the sufferings of so many innocent persons, came forward, and, standing on an eminence, told the assembly, "That she was the perpetrator of the murder;" then, presently, lest she should be made a living spectacle of reproach, stabbed herself in the breast with a knife. This act was variously spoken of, and descanted upon, according to the several humours and dispositions of the men of those days.

SOLVATHIUS, *the sixty-fourth King, began to reign A. D. 767.*

Solvathius, the son of Eugenius VIII. is the next in order; who, if he had not contracted the gout, by being much exposed to damps and colds, in the third year of his reign, might well be reckoned, for his personal valour, amongst the best of kings. Notwithstanding the violence of his disease, he shewed great wisdom and prudence in the choice of his generals, by whose means he appeased all tumults. Donald Bane, that is, the White, standing in no fear of being attacked by a lame and infirm prince, had first the boldness to seize upon all the western islands, and to call himself king of the *Æbudæ*. Afterwards, making a descent on the main land, and carrying away much cattle, he was forced, by Cullan, general of the Argyle people, and by Duchar, captain of the Athel men, into a wood, out of which there was but one passage. Here, as all their endeavours to escape were fruitless, he and his party were slain to a man. One Gilecolumb, stimulated in the same manner, and actuated by the same audacity, invaded Galloway, which his father had distressed before him: but he also was defeated by the same generals, and shared the fate of Donald. In the mean time, there was no disturbance from the English and Picts, but the continuance of peace with them was occasioned by their commotions at home. Solvathius reigned twenty years, and died in 787, with the general applause of mankind.

ACHAIUS, *the sixty-fifth King, A. D. 787.*

Achais, the son of Etfinus, succeeded him. He had made peace with the Angles and Picts, but, being apprehensive of an invasion from Ireland, he composed the disorderly spirit that threatened commotions at home; not only by his industry, but by his liberality and bounty. The cause of the Irish war was this. In the reign of the former king, who was unqualified for any expedition, the Irish and other islanders, animated by the hopes of plundering with impunity, made a descent upon Kintyre, the adjoining peninsula, with great armies, both at one and the same time. But a feud arising between these marauders, many of the islanders, and all the Irish, were slain. To revenge this slaughter, the Irish fitted out a large flotilla, to sail into the *Æbudæ*. Achais hearing this, sent over ambassadors to acquaint them, that they had no just cause to enter into war merely because parties of thieves, fighting for

their prey, had slain one another; that the loss was not that so many were slain, but rather that any of them had escaped. They farther alleged, that the king and his national councils were so far from offering any injury to the Irish, that they had put all the authors of the late slaughter to death. The ambassadors advanced all this, and much more to the same effect, but all they could say was so coarsely and barbarously rejected by the Irish, that they sent out their fleet against the Albine Scots, even before the departure of the envoys. Scarcely, however, had the armament sailed, when a tempest arose, by which the whole perished. This mischance occasioned some compunction of remorse and concern in the Irish, so that now they humbly sued for that peace which they had before disdainfully refused.

But, in the first place, Achaius made peace between the Scots and the French, chiefly for this reason, because not only the Saxons who inhabited Germany, but even those who had fixed in Britain, piratically infested France. Besides, Charles the Great, whose desire was to enoble his country, not only by arms, but by literature, had sent for some learned men out of Scotland, to read philosophy in Greek and Latin at Paris. Now there were yet many monks in Scotland, eminent for learning and piety, the ancient discipline being then not quite extinguished; amongst whom was John, surnamed Scotus; or, which is all the same, Albinus, for the Scots, in their own language, call themselves the Albini. He was the preceptor of Charles the Great, and left many monuments of his learning behind him; particularly some rules of rhetoric, which I have seen, with the name Johannes Albinus inscribed as the author of the book. There are also extant some writings of Clement, a Scot, who was a great professor of learning at the same time at Paris. There were besides many other Scottish monks, who went over into France, out of zeal for God and religion; and preached the doctrine of Christianity to the people inhabiting about the Rhine, with such great success, that the people built monasteries in many places; and the Germans pay this tribute to their memory, that, even down to our own days, Scots are made the governors over those religious houses. Though Achaius was desirous of peace, yet the affairs of the Picts drew him into a war; for Athelstan of England, having wasted the neighbouring lands of the Picts, Hungus, their king, obtained the aid of ten thousand Scots from Achaius, who had before been disgusted with the conduct of the English. Achaius placed this force under the command of Alpin, who was his son by the sister of Hungus. By the assistance of those auxiliaries, he carried a great deal of plunder out of Northumberland. Athelstan, however, being an enterprising warrior, marched with such celerity, that he came up with Hungus not far from Haddington. The Picts, dismayed at the sudden approach of their enemies, stood immediately to their arms, and kept themselves in their stations till very late. Having set the watch for the night, Hungus being inferior in other respects, desired the Divine aid, and gave himself wholly up to prayer. At last, his body being wearied with labour, and his mind oppressed with anxiety, he seemed to behold Andrew, the Apostle, standing by him in his sleep, and promising him the victory. This vision, being declared to the Picts, filled them full of hope; so that they prepared themselves with great alacrity for a combat which could not be avoided. The next day was wholly spent in light skirmishes, and on the third they came to a pitched battle. Some say, that another prodigy appeared in the heavens, bearing the semblance of a diagonal cross, or that of St. Andrew, at the time of the engagement, which so terrified the English, that they could hardly sustain the first onset of the Picts. Athelstan, who was slain there, gave name to the place of battle, which is yet called Athelstan's Ford. Hungus ascribed the victory to St. Andrew; to whom, besides other offerings, he devoted the tithes of his royal demesnes. I am of opinion, that this was the Athelstan, commander of the Danes, to whom the English affirm Northumberland to have been granted by Alfred. Achaius died in the thirty-second year of his reign, and in that of our Lord eight hundred and nineteen.

CONGALLUS III. *the sixty-sixth King, A. D. 819.*

Congallus, his cousin-german, succeeded him, who reigned five years in profound peace, both at home and abroad.

DONGALLUS, the sixty-seventh King, A. D. 824.

Dongallus, the son of Solvathius, was the next king to Congallus. But the young soldiers, not able to endure the severity of his government, went in a body to Alpin, the son of Achaius; and when they could not persuade him by fair means to undertake the government, they compelled him at least, by force and menaces, to appear as if he was on their side. Alpin dissembled with them so far as to raise an army, and pretend compliance with their wishes, but soon disappointed them, and fled to Dongallus. His arrival was very acceptable to the king, but a great dismay to the rebels, who now accused him with being the cause of the sedition. The king, however, was not to be deceived by their calumny, but prepared an army so suddenly, that he came upon them before there could be the least rumour of his approach. Such of them as fell into his hands were punished.

In the mean time Hungus died, and his eldest son, Dorstologus, was slain by the treachery of his brother Eganus. But the murderer did not long survive, so that the male stock of Hungus being extinct, his sister's son Alpin, as next heir, both by the ancient law, and in right of blood, claimed the kingdom. The Picts, however, rejected him as an alien, on which Dongallus sent messengers to expostulate with them; but these ambassadors were refused an audience, and even commanded to depart within four days. Dongallus then resolved to make war upon them with all his might; but in the midst of his preparation, as he was passing over the Spey when the current was violent, the vessel sunk, and he was drowned, after a reign of six, or, as some say, seven years.

ALPIN, or ALPINUS, the sixty-eighth King, A. D. 830.

Alpin, the son of Achaius, led the army raised by Dongallus, against Feredethus, the usurper of the kingdom of the Picts. The armies met at Restenot, a village of Angus; where the fight was maintained with great obstinacy and bloodshed, from morning till night; when the victory appeared uncertain, though the death of Feredethus made it incline to the Scots. Seeing his men fly in the fight, with a troop of young nobles he broke through the main body of the Scots, and being thus separated from his men, was there slain, with the flower of his chiefs. Brudus, who was substituted in his place, proved a slothful person, and wholly unfit for military affairs. In his reign, the Scots plundered the country of their enemy without resistance; and the Picts, raising a tumult amongst themselves, slew Brudus before he had reigned an entire year. Then they set up Kenneth, another of the sons of Feredethus, in his stead; but one that was neither more valiant nor successful than his brother: for when he had levied an army, and came in sight of his enemies, he stole privately away, and so was slain by some countrymen, who, without knowing his quality, upbraided him as a recreant. The Picts having thus lost their king, before their enemies were sensible of it, returned home, and chose another Brudus for their sovereign, a man of high descent and noble achievements. As soon as he entered upon the government, he set upon the straggling plunderers, chastised them for their presumption, and made a great slaughter amongst them. After this, that he might strengthen his weak forces by foreign aids, he sent ambassadors, with great gifts, to the English, who were the nearest to him. They received the presents, and were free enough in their promises of assistance; but, though earnestly pressed by the Picts, they put them off, urging, as an excuse, their combustions at home. The Picts, being disappointed of their hopes in that quarter, levied every man of their own that was able to bear arms, and resolved to venture their last stake. With this resolution they marched directly towards the enemy, who were encamped not far from Dundee. As soon as they met, the battle was the more sharp, on account of the old animosity, recent spleen, sharp slaughters, and frequent injuries committed on both sides. The conflict remained long doubtful, till one hundred Picts, mounted, rose out of an ambush; who, that they might seem to be a still greater number, also placed their baggage-men and attendants upon other horses; and so, shewing themselves upon the tops of the hills, wheeled about, as if they would have set upon the rear of the

enemy. This apprehension struck such terror into the Scots, that they presently dispersed, and fled into the neighbouring woods; by which many saved their lives. A few only were slain in the fight, but more in the pursuit, by the activity of the baggage-men, who had been set on horseback. Alpin and many of his nobles were taken prisoners, and inhumanly put to death. The head of the king, fastened to a pole, was carried up and down the army; and afterwards placed as a spectacle in the most eminent part of Abernethy, which was then their principal town. The spot where he was slain, as yet retains his name, being called *Bas Alpin*, or the Death of Alpin.

KENNETH II. *the sixty-ninth King, A. D. 833.*

Alpin being slain, after he had reigned three years, his son Kenneth succeeded him. The following summer, the Picts, having hopes that, if they attempted it, the Scots might easily, as they had been before, be driven out of Britain, hired some troops of the English, and joined with them such forces as they could raise of their own. But a sudden sedition which arose among themselves, proved so outrageous, that their king, Brudus, could not compose it, and the army disbanded in consequence. Brudus himself died about three months after, rather of a broken heart than of disease. His brother Druskenus was then chosen king, who in vain attempted to settle these domestic feuds. In the mean time, some young Scots carried off by night the head of Alpin, from the place where the Picts had set it up, and delivered it to Kenneth; who not only commended them for their noble exploit, but rewarded them with a grant of lands. Kenneth summoned together an assembly to consult about a war with the Picts; but though the king himself, and the most forward of the soldiers, were for punishing the treachery of that perfidious people; the major part, and especially those of the graver sort, thought it more advisable to wait, till their forces, which had been weakened in former wars, were sufficiently recruited. These counsellors were of opinion that they should neither seek peace, nor yet make war with the Picts, till a better opportunity should offer itself. This judgment prevailed; so that there was peace betwixt the two nations for three years, as if it had been by common consent. In the fourth year, Kenneth was eager to renew the war, but still finding that few of the chiefs were of his mind, he invited them to a banquet; which entertainment continued till late at night, so that they were all obliged to lodge at the king's house. This they could the more easily do, because every man, according to the custom derived from their ancestors, lay on the ground, and so they disposed themselves in that large house, having nothing under them but leaves and grass. Just as they were falling asleep, the king ordered a youth, belonging to his family, to clothe himself with the skins of fishes, especially of the stork kind, dried in the wind, and to enter by night, and to speak through a long tube, that the voice might better reach their ears at a distance, and thus to exhort them to war; as if a message had been purposely sent to them from heaven. The chiefs, suddenly roused at this voice, thought it too great and awful to be human; and, as many of them were charged with wine, the sudden flashing of light from the scales of the fish-skins, darting upon their drowsy eyes, and dazzling them, produced a general astonishment; so that the surprising apparition affected the senses of them all, and a kind of religious consternation seized upon their minds. What served to increase the admiration was, that the messenger, stripping himself of his disguised habit, and, by a secret passage, conveying himself away, as in an instant, seemed to vanish out of sight. When the news of this wonder was brought to the king in the morning, with additions to the story, as is usual in such cases, he was pleased to affirm also, that he had seen the like apparition in his sleep. Immediately on this, a war was concluded upon by the general consent of them all, as if they had received the injunction directly from above. When the armies were led forth to battle, as soon as they came within sight of one another, every man ran upon the enemy who stood next to him, without so much as waiting for the word of command. The fight was as fiercely continued, as it was eagerly begun; but at length the victory inclined to the Scots, as the allies in whom the Picts put most confidence, proved their ruin. For the English troops, seeing all things managed without order, and by

tumultuary force, withdrew to the next hill, as if they had only been spectators of other men's danger. Thus the Picts sustained a tremendous slaughter; for the Scots were highly provoked against them, not only by their ancient hatred, but by the remembrance of their cruelty against Alpin, and to those whom they had taken prisoners with that king. That which chiefly inflamed the Scots was the watch-word, "Remember Alpin:" and the moment it was given, they spared neither age, nor rank of men. The hills covered the retreat of the English; and the Scots were so vehemently intent upon revenging themselves on the Picts, that they could not pursue them. This victory reduced the Picts to so low an ebb, and rendered their condition so deplorable, that they sued earnestly for peace, but in vain, for the Scots would hearken to no conditions, short of a full and entire surrender of the whole kingdom. The next year, when all places were given up northward beyond the Forth, and garrisons were placed in them, as Kenneth was marching his army against those on the other side, word was brought him, that some of the fortresses which he had left behind, were taken, and the soldiers slain. Upon this intelligence, he marched his army back against the refractory Picts, of whom he spared neither man, woman, nor child; but devastated the whole country with fire and sword. Druskenus, seeing the Picts enraged, almost like madmen, at the cruelty exercised over them, and knowing now that they must fight, not for their kingdom, but for their own lives, and those of their wives and children, gathered all the force that he could muster; and so passing the Forth, came to Seone, a town situated on the banks of the Tay, where he waited the coming of the Scots. There they again endeavoured to make a pacification, offering to surrender the country that lay beyond the Forth; but the Scots would have all or none. The fight, as must be in such circumstances of necessity, was very fierce. At last, the Picts, after an obstinate resistance, were broken; and the Tay, putting a stop to their flight, was the cause of their destruction; for Druskenus, and almost all his nobility, not being able to pass the river, were there slain; nor had the common soldiers better fortune, for, as they crowded to the shore in several places, to save themselves, they found no passage, and so all of them lost their lives. Hence it is, as I judge, that our writers say, we fought with the Picts seven times in one day. The force of the Picts was wholly broken by this overthrow, and Kenneth laid Lothian with the adjacent country waste, as also all the lands beyond the Forth, so that they should never be able to recover themselves again. The garrisons, struck with terror, surrendered themselves; and the few Picts who survived this disaster, fled into England, in an indigent and necessitous condition.

BOOK VI.

As I formerly called Fergus I. and, after him, Fergus II. the founders of the Scottish kingdom, with very great reason; so I may justly reckon Kenneth, the son of Alpin, the third founder of it. Fergus I. from a mean beginning, advanced the affairs of the Scots to such an height, that they were envied by their neighbours. Fergus II. when they were banished and dispersed into remote countries, and, in the judgment of their enemies, were quite extirpated, did, as it were, recall them to life, and in a few years restore them to their ancient splendour. But Kenneth courageously accepted the kingdom, at a time when affairs were almost become desperate; nay, at a period when others thought that the small remainder of the Scots could hardly have defended themselves, or been kept united. Not only so, but he confounded the power of the enemy, though strengthened by foreign aid, and clad with victory, in many sharp, yet prosperous battles; and when he had thus weakened them, drove them out of the country, and utterly extinguished

their kingdom and name. Though these were great exploits, yet they were not his most important achievements; for, as he enlarged his kingdom to twice its former dimensions, so he governed it in such a manner, both by making new laws, and also by reviving the old ones, that neither licentiousness, the child of war, nor pride, the offspring of victory, nor any footsteps of those evils which are wont to accompany luxury and ease, made their appearance during his life. The affairs of Scotland were even supported many years after, as much by his laws, called by posterity the Macalpin code, as they had been by his arms. But to pass these things: I shall proceed to relate his noble acts as I have begun. Kenneth, having driven out the Picts, distributed their lands among his soldiers, according to their respective valour and merit: who, out of ambition, gave many places and countries new names, and abrogated the old ones. Kenneth divided Horestia betwixt two brothers, *Æneas* and *Mearn*; one part of which, in old Scottish, is yet called *Æneia*, though such as more affect the English speech call it *Angus*; while the other is termed *Mearn*. The country adjoining, from *Tay* to the *Forth*, was called by the ancients *Ross*, that is, a peninsula. There are some signs of the name remaining, as *Culross*, a town which is, as it were, the back or hinder part of *Ross*; and *Kinross*, which signifies the Head of *Ross*. Now, at this day, all that country is called *Fife*, from an eminent person of that name, whose cognomen, they say, was *Duff*: *Barodunum*, a town in *Lothian*, or, as some call it, *Dunbar*, is supposed to have been so named from a great man named *Bar*. *Lothian* had its name, not long ago, from *Lothus*, king of the Picts. *Cunningham* is wholly a Danish word, used, as I think, by the Danes, after the death of Kenneth, who possessed that country for some years, having driven the Scots beyond the wall of *Severus*; for *Cunningham* signifies, in the Danish language, the king's house or palace. It is also probable that *March* was so called by the Danes, because it fixed the limits between both kingdoms. As for *Edinburgh*, either through gross ignorance or perverse prejudice, it is sometimes called the *Dolful Valley*, and sometimes the *Maiden's Castle*. The name in itself is not very obscure, though it becomes so by bad management; for they borrowed these appellations from French romances, which were devised within the last three hundred years. This is certain, that the elder Scots called it *Dunclinum*; and the later *Edinburgum*, herein following the custom of their country, in the imposition of names; whereas that castle, in a middle appellation between both, I think, may be better named *Edinum*. But enough in this place concerning the old and new names of the countries, of which I have spoken more largely before. To return then to Kenneth. Having enlarged his kingdom, as I have already said, and settled wholesome laws for the administration of the government, he further endeavoured to confirm his royal authority by such mean and trivial things, as bordered upon superstition. There was a marble stone, which *Simon Breucus* is said to have imported into Ireland out of Spain, and which *Fergus*, the son of *Ferchard*, afterwards brought over into Scottish Albion, and to have placed in *Argyle*. This stone Kenneth removed from thence to *Seone*, by the river *Tay*, where he caused it to be enclosed in a chair of wood. The kings of Scotland, after this, were wont to receive their regal name, and to be invested with the royal robes, sitting in this chair, till the time of *Edward the First*, of England, of whom in his place. Kenneth also translated the episcopal see, which the Picts had placed at *Abernethy*, to *Fanum Reguli*, afterwards called *St. Andrew's*. But the ancient bishops of Scotland, who were chosen out of monasteries, did not strive for place or honour, so much as for sanctity and learning. They performed their functions every where, occasionally, as opportunity offered, without envy or ambition; no certain dioceses being allotted to them, because the ecclesiastical function was not as yet made a post of gain and worldly lucre. In this manner Kenneth reigned twenty years. In the beginning of his fifth year, he overthrew the Picts, as the *Black Book of Paisley* relates. The remaining fifteen years, after he had destroyed that government, he lived in great tranquillity, maintaining order at home by his just government, and peace abroad by the power of his arms. He also enlarged his dominions from the *Orcades* to the wall of *Adrian*; and died in the year 854.

• *DONALD V. the seventieth King, began to reign A. D. 854.*

Donald, his brother, was next chosen king, who quite altered the whole public discipline, together with his own demeanour. For whereas, in the lifetime of Alpin, he made a shew of temperance, and, by that means, obtained the love of the better sort; when his brother was dead, as if he had been freed from all fear and restraint, he gave himself up wholly to pleasure. And, as if there had been no danger from any enemy without, he neglected all military study, and kept hardly any about him but hunters, falconers, and the inventors of new pleasures; upon whom he lavished the public revenue. The younger sort, who were prone to pleasures, extolled the king to the skies, as a noble and generous prince, and ridiculed the economy of the preceding times, as being rude and niggardly. The ancient counsellors, foreseeing that all things were likely to run to ruin in a short time, came to the king, to put him in mind of his duty, and remonstrated with him on his present evil ways, warning him also of the dangers impending on him. He, notwithstanding this, persisted in his slothful kind of life, which encouraged the remainder of the Picts (as if an hopeful opportunity had been given to them, from the very bottom of despair) to court the assistance of the two most powerful of the English princes, Osbreth and Ella; for that country was then divided into several kingdoms. To them the Picts laid open their calamities, and implored their help, at the same time promising, that they and all their posterity would become feudatories to the English, in case they obtained the victory over the Scots, which they judged would be the easier on account of the slothful nature of Donald. The English were easily persuaded, and having settled things at home, led their army into the country of March, from whence they sent heralds to Donald, requiring, that the lands which the Scots had forcibly taken from the Picts, their friends and allies, should be restored. Donald, by the advice of the estates, which, though reluctantly in this time of imminent danger, he had convened, levied an army, and met the enemy at Jedd, a river in Teviotdale, where he gave them battle, and overthrew Osbreth, who was forced to fly to the adjoining mountains. From thence Donald marched by the Tweed to the sea-side, and recovered Berwick, which though it had been taken by the English, was now deserted by them again, on the news of the late battle. Here he took all the ships riding in the mouth of the river, and seized the provisions which the enemy had collected there. But then, on the other hand, here also he embraced the opportunity of renewing his interrupted pleasures; and, as if his enemies had been wholly overthrown, he indulged himself in all kinds of voluptuousness. The English, who in the last fight were rather scattered than subdued, learning by their spies the carelessness and security of the Scots, gathered what force they could in the neighbourhood, and set upon them by night, while drowned in wine, and fast asleep, making a great slaughter amongst them; but took the king, who was between sleeping and waking, and carried him away prisoner. From thence they followed the course of their victory; and to make their revenge more complete, divided their army into two parts, and so marched into the heart of the country. Part of them, when they came to the Forth, procured boats, and endeavoured to pass over into Fife; but many of them were overset and drowned, and the rest, by the violence of the storm, forced back to the shore where they had embarked. From thence, they then marched to Stirling, and, joining with the rest of their army, passed over the Forth on a bridge. The Scots, after their flight, gathered themselves into a body in the vicinity, but having the bare show rather than the strength of an army, they sent ambassadors to the English for peace; which was not refused, because their strength was weakened by the late unsuccessful battle at Jedd, and also by the tempest. Though the terms proposed by the English were hard enough, yet in the present state of affairs they appeared tolerable. These were, that the Scots should yield up all the land within the wall of Severus; that their bounds should be beyond Stirling, on the Forth; beyond Dunbarton, on the Clyde; and between the two rivers, and the wall. Gallant as these conditions were, yet they were in some measure welcome and unexpected to the Scots, because no mention was made in them concerning the restoration of the Picts; for the English

and Britons divided the lands, thus obtained, between them, the river being a boundary to divide them both. Some think that the money still called Sterling was then coined there. When the lands were thus partitioned, the Picts, who had thought to recover their own, finding how much they were deceived, passed over to Denmark and Norway : a few of them, who chose to remain in England, were put to death, under the pretext that they would attempt innovations by soliciting foreign aid. Donald, after he had made peace, was honourably received on his return, partly out of respect to his ancestors, and partly in hopes of his repentance and amendment. But as he persevered in the same worthless course, the nobles, fearing that so sluggish a person, who would neither hearken to friendly counsels, nor be reclaimed by calamity, would lose that part of the kingdom which remained, confined him in a prison ; where, either out of grief and anguish of heart, in having his pleasure restrained, or from fear of being made a public spectacle, he laid violent hands on himself, in the sixth year of his reign. Others report, that this Donald performed many noble exploits, both at home and abroad, and that he died a natural death at Scone, in the year of our Lord 858.

CONSTANTINE II. *the seventy-first King, began to reign A. D. 858.*

Constantine II. the son of Kenneth, was crowned, on the death of Donald, at Scone. He was a prince of great spirit, extremely valiant, and very desirous to wipe away the ignominy which the kingdom had received under Donald, and to enlarge it to the bounds his father had left ; but he was dissuaded from that enterprise by his nobles, because the greatest part of the soldiery were slain ; and the remainder grown so corrupt, that it was not fit to put arms into their hands. On this account, the king first bent his care to correct the public manners ; and accordingly he reduced the order of ecclesiastics to their ancient simplicity by severe laws, for they had left off preaching, and had given themselves up to luxury, hunting, hawking, and courtly pomp. He caused the young soldiers, who were grown effeminate with voluptuousness and ease, to lie on the bare ground, and to have only one meal a day. Drunkards he punished with death. He also prohibited all sports, except those which served to harden the body and invigorate the mind. When, by these laws, the military of the kingdom were brought to a better condition, a certain islander, named Evenus, whom the king himself had made governor of Lochaber, a man of an unquiet spirit, and ambitious of dominion, rose up in arms. He, knowing that the young soldiers could not well endure the severity of these new regulations, first gathered a small number, and then a greater, complaining of the present state of things. Finding that his discourse was acceptable to them, he easily persuaded them to conspire against Constantine ; but being more active than cautious in strengthening their faction, they were betrayed by some of their own confederates, and slain, before they knew that any forces were coming against them. Evenus, the head of the conspiracy, was publicly executed. About this time the Danes, then the most potent and flourishing nation amongst the Germans, were solicited by the Picts to take up arms against the Scots. One Bucinus, or, as others write, Verna, whose wife had been ravished by Osbreth, made also a similar application to them ; which they, being overstocked with young people at home, easily assented to ; and so came over in numerous transports, and with a great navy, into Britain. Their first descent was in Fife ; where they slew all they met, without distinction, out of hatred to the Christian religion ; and then, dividing their army, they spoiled the country in two several directions. Constantine made head against them ; first setting upon that brigade commanded by Hubba, brother to the Danish king, who being hindered from joining the other body of troops by the sudden swelling of the river Leven, was there easily overcome and slain, except a few of his men who could swim over the river, and they fled to the second commander, called Huniber. Constantine, in his pursuit, marched as if he went, not to a battle, but to a prey, and overtook them near the town of Crail, though on his arrival he found them strongly entrenched. For the Danes, having learned prudence by their late disaster, had made a kind of defensive fortification, upon some small winding rocks near the shore, by heaping up a quantity of stones which lay there. In this situation Con-

stantine assaulted them ; but by reason of the incommodiousness of the place, and the desperate fury of the Danes, he paid dear for his rashness, not only losing a great part of his army, but being taken prisoner himself, and carried into a cave hard by, where he was slain. There are some monuments of this fight remaining to this day, as the cave, the circumvallation of the camp, which was not cut out regularly, or in equal spaces, but circuitously, according to the bending of the rocks. Some lay the blame of this calamity upon the Picts, who, being admitted into Constantine's army, were the first that ran away, and drew the greatest part of the troops after them. The Danes immediately gathered up the spoils, and departed to their ships ; and the king's body being found the day after, was carried to the sepulchre of his ancestors, in the island of Icolmkill. He possessed the kingdom sixteen years, and died in the year 874.

ETHUS, the seventy-second King, began his reign A. D. 874.

His brother, Ethus, who succeeded him, was surnamed Alipes, from his swiftness in running. He was elected king on no other or better account, than that of having gathered the relics of the army, after having been scattered by the Danes. Amongst the prodigies of his time are mentioned the appearance of those sea-monsters, which, as they come only at long intervals, in shoals, are considered as unlucky omens. The common people call them sea-monks ; others give them the name of *bassineti*, that is, hooded, or helmet fish. Ethus quite unmindful both of his brother and of his ancestors, giving himself up to every kind of vice, and drawing the young soldiers, who were by nature easily seduced, along with him, was seized by a combination of the nobility, and, after all the flagitious acts of his life had been declared to the people in a long speech, he was forced to abjure the government in the second year of his reign. Three days after, he died in prison through grief. What chiefly offended the men of military genius against him, was his slothful inactivity, because, when the Danes were at war with the English, and many bloody battles had been fought between them, he never thought of recovering the country which he had lost ; nor would even bear to be reminded of it by others. Some affirm, that he was not compelled to relinquish the kingdom, but that he was wounded in a combat by Gregory, who was desirous of getting the government into his own hands, and that he died two months afterwards, in the year 875.

GREGORY, the seventy-third King, began to reign A. D. 875.

Gregory, the son of Dongallus, was elected king in his stead ; a person of a truly royal spirit, in whom no virtue was wanting, that was necessary to complete a monarch. First, he brought over all those to his favour, who had been against him when he endeavoured to gain the throne ; and next he proceeded to restore the nobles themselves ; besides which, he so tempered the strictness of his government with affability, that he got the command of his subjects more by love than by fear. He either revived the old laws concerning the rights of the clergy, who were almost in the nature of slaves, under the Picts, or else he made new ones to the same purpose. His first expedition was into Fife, against those Picts who had been left there by the Danes, whilst they were employing their arms against the English. These he drove not only out of Fife, but also out of Lothian and March. The Danes, on his approaching Berwick, dreading, that if they should meet with any misfortune, the English would be against them, studiously avoided risking a battle with Gregory. Instead of encountering him, therefore, they sent part of their forces over the river into Northumberland, commanding them to join a small brigade of their countrymen, who had newly landed there ; while the rest entered Berwick, to strengthen that garrison. The English there, who were under the command of the Danes, though very unwillingly, as being of a different religion from themselves, gave admission to the Scots in the night-time ; by which means all the foreigners were put to the sword. From thence, Gregory marched into Northumberland, where he gained a great victory over Hardyknute, and made so great a slaughter of the Danes, that their numbers, which were lately formidable to all Britain, became wonderfully diminished. This was partly accom-

plished by Gregory of Scotland, and partly by Alfred of England. Gregory, having reduced Northumberland, gave free leave to those English who had a mind to depart; while he very courteously distributed lands among the rest who chose to remain. The greater part of the English, therefore, staid behind; partly out of love of their native soil, partly on account of the king's bounty, and partly also for fear of their enemies. For, as the English had, during several years past, sustained many cruel engagements with the Danes, in which the victory was often uncertain, many of them chose rather to be under the dominion of the Scots, who, though formerly enemies, were yet Christians, than either to fall into the power of the bloody Danes, or to hope for a casual support from their own countrymen; especially since things were in such a general confusion over all Britain, that the people knew not which party to succour first. After Gregory had chastised the Danes so severely that he had no reason to expect any more trouble from them, he turned his arms against the Britons, who as yet held some of the Scottish dominions; but, on their restoring the lands, and promising to assist him against the Danes, in case they should return, he made peace with them, and disbanded his army. The Britons, however, after their return home, repented of the treaty they had made; and entering Scotland again in a hostile manner, were driving away a great booty; when Gregory met them at Lochmaben, and, after a bloody fight, overthrew them; Constantine, their king, falling in the battle. The Britons, having received this fruit of their ill conduct, made Herbert, the brother of Constantine, king; and then began to think in what a dangerous state they were, having both the Scots and Danes for their enemies; while their alliance with the English was very precarious. Weighing these considerations, they sent ambassadors to the Scots for peace, who refused it on any other terms, than the cession of Cumberland and Westmoreland to them; which was yielded to, and the peace made on those conditions. About the same time, there came ambassadors from Alfred of England, partly to congratulate the Scots on their victory over the Danes, which ought, they said, to be justly acceptable to all Christians; and partly to enter into a new league against all the enemies of the faith. An alliance was accordingly concluded between the two nations, on these conditions: "That they should oppose, with their joint forces, all foreign enemies who should make a descent on the borders of either country; and that the Scots should quietly enjoy for ever the lands which they had gained from the Danes." Peace being thus secured by arms on every side, and a league made and established, news was brought to Gregory, upon his return, that the Irish had made an irruption into Galloway. The cause of the war was pretended to be this, that the men of Galloway had, in a hostile manner, seized upon and plundered some galleys which were driven on their coasts, belonging to the inhabitants of Dublin, the capital of Ireland. The Irish, when they heard that Gregory was coming, hastened, in great consternation, with the prey they had gained, to their ships; and the king, with a good fleet and strong army, as soon as he conveniently could, crossed the channel also. Duncan, Donatus, or Dunachus, was at that time king of Ireland, but, being under age, Brienus and Cornelius, two of the most powerful of the nobility under him, divided the whole country into separate factions. But now they suddenly concluded a truce on the approach of a foreign enemy; after which they pitched and fortified their camps apart, near the river Bann, a place that seemed very well adapted for that purpose. Their end in doing this was, to weary out Gregory by delay, and to force him to withdraw his army from a depopulated country, for want of provision. Gregory penetrated through their design, and therefore secretly, in the night, sent part of his army to seize upon a hill which overhung the camp of Brienus. The day after, when the battle took place, these Scots, in the heat of the fight, threw down mighty stones upon the Irish camp, which crushed many of the men to pieces; and so terrified the rest, that their ranks were broken, and they fled in great disorder and confusion. Cornelius, hearing of this event, drew off his army, without striking a blow, into places of greater safety. Brienus was slain in his camp; the rest had as much quarter given them as possible, by the orders of Gregory, who then marched over the country without committing any ravages; which lenity occasioned many rather to submit themselves to the

mercy of the king, than to withstand him by force. The fortified towns were strengthened with garrisons; and Gregory, having reduced Dundalk and Drogheda, two places made strong both by nature and art, determined to march directly to Dublin. But hearing that Cornelius, general of all the Irish forces, was coming against him with a great army, he turned aside to fight him, and gained the victory, following the fugitives as far as Dublin, to which he laid siege. As there was not provision enough in the city for the number of people that had fled thither, a capitulation was entered into through the mediation of Cormachus, the bishop. Gregory, at his entrance, did no injury to any of the inhabitants; but visited Duncan, his kinsman, and protested that he came not thither out of an ambitious desire to take away the kingdom from him, or to amass riches for himself, but only to revenge the wrongs which he had received. Accordingly he committed the care of the young king to such of his old counsellors as he judged were most faithful; while he assumed to himself the title of being his guardian, till he should be of age. He also put garrisons into the forts, and exacted an oath from the nobility, that they should admit neither English, Dane, nor Briton into the island, without his permission; he appointed judges in convenient places, who were to administer justice betwixt man and man in matters of controversy, according to the laws of the country; and then taking sixty hostages for the performance of these conditions, he returned home in triumph. The fame of his justice made the peace much firmer and lasting, than any terror of his arms could have done. Having thus managed matters both at home and abroad, he departed this life in the eighteenth year of his reign, being no less eminent for his equity and temperance, than for his valour and magnanimity; so that he was justly named, by his countrymen, Gregory the Great. He died in the year 892.

DONALD VI. the seventy-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 892.

Donald, the sixth of that name, the son of Constantine II. was made king after Gregory, having been recommended by his great predecessor, before his death, to the nobility. He did not falsify the opinion which men had conceived of his being a very prudent prince; for he so maintained peace, as to be always prepared for war. Though for a long time he had no enemy to encounter, he took care that the soldiery should not degenerate, or, by becoming corrupted through ease and rest, grow inclinable, as had often happened, to run into all manner of evil practices. When a new army of Danes drew near the coast of Northumberland, and lay at anchor there for some days, without molesting any one, Donald collected an army, and, being watchful of all opportunities, went to guard that province. Then, hearing that the Danes had made a descent upon the English territory, he sent aid to king Alured, who fought a bloody battle with the Danes. But, though he gained the victory, he was content to admit the Danes into part of his dominions, provided they would turn Christians. Peace was accordingly made on these terms, the army was disbanded, and Donald returned home, where he met with domestic disquietude. There happened so great a feud betwixt the people of Ross and those of March, caused by some small robberies at first, that more were slain by partial combats, than if they had met in a pitched battle. Donald proceeded thither, and, having put to death the heads of the factions, restored peace to the country. John Fordun, the Scottish chronologer, says, that in this expedition he died at Fores, not without a suspicion of being poisoned; but Boetius affirms, that he returned to Northumberland, to enforce the terms of the peace which he had made with the Danes, of whom he was always suspicious; and that he died there, after a reign of eleven years, A. D. 903. His memory was precious both to rich and poor.

CONSTANTINE III. the seventy-fifth King, began to reign A. D. 903.

Constantine III. the son of Ethus, was made king in the room of Donald. He was a man of no ill disposition, yet could not be truly termed firmly and constantly good. The Danes, after failing in their endeavours to prevail with Gregory and Donald to join them against the English, who were then Christians, easily wrought upon Constantine by gifts, and the vain promise of

enlarging his dominions, to make a league with them. This scarcely lasted two years; for the Danes, deserting the Scots, formed an alliance with the English. This also had hardly continued four years, when Edward, king of England, gathered an army together, and spoiled the country of the Danes; by which they were reduced to such straits, that they were forced to return to the Scots, whom they had lately deserted; and to whom they swore most religiously, that they would for ever after observe the amity inviolably. This second league is reported to have been entered into, with great ceremony, in the tenth year of Constantine; at which time he gave Cumberland to Malcolm, son of the last king, which was a favourable presage to him, that the next reign should be his own. The same custom was afterwards observed, by some succeeding kings, to the manifest disannulling of the old way of conveying the estates, whose free suffrages ought not to have been thus abridged; but this was like the designation of the consuls by the Cæsars, which put an end to the Roman liberty. A war being now begun between Edward, the son of Alured, and the Danes; Constantine sent aid to the latter, under the conduct of Malcolm. He joined his army with the Danes, and being superior in number, they harassed the adjoining countries of the English, making great devastation wherever they came, that they might force the enemy, who were inferior in numbers, to a battle. They were, indeed, so arrogantly confident of their strength, that they thought their enemy would never dare to look them in the face; so that now, as secure of the victory, they began to talk of dividing the spoil. 'But, as prosperity often blinds the eyes of the wise; so adversity, and the foresight of danger, is a good schoolmaster, even to the weaker side.' Thus it was here, for what the English wanted in strength, they supplied with art, skill, and stratagem. Their army was well supplied with reserves, and so they began the fight; when the first ranks, as they had been instructed, gave ground, and, under the pretence of being discomfited, made an appearance of flying, that so, their enemies pursuing them in disorder, they might again return upon them in that straggling posture. Athelstan, the base-born son of Edward, was general of all the English forces, as our writers affirm; and Grafton also says the same thing. They make this Athelstan guilty of parricide, in killing his father, and his two brothers Edred and Edwin, whose right it was immediately to have succeeded to the kingdom. Fame increases the suspicion, that Edward was violently put to death, because it attributes to him the title of a martyr. For this fact Athelstan being hated, to recover the favour of the people, resolved upon some eminent enterprise; and accordingly determined, at last, to expiate the blood of his kindred, by shodding that of his enemies. In pursuance of this resolution, when he had fought stoutly for a time, he gave ground by little and little; but afterward retreated with more precipitation, and in greater fear and confusion, as if he intended absolutely to run away. The Danes and Scots, supposing themselves conquerors, were unwilling to make any brisk pursuit, lest the most dastardly of the soldiers should enjoy all the booty, and therefore they returned to plunder the camp. Upon this Athelstan gave a signal; and the English, returning to their colours, set upon them as they were scattered and laden with spoil, and killed them like so many dogs. The greatest part of the Scottish nobility fell in this fight, who chose rather to die on the spot, than to undergo the ignominy of deserting their companions in war. Malcolm being sorely wounded, was carried off the field by his own men, and sent the doleful tidings of the loss of his army to Constantine; nor was the face of things more pleasant amongst the Danes. Athelstan, during the confusion of his enemies, took Cumberland and Westmoreland from the Scots, and Northumberland from the Danes. Constantine, not having force enough either to wage war, or to insist upon an honourable peace, called a convention of the estates at Abernethy, where he willingly resigned the kingdom, joining the Culdees, or worshippers of God, as the monks of that age were called, among whom, as in a sanctuary, he spent the remaining five years of his life at St. Andrew's. He died in the year 943, and the fortieth from the beginning of his reign. Here the English writers, who are profuse in their own praises, affirm, that Athelstan was the sole monarch of all Britain, and that the others, who had the names of kings in Albion, were only

precariously so, being his dependents, and taking an oath of fidelity to him, as their supreme lord. They quote many ignoble English authors as favourers of this opinion; and, to procure themselves greater credit, they add also Marianus Scotus, who was indeed an illustrious writer. There is, however, no mention of this in that edition of Marianus which was printed in Germany; and if they have another writer of the name, different from him who is publicly read, and one interpolated or forged by themselves, let him be produced. Besides, these persons being men generally unlearned, do not, in some places, sufficiently understand their own writers; neither do they take notice, that Bede, William of Malmsbury, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, commonly give the name of Britain to that part of the island over which the Britons ruled, which was within the wall of Adrian; or, when they stretched their dominions farthest, within the wall of Severus; so that the Scots and Picts are oftentimes reckoned by them as being out of Britain, and a transmarine people. Therefore, when they read, that the English once reigned over all Britain, they understand the authors, as including Albion or Albion; whereas they often circumscribe Britain within narrower limits; but of this I have spoken more largely in another place. To return to the affairs of Scotland.

MALCOLM I. the seventy-sixth King, began to reign A. D. 943.

Constantine having retired into a monastery, Malcolm, the son of Donald, was proclaimed king. Athelstan being now dead, and his brother Edmund reigning, Cumberland and Westmoreland revolted from the English, and returned to their old masters. Moreover, the Danes, who remained in Northumberland, sent for Avalassus, their countryman, of the royal progeny, who had been an exile in Ireland, to make him king. Edmund, foreseeing that the clouds of war were gathering over his head, yielded Cumberland and Westmoreland to Malcolm, upon this condition, that the next successor in the Scottish kingdom should take an oath to the king of England, as the lord paramount of that country. Afterwards he easily reduced the Danes, who had been afflicted with various calamities; but he did not long survive his victory. The English then chose his brother Edred for their king; against whom the Danes, who possessed Northumberland, and never cordially observed any peace which they made with the English, revolted; and whilst Edred was encumbered with other affairs at a distance, they took from him many strong and well-fortified places, particularly York; but he at length overcame them with the assistance of 10,000 Scots. Malcolm, on his return home, gave himself wholly up to the arts of peace; and to cure the disorders occasioned by the wars, especially luxury and licentious living, he usually visited, in person, all the courts of judicature once in two years, and administered justice with great equity. At length, whilst he was busy in punishing robbers, and in restraining the lewd manners of the younger sort, he was murdered in the night, by some conspirators of the province of Murray, in the ninth year of his reign. The perpetrators of this villany, being discovered by the nobles, were put to death, each according to his degree of guilt, in committing the parricide.

INDULFUS, the seventy-seventh King, began to reign, A. D. 952.

Indulfus reigned after him, who, having settled things in peace at home, passed seven years in great tranquillity; but in the eighth year of his reign, the Danes, taking offence that a preference was given to the English, and that a perpetual league had been formed between the two kings, injurious, as they conceived, to their interests, came with a fleet of fifty ships into the frith of Forth, and so alarmed the Scots, that they were nearly overthrown by the surprise. In this sudden invasion, the people were all struck with fear and amazement; some retired with their goods into the interior, as to a place of more safety; while others ran to the sea-side, to hinder the enemy's landing. The two commanders of the Danish fleet, Hago and Helricus, endeavoured first to land in Lothian, and afterwards in Fife, but being frustrated in their effort, they attempted to enter the river Tay, where, also, they were hindered from making any descent. After this they coasted along the shores of Angus, Mearn, Marr, and Buchan; but, being prevented from landing in all those

parts, they stood out to sea, as if they intended to return home. Within a few days, however, when all was secure, they came back again, and having found a convenient place in Boyn, at the mouth of the river Cullen, they there landed their men without opposition, before the country-people could give any alarm of their arrival. When Indulfus heard of their disembarkation, he marched towards them before they could well have any notice of his coming; and first he set upon the straggling plunderers, whom he drove to their army, but made no great slaughter of them, because the main body of the Danes was near, to cover their retreat. When the two armies came in sight of each other, they both drew up in order of battle, which began with equal force and courage. Whilst they were thus fiercely fighting, Græme and Dunbar, with some troops out of Lothian, appeared on the rear of the Danes; which threw them into such a consternation, that they fled, some to their ships, others to unknown places, according to their fears of the enemy; but the greater part of them drew up in a close circular body, in a woody vale, where they stood, bravely resolved to conquer or die. In the mean time, Indulfus, as if his foes had been wholly overcome, rode up and down with a few attendants, by which imprudence he came into conflict with the Danes, who slew him, at the beginning of the tenth year of his reign. Some say, that he was killed by the shooting of an arrow from one of the vessels; having put off his armour, that he might be more active in the pursuit, and press the more eagerly upon the fugitives, as they were hurrying to get on board their ships.

DUFF, the seventy-eighth King, began to reign A. D. 961.

After his death, Duff, the son of Malcolm, obtained the kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, he made Culenus, son of king Indulfus, governor of Cumberland. He also sent him into the Æbudæ, which were then in a state of war and disorder, to restrain the frequent robberies committed in those islands; for the young soldiers of the nobility, having got many companions about them, made the common people tributary to them, imposing a pecuniary mulct on every family, besides free quarter. Culenus, however, dealt not more harshly with them, than with the governors, who ought to have restrained such outrages. He directed that, for the future, those persons, by whose negligence such disorders occurred, should make satisfaction to the commonalty, and also pay a fine to the king. This regulation struck such a terror into these worthless characters, that many of them went over to Iceland, and there got their living by daily labour. But if the correction proved acceptable to the common people, it was grievously offensive to the noble relatives of those who were banished, as well as to many of the younger sort, who were in love with that idle kind of life. These men, in their private meetings and assemblies, first secretly, and afterwards in the presence of a multitude of such as applauded them, more openly began to revile their king; alleging, that he despised the nobility, and was drawn away and seduced by the counsel of haughty priests; that he degraded those who were of good extraction to a state of servility; while he advanced the most abject of the people to the highest honours: and that, in fact, he made such changes as tended to throw the country into confusion. They farther added, that if things should continue in this state, either the nobility must emigrate into other countries, or else elect a new king, who should govern the people according to ancient laws, by which the nation had arrived, from a small beginning, to the height of grandeur. Amidst these combustions, the king was seized with a new and unusual disorder; for which, as no evident cause appeared, nor any remedy was to be found, a rumour began to be spread abroad, but with whom it originated is unknown, that he was bewitched. This suspicion arose either from some indications of his disease, or else on account of the wasting away of his body by continual sweating; so that his strength was decayed to such a degree, that the physicians, who were sent for far and near, not knowing what to apply for his relief, when no common causes of the malady discovered themselves, ascribed it to a secret unknown influence. Whilst public attention was fixed upon the king's complaint, news was brought

that nightly assemblies and conspiracies were made against him at Fores, a town in Murray. The report was soon received for truth, especially as there was nothing to contradict it; therefore some faithful messengers were sent to Donald, governor of the province, in whom the king confided much, even in his greatest affairs, to make inquiry into the fact. He, from a discovery made by a certain harlot, whose mother was noted for a witch, detected the whole conspiracy; for the girl having let drop, a few days before, some words concerning the sickness and death of the king, was apprehended, and brought to the rack to be tortured, at the very sight of which she presently confessed what was designed against the life of the monarch. Upon this, soldiers were sent, who found the mother of the girl, and some other women, roasting the king's image, made of wax, by a slow fire. Their design was, that as the wax did leisurely melt, so the king, being dissolved by perspiration, should gradually pine away, till the figure was quite consumed, when his breath failing him, he should presently die. On breaking this figure to pieces, and punishing the witches, the king was freed from his disease. These things I deliver as I have heard them from our ancestors; but what judgment is to be formed of this sort of witchcraft, must be left to the reader; only reminding him, that this story is not found in our ancient records. Amidst these things, the fear of the king being laid aside, because it was hoped he would shortly die, many robberies and murders were committed every where. Duff, however, having recovered his strength, pursued the robbers through Murray, Ross, and Caithness, and slew many of them in several skirmishes, as occasion offered; but he brought the chief of them to Fores, that their punishment might be the more conspicuous in that town. There Donald, governor of the town and castle, petitioned the king to pardon some of his relations, who were of the gang; and on being denied, he fell into a great passion, as if he had been personally wronged. His whole mind was now taken up with the thoughts of revenge; for he concluded that the services which he had rendered to the king were so great, as to have entitled him to the grant of whatever he should choose to demand. The wife of Donald also, finding that some of her kindred were like to suffer, further inflamed the already disaffected heart of her husband, by artful and bitter expressions; exciting him to contrive the death of the king, and affirming, that, since he was governor of the castle, he had the life and death of Duff in his power; so that he could not only perpetrate the murder easily, but conceal it after it was committed. Accordingly, when the king, fatigued and wearied out with business, was sounder asleep than ordinary, and his attendants, who were purposely made drunk by Donald, happened to be immersed in a deep sleep also, he sent in assassins, who, after they had murdered the monarch, carried him out so cunningly by a back way, that not so much as a drop of blood fell in the passage. The body was buried two miles from the abbey of Kinloss, under a little bridge, in a retired place, having the green turf laid over it, so that there might be no sign of any ground having been recently dug there. This seems a more likely story to me, than what others relate, that the course of the river was turned, and his body cast into a hole at the bottom; but that when the waters returned again to their own channel, then his grave, such as it was, became covered. The perpetrators of the bloody deed were sent out of the way by Donald, because there is an opinion received from our ancestors, and which as yet obtains amongst the vulgar, "That blood will issue from a dead body, many days after the murder, on being touched by the criminal, just the same as if the fact had been but newly committed." The following day, when the report was spread abroad that the king was missing, and that his bed was sprinkled over with blood, Donald, as if he had been surprised at the atrocious offence, flew into the king's bedchamber, and, apparently maddened with anger and revenge, slew the officers appointed to attend him; after which, he presently made diligent inquiry every where, for a discovery of the dead body. The rest, being amazed at the villany, and afraid of their own lives, returned every one to his own house. Thus this good king was most inhumanly and impiously cut off in the flower of his age, after he had reigned four years and six months; and, as soon as conveniently could be done, the states assembled to elect a new sovereign.

CULENUS, the seventy-ninth King, began to reign A. D. 966.

When Culenus, the son of Indulfus, was made king by the assembly of the estates, the next thing they did, was to inquire into the murder of the late monarch, and they made the more haste to examine the affair, because of some prodigies that had happened, one of which seemed particularly to regard that event. A hawk was shot, trussed by an owl, which cut its throat. Other signs also were referred to the same calamity, by the interpretation of the vulgar. For six months after the murder, extraordinary fires appeared in the element; the air was agitated with dreadful hurricanes; nay, the heavens were so obscured and defaced with clouds, that neither sun nor moon could be seen in Scotland all the time. This made men intent upon revenging the death of the good king; and, to that purpose, Culenus went into Murray, hoping to make some certain discoveries of the murder upon the spot where it was committed. Donald, hearing of his coming, and conscious of his guilt and parricide, of which also his over-curious and seemingly wild inquisitiveness made in search of the perpetrators, rendered him still more suspected, procured a vessel at the mouth of the river Spey; where, with some others, he embarked, unknown even to his wife and children. This he did out of fear, lest the truth should have been extorted from him by the rack. His hasty flight, dejected countenance, few attendants, and great agitation on entering into the ship, which was but casually riding there, without any preparation for his voyage, raised so great a suspicion of him in the minds of all who were present, that they publicly vented all manner of reproaches against him, calling him an impious, sacrilegious wretch, and a parricide, and whatever other contumacious terms their inflamed anger could suggest. They added also, that though he had escaped from the presence of the king, he could never avoid the vindictive providence and avenging judgment of the Almighty. In a word, they pursued him with all the execrations which the highest indignation could excite in minds thoroughly provoked, till the ship was quite out of sight. When Culenus heard of his hasty flight, he hastened to the castle of Fores, where he apprehended the wife of Donald, and his three children; and by shewing them the rack, compelled them to discover the whole of the conspiracy; as also how, by whom, and where the body was buried. The wife, on her trial, not only confessed herself to have been privy to the murder, and accessory to it, but that she was the person who persuaded her husband to the bloody deed. When the people heard this, they were so infuriated, that it was with difficulty the magistrates could keep them from tearing her to pieces. Shortly after, Donald having been tossed about some days at sea, was shipwrecked and cast ashore, and being brought to the king, he and all his associates underwent the punishments they so richly deserved. His castle was burnt, and all that were in it were put to death on the spot; while those who brought him to the king were liberally rewarded. The body of Duff was honourably interred among his ancestors. But though these things highly ingratiated Culenus with those who were good, the remaining part of his life brought as much odium upon him as ever any king before laboured under; for, whether induced by his own nature, or urged through fear of danger, as his conduct implied, he suffered the severity of the discipline that had been used under Indulfus and Duff, to grow cold and remiss; permitting the younger people, who were given up to debauchery and foreign pleasures, to run into those licentious practices which were forbidden by the laws, till at last they broke forth into open violence and robbery. When the king saw the greatest part of the young nobility addicted to these vices, he plunged himself into the like wicked courses; so that he refrained not from corrupting noble matrons, and even religious nuns, who, in that age, on the account of their special regard to chastity, were had in great veneration, nor yet from his own sisters and daughters. He kept also numbers of other harlots, who were sought out by his panders, and thus he turned his palace into stews.

When admonished and put in mind of these things by persons of prudence and wisdom, he answered, in behalf of the young nobility, that something was to be allowed to their age, and that, though he could not help pleading guilty to many charges, he was forced, he said, out of fear, to tolerate them;

for I remember, he added, what great calamity the unseasonable severity of the former king brought, not only on himself, but on the whole kingdom; that the nobility were the stay and prop of the throne; that it was not true, that the martial spirits of men were always broken by this free kind of life, or made low and abject; nor that the thoughts of arms were so neglected by them in peace, as if they expected that there would never more be a return of war. It is true, proceeded he, the luxury of youthful age is so far to be restrained, that it may not run to excess, for fear the good seed of ingenuity should be choked as it were in the bud, and lost in too much licentiousness; yet it is not wholly to be abridged or taken away, lest the seeds of virtue should suffer in common with the vices, and be both plucked up together. When the nobles heard this plea, which he urged in his own defence, and perceived that, instead of doing any good with him by their persuasions, they should probably create trouble to themselves by taking farther liberty with him in their replies, they withdrew from court, that they might not be even witnesses of the foul practices which they detested. The king, now freed from such troublesome advisers, gave himself wholly up to wine and women; proposing rewards to those who could invent any new kind of pleasure, though ever so scandalous: insomuch that his whole court rung both night and day with the lewd songs of debauchees, and the raving of drunkards. These indecent outrages were as much admired by him, as modesty and chastity are wont to be esteemed by virtuous princes; and those vices which, though allowed or connived at by the law in other men, are, notwithstanding that impunity, committed even by them in secret, were here openly practised without shame. The young nobility, who were thus grown corrupt with pleasure, and a multitude of parasites and flatterers with them, extolled the king to the skies, as if he were the first monarch who had united splendour and magnificence to authority; by tempering the severity of his government with lenity, and easing the burdens of care and labour with freedom of spirit.

To continue these extravagant courses, there was need of great expense; and, therefore, the wealthier sort were fined upon feigned accusations; and the plebeians were suffered to be made a perfect prey, and harassed with all sorts of servile offices. He that felt displeased with the state of things, was accounted no better than a clown, or a savage; but, if he had a higher spirit than ordinary, he was presently accused, by a pack of informers, as one, who aimed at innovation in the state. After three years spent in this licentiousness, and when men were silent, out of fear or sloth, luxury began to produce its own punishment; for, when the king's strength was exhausted by debauchery, and his body had contracted deformity by riot and luxury, those diseases followed, which are the usual and almost constant companions of such vices: so that there only remained an emaciated carcase, fit for nothing but to bear the punishment of its irregular life. The king, thus disabled for all the duties and functions of his station, his body and mind being enervated and weakened by intemperance; and his attendants also following the same practices: some audacious fellows were emboldened to commit public robberies and murders, regarding the plebeians as men of poor and servile spirits, and the courtiers as persons enfeebled by intemperance.

The better part of the nobility, finding themselves surrounded with so many evils, and seeing the kingdom on the brink of destruction, called an assembly of the states at Scone, where the king also was desired to be present, that he might consult in common with the rest, in such a dangerous juncture of affairs, for the public safety. Inwardly struck at this summons, and awakened, as it were, from his drowsy sloth, Culenus began to advise with his confederates, what, in such difficulties, he should do. At length, though he neither knew how to resist, nor how to fly, and his mind presaged no good to him; he resolved to go to the assembly. And, as miserable men are wont to flatter themselves in adversity, so he did not altogether despair, that, either out of pity, or out of respect to his father's memory, he should procure some favour, and not be suddenly hurled down from so high a dignity, to the lowest abyss of woe and wretchedness. Accordingly, he set out for Scone, with a large, but unarmed and dispirited train; so that, on his arrival at a neighbouring village, called Methven, he was set upon and slain by the thane or sheriff

of the country, out of revenge for having ravished his daughter. When his death came to be publicly known, though all men were heartily glad at having got rid of such a monster with less trouble than they expected, yet the pepretration of the fact by Rohard, or Radard, the thane, was very much disliked by all people. He reigned, as the former king had done four years and six months.

KENNETH III. *the eightieth King, began to reign A. D. 970.*

Kenneth, the brother of Duff, and third of the name, succeeded Culenus. He, being the reverse of his predecessor in his disposition, manners, and course of life, used as much diligence in reforming the lives of the younger sort, as the other had done in corrupting them; though his task was the greater, because men are carried down headlong into vice, with an ardent propensity of mind; while the way to virtue is by a steep ascent. And, indeed, this was the thing that gave the chief occasion to the opinions of some philosophers, who contended that man is naturally made to enjoy pleasure, but that he is drawn to virtue, as it were, violently, and against his own inclination. I maintain both parts of the assertion to be false; but perhaps the origin of the mistake arose from hence, that seeing there is a double power of nature in man, one of his body, the other of his mind, the vigour of the former seems to exert itself sooner and quicker than that of the intellect; and, as plants first send forth stalks, leaves, and flowers, pleasant to behold, before the seed begins to be formed in its proper pod and receptacle; but when the seed ripens, all other things fade away, and at last quite wither and decay; so in like manner our bodies grow youthful betimes, and before the virtue of our minds, which is then but weak and tender, can exert its force; but as the members grow old by degrees, so the strength of the mind and judgment expands and unfolds itself more and more; and therefore, as in corn, we restrain the luxuriant growth of it, either by causing it to be eaten up, or by cutting down its luxuriant blade; so in young men, the law supposes, that the forwardness of wit, which is ever eager in shewing itself, should be restrained by careful culture, till improved reason may be able, of itself, to repress the violence of the infirm body. But to return to Kenneth.

Knowing that the commonalty usually comply with the humour of the prince, and diligently imitate what he loves, he first formed a good discipline in his own court and family, that so he might manifest in deeds what he commanded in words; and as he propounded his own life to be an example to his household, so he would have the manners of his domestics to be the patterns for other people. He first purged his court from all the vile ministers of licentiousness and wickedness, that he might be the better justified, when he undertook to do the same in other parts of his kingdom. To this good end he resolved to travel over the whole country, to call together assemblies, for the preventing and punishing of thefts, murders, and robberies; to encourage men to labour by rewards, and to exhort them to concord by courteous speeches, that so the ancient discipline might be restored. But, in the execution of this purpose, he found greater difficulty than he imagined; for the major part of the nobility were either conscious of their want of virtue, and so feared their own personal punishments; or else they were allied in blood to those who were guilty. Therefore, when the first assembly was called at Lanark, a town of Clydesdale, some of those who were summoned to appear, being forewarned of the danger that awaited them, by their relations, fled into the Western isles; and some to other places that were infamous for robberies. The king understanding the fraud that had been practised upon him, and being not ignorant of the authors of it, dissembled his anger, but dissolved the assembly; and so passed on with a few of his familiar attendants into Galloway, under the pretext of performing a vow he had made to St. Ninian. On his arrival there, he consulted with those whom he judged most faithful to him, what was to be done in such a case. The result was, that a convention of all the nobility should be held the next year at Scone, ostensibly for the consideration of important matters, concerning the good of the nation in general; that so the heads of the factions might be apprehended without any tumult; and when imprisoned, their clans and tenants might be made to bring

in the malefactors to the king. This project was judged most advisable ; but it was kept secret, and communicated only to a few, till the appointed meeting at Scone. There the king caused his servants to prepare soldiers, and to keep them privately in the house adjoining to the palace, the day before the assembly ; and, at the opening of it, the nobility, being very numerous, came, where they were courteously treated by the king ; but, upon a sign given, they were immediately beset with armed men. They were all in a surprise, and overwhelmed with fear, at this sudden appearance ; but the king encouraged them by a gentle speech, telling them, "That they need not be afraid, for he intended no hurt to any good man ; and that those arms were not provided for their destruction, but defence. He farther told them, that none of them could be unacquainted with his motives and endeavours, since his accession to the crown ; which were, that the wicked and lawless should be punished according to their crimes ; and that the upright should be protected in the enjoyment of those estates which were either left them by their ancestors, or had been acquired by their own industry. The king also observed, that it was his firm intention to secure to honest men the quiet enjoyment of those rewards, which he either had bountifully bestowed, or might hereafter confer upon them, according to their respective worth and merit. These things, he said, might easily be brought to pass, if the nobility would lend their helping hands. The last year, added he, when I summoned some of the offenders to appear on a certain day, none of them at all came ; which failure, as I understand, by common report, was not so much out of confidence of their own strength, as of the assistance of their relations and friends ; and this, if true, is both dangerous to the public, and a great reflection upon those families. Now, therefore, the king continued, was the time when they might redeem both themselves from imputations, and the nation from being molested by robbers. This was easy to be done, if those who were most powerful in every county, would cause the malefactors to be apprehended, and brought to condign punishment ; and who those malefactors were, was evident to all ; but if they made excuses, and, after so fair an opportunity of deserving well of their country, proved deficient in improving it, the king, to whose care the safety of the whole people was committed, could not be excused, if he set them at liberty, before the offenders were brought to punishment. This, therefore, he told them, was the end he had in view, in taking them into custody ; and, if any one thought his long confinement would be a trouble to him, he might thank himself, since it was in his own power, not only to procure his own liberty, but also to obtain honour, reward, and the praise of all good men into the bargain." The nobles, having heard this harangue, after consulting one with another, answered, "That they had rather assert their innocency by deeds than words." Accordingly, they promised him their assistance, and desired him to lay aside all suspicion, if he had conceived a sinister opinion of any of them. Upon this, their solemn engagement, the king told them the names of the offenders. The nobles, by their friends, made diligent search after them ; and, in a short time, they were brought to the king, and punished according to law. After that the nobles were dismissed, having received some gifts, and many large promises from the king ; while the common people prayed heartily for them and his majesty.

Matters being thus composed at home, Kenneth faithfully observed the league made by some former kings with the English. But this great tranquillity of Britain was soon disturbed by the Danes, who appeared with a great fleet, and anchored near the promontory of Red-Head, in Angus. Off this coast they staid some days in consultation, whether to land there, or direct their course towards England, as they originally intended. Many of them were of opinion, that it was most advisable to make for England, because it was an opulent country, and where they might have provision enough for their army, and also meet with auxiliaries and reinforcements, in regard that many descendants from Danish ancestors were yet alive in those parts, and that many others stood obliged to them for old courtesies and friendships, who, upon the first notice of their arrival, would presently flock in to them, as they had usually done in former times ; but that, as for the Scots, they were a fierce nation, and very hardy, as those use to be who are bred in

barren and hungry soils ; that every attempt made against them was attended with great and remarkable loss ; and that, in the present case, if they overcame them, it would hardly be worth their labour ; but that if they were overcome by them, they must endure the utmost extremity and rigour. Others of the Danes were of a different opinion, alleging, that if they made their descent on the English coast, they should be obliged to fight both nations at once ; but, that if the Scots were first beaten, the war against the English would be easy, as being deprived of foreign aid, and terrified with the loss of their friends. They farther urged, that it was not the part of great and magnanimous spirits, to be intent on prey and booty only ; but they should rather call to mind the blood of their kindred and ancestors, who had been so often cruelly slain in Scotland ; and that now, especially, having a great army, and being furnished also with things necessary for war, they ought to take that revenge, which might punish the savage inhumanity of the Scots, according to their deserts, and might also carry the terror of the Danish name to all the neighbouring nations.

This last opinion prevailed, and they sailed, with their whole fleet, into the mouth of the Esk, where, landing their forces, they plundered the next town to them, and destroyed all with fire and sword. As for the castle, they levelled it to the ground ; and slaughtered all the inhabitants of the place, without distinction of age or sex. They made the like desolation all over Angus, even to the frith of the river Tay. The news of this irruption was soon brought to the king, then residing at Stirling ; but those who had escaped the fury of the enemy made things worse in the relation than they were in reality. The king, by the advice of the nobles who were present, propounded a short day to such as lived near, to come in to him ; those who dwelt farther off, he charged by letters to hasten up with their forces ; while, with such strength as he had about him, he drew towards the enemy, both to make what discovery he could of their posture, and likewise to prevent their plundering. In a short time a great multitude came into his camp, which was pitched at the confluence of the rivers Tay and Earn. As he was there ordering his forces, news came that the enemy had passed over the Tay, and were besieging Perth ; upon which, the king, much concerned at the danger of a town so near to him, marched directly to its relief. As soon as the Danes were in sight, the Scots, bent upon revenge, made haste to encounter them, and, pitching upon a convenient place for their army, approached the enemy. But the Danes having encamped on an opposite hill, where they could not, without much hazard, be attacked, the archers and dartsmen compelled them to come down ; so that a most cruel fight began at the bottom of the hill, much blood was spilt, and the victory remained uncertain, when the Danes gave forth a proclamation, through their whole army, "That no man must ever hope to return again to their camp, unless as a conqueror." Then, after a great and universal shout, they made such a brisk charge and assault upon the Scots, that both wings were routed, and the Danes eagerly followed in the pursuit. That day would certainly have been most ruinous to the Scots, unless aid had been afforded by one man, who was sent, as it were, from heaven, in this desperate posture of affairs. A certain yeoman, whose name was Hay, was casually ploughing, with his two sons, in the field over which the Scottish fugitives were making the best of their way. They were all three able-bodied men, stout and courageous, and great lovers of their country. The father instantly took up a yoke, and the sons what instruments they could lay hold of, and stood in a narrow pass, where the Scots flew the thickest ; and there, first by reproaches, and next by menaces, they endeavoured to stop them ; but not prevailing, they fell upon those that pressed nearest, saying, "That they would be as so many Danes to them who thus ran away." Hereupon, those who were of a more dastardly spirit made a halt, and the stouter, who were rather carried away by the rout than fled for fear, joined them, crying out, "Help was at hand ;" so that the whole company turned back again on the enemy, and forced the Danes to as dreadful and precipitate a flight as they themselves had been lately guilty of. This shock to the Danes, occasioned as great a shout among the baggage-men and country-people, as if a new army had been coming ; which gave such encouragement to the Scots,

and struok such a terror into their enemies, that it raised the spirits of the one, who were almost upon the point of desperation, and throw the other into a complete disorder.

This victory was obtained at the village of Loncarty, and was not only celebrated for that and some days after, but transmitted down to posterity with great rejoicing. When the conquerors were dividing the spoils, the name of Hay was in every mouth; and many credible persons affirmed that they saw, wherever he or his sons made an onset, there the Scottish ranks were restored, and the Danes broken. In fine, they all unanimously ascribed the glory, the victory, the honour of the day, and their own lives, to Hay and his sons. When Hay was brought to the king, he spoke very modestly of himself, and when rich and splendid garments were offered to him and his sons, that he and they might be the more taken notice of, at their entrance into Perth, he refused them; being content with wiping off the dust from his coat, which was the same he wore every day, and thus carrying the yoke which he used in the fight, he entered the place; a great train being commanded to follow him at a distance, as well as some to go before him; and such a confluence of people there was at this new spectacle, that he alone occupied almost the whole solemnity of the day. After the departure of the Danes, and this sudden and unexpected calm, an assembly of the states was held at Scone, where the first debate was, what honours and rewards should be bestowed on Hay and his sons. Accordingly, a grant of some of the most fertile lands in all Scotland was made to him, which his posterity enjoy to this day, and their family is happily increased into many opulent branches. The family was also promoted from the rank of the plebeians to the order of the nobility; and a coat of arms was assigned to it, according to the custom of noble houses, namely, argent three escutcheons gules; which bearing shews, in my opinion, that the public safety was procured by the eminent fortitude of those three persons in that fight.

After this battle, peace seemed to be settled for many years, when some troublesome matters at home disturbed the calm. The commotion of the islanders, who, in a marauding course, roamed all over Ross, was quickly suppressed; some of the robbers being slain in fight, others were taken in pursuit, and executed. But Crathilinthus, the son of Fenella, or, as some call her, Finabella, produced far greater disturbance. He was then the chief of all Mearn, both in descent and wealth. Cruthinetus, his grandfather on the side of his mother, was made governor by the king over that part of Angus which lies between the two rivers, each bearing the name of Esk, where he gathered the royal taxes and revenues. His grandson coming with a great train to visit him, a sudden quarrel arose amongst their respective servants, so that two of the attendants of Crathilinthus were slain. He complained of this to his grandfather, who laid the blame of the tumult upon his grandson's rude retinue and company; and after a sharp reproof dismissed him, but not without some sarcastic language from his servants and domestics. On his return home, he, in great wrath, complained of the affront to his mother; who, instead of endeavouring to allay the rage, and quiet the mind of the incensed youth, by grave and wholesome counsel, provoked him with exclamations to commit parricide upon her own father, and his grandsire. Not long after this, Crathilinthus, having gathered an armed company fit for his purpose, came by night into Angus, to the castle of his grandfather; where he, with some few followers, were admitted without suspicion. Being entered, he gave the word to the rest, who lay in ambush, and having let them in likewise, slew his grandfather, with his whole family, plundered the castle, depopulated the surrounding country; and, as if he had done a famous exploit, returned pompously with a great booty into Mearn. But the people of Angus did not suffer this injury to pass long unrevenged; for, soon after, gathering a number of their party together, they made great havock in the district of Mearn; and from this time forward, slaughters and rapine were occasionally committed on both sides. Kenneth, hearing of this, published a proclamation, that the chiefs of both parties should appear at Scone, within fifteen days, to answer what might be objected against them; for he feared, that if a greater number should resort together, farther tumults might arise.

Some few being terrified by this threatening edict, made their appearance accordingly; but the greater part, of whom Crathilinthus was chief, being conscious of their own guilt, escaped in the best manner they could. The king caused a diligent search to be made after them, in consequence of which the greatest part were taken in Lochaber, and others elsewhere. Crathilinthus, and the chief of the faction, were put to death; while others, according to the degree of their crimes, suffered less punishments; and those against whom little guilt appeared, were discharged.

This moderation and lenity procured to the king fear from the bad, but great love from the good; and settled peace in all his kingdom, till the twenty-second year of his reign. From thence, if he had persisted in the course of life which he had begun, he might well have been reckoned amongst the best princes; for he so performed all the offices both of peace and war, that he gained great renown on account of his equity, constancy, and valour. But the excellency of his former life was blemished by one wicked act, which in him seemed of a more heinous nature, as it appeared incredible and contrary to his disposition, who had before so severely punished great offenders. The occasion was this; the king, being now in years, had a son named Malcolm, a prince of great ingenuity; but, in point of age, not mature enough to govern so fierce a people, in case his father should die. Besides, the custom of our ancestors was against it, that he should reign next after his father; for they were wont to choose, not the nearest but the fittest among the relatives of the deceased king, provided he were descended from Fergus, the first monarch of the Scots. Further, the favour of the nobility was inclined to another Malcolm, the son of Duff, the most praiseworthy king of the royal race of Scotland. He was then governor of Cumberland, which county the Scots held as feudatories of the kings of England, on such terms, that this presidentship was always looked upon as an introduction to the throne, and it had been so observed for some ages past. The king, perceiving that this Malcolm, for the reasons here mentioned, would be an hindrance to the succession of his son, yet not daring to destroy him openly, caused him privately to be made away with by poison. Thus died that excellent young man, much lamented, and near to his greatest hope. Some signs of poison appeared in his body, but it entered into no man's conception to suspect the king. Nay, his deportment was such, as to avert all idea of the kind; for he mourned and wept on account of his death, and made honourable mention of his name whenever occasion offered. He also caused him to be magnificently interred, no ceremony being omitted that could be devised to do honour to the deceased. But this extraordinary concern of the king to remove all suspicion from himself, gave a shrewd jealousy to the more sagacious. They forbore, however, to express their opinions publicly, for the reverence they all bore to, and had conceived of, the king's sanctity. But soon after, the king himself scattered some words abroad, to try the minds of men, how they would bear the abolition of an old law, and the enacting a new one, concerning the succession of their kings, namely, "That, according to the custom of many nations, if a king died, his son should succeed him; and if he were under age, then to have a guardian or tutor assigned him, so that the royal name might rest in the heir; while the executive government lay in those who had the charge of him, till he should come to maturity." Though a great part of the nobles assented to his proposition, as willing to gratify him; yet the suspicion concerning the death of Malcolm prevailed among the major part, especially those of the blood-royal, who were afraid of the king.

While men's minds were thus affected, ambassadors came from England, to condole with the king on the loss of his kinsman; and to desire, that, in appointing another governor, he would remember, that Cumberland, being the bond of concord betwixt the two nations, he would set such a person over it, that might be of a pacific character, and one who would maintain the ancient alliance betwixt the two nations, for the good of both; and who, if any new suspicions or jealousies should arise, might labour to extinguish them. The king, judging this embassy fit for his purpose, convened the nobility at Scone, where he made a grave harangue to them, against the ancient custom of the assemblies of states in this point, wherein he recited all the seditions that had

happened on this account, and with how great impiety some of the surviving kindred had treated the children of former kings; and what wars, rapines, slaughters, and banishments, had been the fatal consequences. On the other side, he put them in mind, how much more peaceable, and less turbulent, the parliamentary assemblies of other countries were; and what great reverence was borne to the royal lineage, when, without canvassing for succession, children succeeded their parents in the throne. Having thus spoken, he referred the matter to that great council to come to a determinate measure in this case; acquainting them also with the request of the English ambassador. To give a greater and more manifest proof of his condescension and civility, whereas it was in his power alone to appoint a governor of Cumberland, he left it to them to nominate one; supposing that, by this moderation, he should the more easily obtain his desire concerning the succession to the crown; for if he himself had nominated his son as governor, he thought he might prejudice his object; because, as I have already said, the prefecture over Cumberland was looked upon as the designation of the person to be the succeeding king of Scotland. Constantine, the son of Culuinus, and Grimus, the son of Mogal, brother to king Duff, who were thought most likely to oppose both propositions, being first asked their opinions in this case; partly for fear of danger, and partly that they might not run against the major part of the nobility, who had been prepossessed and influenced by the king, gave their vote, "That it was in the king's power to correct and amend such laws as were inconvenient to the public; and also to appoint what governor he pleased over Cumberland." The rest, though aware that they had spoken contrary to their private sense, yet assented to what they said. By this means, Malcolm, the king's son, though not of age, and unqualified for the post, was declared Governor of Cumberland, and Prince of Scotland; which title signifies as much as Dauphin doth in France, or Cæsar amongst the old Roman emperors, and the King of the Romans amongst the modern Germans, whereby the successor to the reigning sovereign is understood. Among other laws that were made, one was, "That, as the king's eldest son should succeed his father, so, if the son died before the father, the grandson should succeed the grandfather: that when the king was under age, a tutor or protector should be chosen; some eminent man for interest and power, to govern in the king's name and stead, till he attained the age of fourteen, and then he should have liberty to choose guardians for himself." Many other things were enacted concerning the legitimate succession of heirs, as well for the whole body of the nobility, as for the royal family. Though the king had thus, by indirect and evil practices, settled the crown on his posterity, as he thought, yet his mind was not at rest. He was courteous, indeed, to all, highly obliging to many, and managed the government so, that no part of a good king was wanting in him; yet his mind being disquieted with the guilt he had committed, suffered him to enjoy no peace; for, in the day, he was vexed with the corroding thoughts of that foul wickedness which would always force themselves into his mind, and in the night terrible visions disturbed his rest. At last, a voice was heard from heaven, either a true one, according to the opinion of some, or else such as his perturbed mind suggested, as it commonly happens to guilty consciences, speaking to him in his bed to this effect: "Dost thou think, that the murder of Malcolm, an innocent man, secretly and most impiously perpetrated by thee, is either unknown to me, or that thou shalt longer go unpunished for the same? There are already plots laid against thy life, which thou canst not avoid; neither shalt thou leave a firm and stable kingdom to thy posterity, as thou thinkest to do, but a tumultuous one, and full of storms and tempests." The king, terrified by this dreadful warning, hastened early in the morning to the bishops and monks, to whom he declared the distress of his mind, and the compunction which he felt for his impiety. These men, who were degenerated from the piety and simplicity of their predecessors, instead of prescribing a true remedy, according to the doctrine of Christ, enjoined him those absurd and fallacious ones, which evil and selfish men had devised for their own gain, and unwary people had as greedily received; namely, to bestow gifts on temples and holy places, to visit the sepulchres of saints, to kiss their relics, to expiate his sins by masses and alms; and withal,

to respect and reverence monks and priests, more than he had hitherto done. The king did not neglect to perform all that they enjoined him, thinking, by these expiations, to be healed in his conscience. At length, when he came to Mearn, to do reverence to the bones of Palladius, who was a very holy person, he turned a little out of his way to take a view of a neighbouring castle, called *Pettercairn*; which was then, as reported, very pleasant, with shady groves, and piles of curious buildings, of which, however, there now remain no vestiges. The lady of this castle, who was called *Fenella*, of whom mention has been made before, bore the king a mortal grudge; not only for the punishment of her son *Crathilinthus*, but also on account of her kinsmen, *Constantine* and *Grimus*, who, by this new law, were excluded from the succession to the crown. But, dissembling her anger, she entertained the king with great magnificence; and, after dinner, carried him out to view the pleasantness of the place, and the structure of the castle. Among other things, she led him into a privy parlour, to see a brass statue, most curiously and artfully cast, which was made with so much ingenuity, as they say, that when a string or cord, which was secretly bent therein, was remitted and let go, it would shoot out arrows of its own accord; so, whilst the king was intent in viewing this figure, an arrow darted out from it, and slew him. *John Major* and *Hector Boetius* both say, that the king came thus to his end, though, in my judgment, it is far from probable; for it is not credible, that, after the decay of noble arts amongst other nations, so curious a statue should be then made, and that too in the remotest part of Britain; and, though *John Major* writes, that *Edmond*, the son of *Eldred*, was slain by the same artifice, I cannot bring myself to think otherwise than that both stories are fabulous; neither can I easily persuade myself, that all Scotland together had so many jewels, as *Boetius* affirms were in the possession of this lady. Therefore, I rather incline to the opinion of some others, among whom is *Winton*, who says, that the king was slain by some horsemen, placed in ambush by *Fenella*. He died in the twenty-fifth year of his reign; and, if the murder of *Malcolm*, and his too great affection to his kindred, had not made such a foul blot in his escutcheon, he would have been pre-eminent for excellence. His death happened in the year of Christ 994.

CONSTANTINE IV. the eighty-first King, began to reign A. D. 994.

After the death of *Kenneth*, *Constantine*, the son of *Culenus*, surnamed the *Bald*, used so much diligence in canvassing to get the kingdom, as never any man had done before him. He insinuated himself with all sorts of people, complaining, that he, and others of the royal blood, were circumvented by the fraud of *Kenneth*, and so excluded from the hopes of the kingdom, under the force of a most unjust law; to which he, with others of the lineage of the ancient kings, were compelled by fear to consent. He farther alleged, that the inconvenience of the law was very manifest and visible in itself. For what, said he, could be more imprudent and ridiculous, than to take away one of the greatest concerns in government, from the suffrage of the wise, and to leave it to the chance of fortune; or to bind themselves to obey a child, because he happened to be the son of a king, who, perhaps, might be ruled by some woman; and, in the mean time, to exclude brave and virtuous men from sitting at the helm? He added, farther, what if the children of the king should have some defect, either of mind or body, which made them unfit for government? What, continued he, would have been the consequence, if children had enjoyed the kingdom in those days, when they fought so many battles with the Romans, Britons, Picts, English, and Danes, not so much for dominion, as for a mere being and subsistence in the world? Nay, what could border more upon madness, than to bring that upon themselves, by a law, which God threatens as the severest judgment to the rebellious; and by this means, either to despise the warnings and predictions of the Almighty, or to run into them of their own accord? Neither, said he, was that true, which the flatterers of *Kenneth* pleased themselves with urging, that the slaughters and avarice of the king's kindred might, by this means, be avoided; for the royal children, whilst under age, had as much reason to fear the frauds of their guardians, as they did, before, the plots of their kindred. And therefore,

now the tyrant is removed, said he, let us valiantly recover the liberty he has taken away; and, in abrogating that law, which was enacted by force, and submitted to out of fear, (if it may be called a law, and not rather a public enslaving of us, and a prostitution of our liberties,) let us, I say, return to the ancient institutions and customs, by which this kingdom rose almost out of nothing; and which, from small beginnings, advanced it to that splendour, that it is inferior to none of its neighbours: nay, and which have erected it again to a new tide of glory, after being at a low ebb. Therefore let us not neglect or slip over this present opportunity which offers itself, lest hereafter we seek it in vain." By these, and the like harangues, with diligent application to the great ones, he drew a great multitude to his party, who assembled at Scone, twelve days after the funeral of Kenneth, and proclaimed him king.

In the mean time, Malcolm, who was busy about his father's funeral, hearing that Constantine was elected to the throne, called his friends together to deliberate what was proper to be done. Some were of opinion, that, before he proceeded any farther, he should sound how the nobles stood affected, so that he might know what strength he was able to raise against a popular man, supported by so many factions and alliances; and then to form a resolution according to the number of his forces. But those who were young and headstrong despised this course as slow and dilatory; alleging that it was best to obviate the danger in its beginning, and to proceed against the enemy before he was settled in his new kingdom. Malcolm being young, embraced the latter opinion, as the more specious of the two; and having gathered an army of about ten thousand men, marched towards the enemy. Neither was Constantine backward in his preparations; for in a short time he levied so great an army, that Malcolm, at the news of his approach, disbanded his soldiers, and retired into Cumberland. But Kenneth, his natural brother, the son of a concubine, judging that course to be very dishonourable, persuaded some of the most valiant troops to stay behind, and to resist the enemy at the river Forth, near Stirling, which was the boundary to both armies. There the two camps lay idle on the high banks of the river, which was fordable but in few places; by which means they were so afflicted with pestilence and famine, calamities which raged very much in that year, that each army was forced to disband. Thus the kingdom being divided into two factions, the commonalty was miserably afflicted with hunger, pestilence, and frequent robberies. In the mean time, during the absence of Malcolm, who, according to his league, was assisting the English against the Danes, Constantine, thinking he had now got a convenient opportunity to subdue the adverse faction, marched in great force into Lothian. Kenneth, who had been left by his brother to observe all the motions of Constantine, opposed him at the mouth of the river Almon; but being inferior in number, he supplied that defect by stratagem; for he so disposed his army, that he got the advantage both of the sun and wind; besides which, his army was flanked, as much as it could, by the river, and this proved the chief cause of his victory. For the adherent of Constantine, trusting to their numbers, rushed violently into the battle, having the sunbeams darting into their faces, while at the same time, a storm suddenly arose, which drove so much dust into their eyes, that they could scarcely lift their heads against the enemy. A great slaughter was made in both armies, and the two generals, upon a charge, wounded and slew one another. This happened after Constantine had invaded the kingdom one year and six months.

GRIMUS, the eighty-second King, began his reign A. D. 996.

Grimus, the son of king Duff, or, as others say, of his brother Mogallus, after the death of Constantine, was brought to Scone; and there, by the men of his faction, made king. He, perceiving that some nobles of his party were already corrupted by messengers sent from Malcolm, and that more of them were solicited by him to a defection, took some of the messengers, and committed them to prison. Malcolm, being incensed at the imprisonment of his ambassadors, as being done against the law of nations, broke forth into open war. While Grimus was making preparations to meet him, a sudden rumour spread through Malcolm's army, of the vast and prodigious strength of the forces

that were coming against them; so that all his measures were broken; many of his soldiers deserted secretly, and several, under frivolous pretences, openly desired to be dismissed. This fear first proceeded from the merchants, who, preferring their private concerns before the public good, scattered the report among the troops. Besides this, there were some among them, who privately favoured the party of Grimus; for there were many things in him very pleasing to the vulgar, as the tallness of his stature, his personal comeliness, singular courtesy, and a graceful manner in all his actions. Further, as there was occasion, he was severe in punishing offenders, and he managed matters with such great prudence and despatch, that many promised themselves a tranquil and honourable life under his government. In this diversity and combustion of men's spirits, Malcolm, not daring to trust the hazard of a battle, by the advice of his friends, dismissed the greatest part of his men; and, with some select troops, resolved to stop the passage of the enemy over the Forth.

In the mean time, the bishop of that diocese, called Fothadus, of whom all had a high opinion for his sanctity, endeavoured to compose matters by his authority; and, interposing betwixt both parties, he at length managed matters that a truce was concluded for three months; during which Grimus was to retire into Angus, and Malcolm into Cumberland; while arbitrators were to be chosen on both sides, with mutual consent, to determine the main points in dispute. Fothadus did not cease his endeavours, till a peace was settled on these conditions:—"That Grimus should retain the regal title as long as he lived; and that, after his decease, the kingdom should return to Malcolm; that in future, the law of Kenneth, respecting the succession of the royal children, should be observed as sacred and inviolable. In the mean time, it was stipulated that the wall of Severus should be the boundary between both; that part within the wall being allotted to Malcolm, and that without to Grimus. Both were required to be satisfied with these limits, and neither was to invade the territory of his neighbour, or to assist the enemies of the other." Thus peace was made, to the great joy of all men, and it was religiously observed for nearly eight years. Grimus gave the first occasion of a breach, for though, in the beginning of his reign, he carried himself amidst those turbulent times as a good prince, his diligence slackened by the quiet he enjoyed, and he wholly plunged himself into voluptuous courses; which kind of life being, as usually it is, attended with great expense, reduced him to some necessity, and so he was forced to pretend crimes against the richer sort, that he might satisfy his avarice, and seize their estates. Being remonstrated with on the danger of this course, by his grave counsellors, he was so far from reforming it, or from abating any thing of his injustice, that he resolved to imprison his monitors, and thus terrify others, by their punishment, from using the like freedom in reproving kings. To effect this, he invited them kindly to his court, but they, having notice of his design by their friends, withdrew; at which Grimus was so enraged, that he gathered a band of men together, and pursued them, wasting their lands more than any foreign enemy could have done; sparing neither men, horses, cattle, nor corn; and what he could not carry away, he spoiled, that so it might be rendered useless to the owners. In this manner he made a promiscuous havock of all things, whether sacred or profane, by fire and sword. Complaint of this being brought to Malcolm, who was then engaged in assisting the English against the Danes, he presently returned home; for he was incensed, not only at the undeserved sufferings of so many brave and innocent persons, but much more at the indignity offered him by Grimus; who, knowing that the lands were shortly to pass over to another, had, without any respect to future times, ravaged and devastated the country, as if it had been that of an enemy. There was a great resort to Malcolm at his return; insomuch, that though Grimus had for a time been dear to, and much beloved by the people, yet now the greatest part of the nobles forsook and abandoned him. However, he collected what forces he could, and with them made head against his opponent. When the two camps were near each other, Grimus, knowing that Malcolm would religiously observe Ascension-day, resolved then to attack him, in hopes of finding him unprepared. Malcolm, having notice of his design, kept his men under arms

and though he augured well as to the victory in so good a cause, yet he sent to Grimus, desiring that, as Christians, they might not pollute so holy a day with shedding the blood of their countrymen. Grimus, however, was resolved to fight, telling his soldiers, that the fear the enemy was in, though pretended to be out of reverence to so holy a feast, was a good omen of their victory. Then a fierce and eager battle began; but Grimus, being deserted by his men, was wounded in the head, and taken prisoner. Soon after, he had his eyes put out; and in a short time, partly out of grief, and partly through the anguish of his wounds, he died in the tenth year of his reign. Malcolm behaved nobly towards the conquered, and caused Grimus to be interred in the sepulchre of his ancestors. He also received the party that had followed him into his grace and favour, and blotted out the memory of all past offences. Then going to the assembly of the states at Scone, before he would take the government upon him, he caused the law made by his father, concerning the regal succession, to be publicly ratified by the votes of the whole parliament.

MALCOLM II. the eighty-third King, began to reign A. D. 1004.

At his entrance into the government, Malcolm laboured to restore the order of the kingdom, which was sorely shaken by factions. As, therefore, he forgave all offences that had been done to himself, so he took care that the seeds of faction and discord amongst all different parties might be rooted out. After this, he sent just and pious men as governors, selected from the nobility, into all the provinces, to restrain the licentiousness of robbers; who had with impunity, through the iniquity of the former reign, habituated themselves to plunder. These governors also encouraged the common people to practise tillage and husbandry; so that provisions grew cheaper, commerce between man and man became safer, and the public peace was better secured. Amidst these transactions, Sueno, the son of Harold, king of the Danes, being banished from home, came into Scotland. He had been oftentimes overcome, was made prisoner by, and ransomed from, the Vandals; and having sought for aid in vain from Olave king of Norway, and Edward king of England, at last he came into Scotland, and being converted to Christianity, to which before he was a most bitter enemy, he received some small forces there, and so returned into his own country: from whence, soon after, he passed over with a great army into England. First, he overthrew the English alone, and afterwards he had the same success against them when they were assisted by the Scots; whom he grievously threatened, because they would not forsake their allies, and return into their own country. Neither were his menaces in vain; for Olave of Norway, and Eneccus, general of the Danes, were sent by him with a great army into Scotland; who ranged throughout Murray, killed all they met, took away what they could seize, whether sacred or profane; and, at last, gathering into a body, proceeded to assault castles, and other strong places. While they were besieging these fortresses, Malcolm raised an army in the neighbouring countries, and pitched his camp not far from them. The day after, the Scots perceiving the multitude and warlike preparations of the Danes, were struck with such terror, that, though the king endeavoured to encourage them, his words had little effect. At length a clamour was raised in the camp, by those who were willing to seem more valiant than the rest; and when excited, others received and seconded it; so that, presently, as if they had been wild, they ran in upon the Danes, without the command of their leaders, and rushed upon the points of their swords, who were ready to receive them. After the most forward were slain, the rest retreated faster than they had advanced. The king was so severely wounded in the head, that it was with much difficulty he could be carried off the field into an adjacent wood, where he was put on horseback, and so escaped with his life. After this victory, the castle of Nairn surrendered to the Danes, the garrison being dismayed at the event of the late unhappy battle; but they were all put to death by the victors. The Danes strongly fortified the castle, because it was seated in a convenient pass; and, from being a peninsula, they made it an isle, by cutting through a narrow neck of land, for the sea to surround it; and then they called it, by a Danish name, Burgus. The other castles of Elgin and Forres were deserted, for fear of the cruelty of the Danes. The

conquerors, upon this success, now resolved to fix their habitation in Murray, and accordingly sent home their ships to bring over their wives and children, exercising, in the mean time, all manner of cruelties over the captive Scots. Malcolm, to prevent their farther progress, got a stronger and more compact body of troops together; and when the Danes were gone into Marr, he met them at a place called Mortlach, both armies being in great fear; the Scots dreading the barbarity of the Danes, and the latter apprehending unknown dangers more than enemies, in places remote from the sea and fit for ambushments. At the commencement of the fight, the Scots were much discouraged at the slaughter of three of their valiant worthies, namely, Kenneth, thane of the islands; Grimus, thane of Strathearn; and Dunbar, thane of Lothian, who all fell shortly one after another; so that the rest were forced to retreat, and retire to their old fastnesses, in the rear; where, fencing their camp with a trench, ditch, and large trees, which they cut down in a narrow place, they made a stand, and stopped the enemy. Some of the Danes, who, as if they had fully gained the victory, ventured to assault the Scots, were slain, amongst whom was Eneus, one of their generals. His loss, while it made the Danes less forward to fight, gave new courage to the Scots, who had before been intimidated. The scene was now altered in a moment, the Danes being put to flight, and the Scots pursuing them. Olave, the other Danish general, procured come guides, and bent his course that night towards Murray; and though Malcolm knew it, yet, having slain the principal of his enemies, and wounded more, he desisted from farther pursuit. When the news of this overthrow came to Sueno in England, he bore it with undaunted bravery, and sent some of his old soldiers, and others that were newly arrived from his own country, under Camus, their general, to recruit his old and shattered army in Scotland. Camus first came into the Frith of Forth; but being prevented from landing by the country-people, who observed all his motions, he steered for the Red promontory of Angus; where he landed his men, and attempted to take some places; but, being disappointed, he fell to plundering. Having pitched his tents at the village of St. Bride, word was brought to him by his spies that the Scottish forces were not more than two miles from him. Upon this, the generals of both armies, according to the exigence of the time, exhorted their men to fight; and the next day, all were ready at their arms, almost at the same instant. The third day, they fought with such ardour and fury, as either new hopes or old animosities could occasion and suggest; but, in the end, the Scots prevailed; and Camus, in his attempt to secure the remainder of his army, by flying to the mountains near Murray, was overtaken by the pursuers before he had gone two miles, and he and all his men were cut off. There are still extant some monuments of this victory, in an obelisk, and a neighbouring village, which retains the memorable name of Camus. A fresh band of Danes was destroyed not far from the town of Brechin, where also another commemorative obelisk was erected. The remainder, being few in number, under the covert of the night made to their ships, which were tossed up and down several days in the raging sea by adverse winds; till at length coming to the inhospitable shore of Buchan, they rode there so long at anchor, that, pressed by want, they sent about five hundred men ashore, to get some relief out of the neighbouring country. Mernanus, the thane of the place, hindered them from returning to their ships, and compelled them to retire to a steep hill, where, assisted by the convenience of the place, they defended themselves with stones, and slew many of the Scots, who rashly attempted to dislodge them. At last the assailants encouraged one another, and several numerous parties climbed the hill, and put every one of the Danes to the sword. There also, as well as at St. Bride's, when the wind blows up the sand, bones are discovered of a greater magnitude than can well suit with the stature of the men of our times.

Sueno, however, was so far from being discouraged even by this new overthrow, that he sent additional levies into Scotland under his son Canute, who landed his soldiers in Buchan, and so plundered the surrounding country. Malcolm, though he had hardly recovered the loss sustained in former battles, collected an army, but not being willing to hazard all, by fighting a pitched battle, he thought it best to weary the enemy out with light skirmishes, and to keep him

from plundering. By this means he hoped in a short time, to reduce him to a great want of provisions, as being not only in an enemy's country, but one that was almost quite wasted, and desolated by the miseries of former wars. He pursued this design for some days; but at last, when the Scots became thoroughly acquainted with the strength of the invaders, they less distrusted their own; and both armies, being equally pressed with want, were anxious for the signal to engage; declaring, that unless it was speedily given, they would begin the battle, even without the consent of their generals. Upon this, Malcolm drew out his army in order, and the fight was carried on with such desperate rage and fury, that neither party came off in triumph. The mere name of the victory, indeed, fell to the side of the Scots, but a great part of the nobility were slain, and the rest, wearied and depressed in spirit, returned to their camp, allowing the Danes to retreat without pursuit. The next day, when both parties mustered their men, they found so great a slaughter had been made, that they willingly accepted the mediation of some priests as the negotiators of peace between them. Accordingly, a treaty was concluded, the conditions of which were:—"That the Danes should leave Murray and Buchan, and depart; and that, as long as Malcolm and Sueno lived, neither of them should wage war with one another, nor help the enemies of each other; and that the field in which the battle was fought, should be set apart, and consecrated for the burial of the dead." Upon this, the Danes withdrew, and Malcolm gave orders for the interment of the slain.

Shortly after, he called an assembly of the states at Scone; and that he might reward those who had deserved well of their country, he divided all the royal lands among them. On the other side, the nobility granted to the king, "That, when any of them died, their children should be under the wardship of the sovereign till they arrived at the age of twenty-one; and that in the mean time the king should receive the rents of the estates of each minor, except what was necessary for education; and, also, that he should have the power to give them in marriage, or otherwise to dispose of them, when they were grown up; and should likewise settle and receive their dowry." I apprehend that this custom came rather from the English and Danes; because it yet continues throughout all England, and in part of Normandy. The king afterwards turned his thoughts to repair the damages sustained by the war: he rebuilt many churches and places applied to sacred uses, that had been demolished by the enemy; and he also erected new castles, or repaired the old, in every town. Having thus restored peace to the kingdom by his great valour, he endeavoured farther to adorn it with laws and ordinances; and annexed new titles, borrowed, as I think, from his neighbours, to certain dignities and offices; but which appellations served rather for vain ambition, than for any real use. For, in former times, there was no name superior in honour to that of a knight, except that of thane, meaning the governor, or sheriff of a province; which custom, as I learn, is still observed amongst the Danes. But, at present, princes observe no medium in the institution of new names, and titles of honour; though there is no utility at all in them, beyond the bare sound. Thus Malcolm, having finished his toilsome wars, reigned some years in great splendour and glory; but, as he advanced in age, he sullied the excellence of his former life by the deformity of avarice. This vice, being incident to old men, partly grew up in him with his years, and partly arose from the want to which he had been driven by his exorbitant grants. The lands, therefore, which he had unadvisedly distributed amongst the nobility, he as unjustly and wickedly laboured to resume; and by excessive fines laid upon the possessors, he broke the hearts of some, and reduced others to great penury. Thus the present sense of suffering, however just, blotted out the memory of all former favours; so that the injury reaching to a few, but the fear to many, the friends and kindred of those who were slain and impoverished, bent all their thoughts to revenge their relations, and to secure themselves. At last, the conspirators, by bribing the king's domestics at Glamis, in Angus, were admitted in the night to the king's bed-chamber, where they murdered him. When the bloody deed was committed, the treacherous servants, together with the parricides, took horse, which they had ready bridled and saddled for all events; and being not able to find the way, as a deep snow had covered all

the tracks, they were confounded, and wandered in the fields, till they arrived at a lake by the town of Forfar; where, endeavouring to pass over, the ice not being firm, their own weight sunk them, and they were all drowned. Their bodies lay undiscovered for some time, under the ice; but when a thaw came, they were found, and taken up, and the bodies being ascertained, were hung on gibbets in the highways, there to rot, for a terror to the living, as well as infamy to them after they were dead. This is the common report about the end of Malcolm: though some write, that he was slain in an ambush laid by the relations of Grimus and Constantine, the former kings, after a bloody battle fought betwixt them. Others say, that he was killed by the friends of a noble young lady, whom he had ravished; but all agree, that he came to a violent death. Malcolm reigned so justly above thirty years, that, if avarice had not corrupted his mind in his old age, he might well have been numbered amongst the best of princes. The year in which he died was distinguished by prodigies; for, in the winter, the rivers overflowed in an extraordinary manner, and in spring there were great inundations of the sea. Moreover, a few days after the summer solstice, there were very severe frosts, and deep snows, which quite destroyed the fruits of the earth, and produced a grievous famine.

BOOK VII.

I HAVE mentioned, in the preceding book, how eagerly Kenneth and his son Malcolm strove to fix the regal succession in their family; in order "that the eldest son might succeed the father;" but what the success of it was, will appear in the sequel. This is certain, that neither the public benefit, which was promised to the whole nation, nor yet the private advantage, alleged to arise to our kings from it, were at all obtained by this new law. The universal good was the pretext for thus settling the succession, that seditions, murders, and treacheries might be prevented amongst those of the blood-royal; and also that ambition, with its attendant mischiefs, might be rooted out from amongst the nobles. But, on the contrary, when I inquire into the causes of public grievances, and compare the old state of things with the modern, it seems to me, that all those evils, which we would have avoided, are so far from being extinguished by the abolition of the ancient customs, that they rather receive a great increase from the new institution. For, not to speak of the plots of kindred against those who are actually on the throne; nor of the evil suspicions which the reigning king is apt to conceive of those whom nature and the law would have accounted most dear to him; I say, omitting these things, which in the series of our history will be farther stated, all the miseries of former ages may seem light and tolerable, compared with those calamities which followed the death of Alexander III. Neither will I insist upon the following particulars, that this law doth enervate the force of all public councils, without which no lawful government can subsist; that by it we do willingly, and by consent, create those evils to ourselves, which others, who have interest in public governments, chiefly deprecate, namely, to have kings, over whom other governors must be appointed; and so the people are to be committed to the power of those who have none over themselves; inso-much, that those who are hardly brought to obey wise, prudent, and experienced kings, are now required to yield obedience, as it were, to the very shadow of a prince; by which means, we willingly precipitate ourselves into those punishments threatened by the Almighty to those who despise and condemn his holy Majesty; namely, that we should be in subjection to children, male or female, whom the law of nations, and even the mother of all laws, nature itself, hath subjected to the rule of others. As for the private benefit that kings aim at by this regulation, that they may perpetuate their name and family, how vain and fallacious it is, the examples of the ancients, nay, even nature itself, might inform them, if they would but consider, by how many

laws and rewards the Romans endeavoured to perpetuate the splendid names of their families; of which not a footstep remains at this day, no, not in any part of the world which they had conquered. This disappointment most deservedly attends those who fight against nature itself, by endeavouring to clothe a fading frail thing, subject to momentary alterations and blasts of fortune, with a sort of perpetuity; and to endow it with a kind of eternity which they themselves neither are nor can be partakers of; nay, they strive to effect it by those means which are most cross to their purpose: for what is less conducive to perpetuity than tyranny? yet this new law goes a great way towards it; for a tyrant is, as it were, a mark exposed to the hatred of all men, insomuch, that he cannot long subsist; and, when he falls, all goes with him. It seems, therefore, to me, that Providence sometimes gently chastises and disappoints this endeavour of foolish men; and sometimes exposes it even to public scorn, as if it were set up in emulation of a divine power. As a proof of this divine will, I know not any sadder or plainer instance than the present history. For Malcolm, who so much laboured to confirm the law, which his father almost forcibly enacted, though with the common suffrage and consent, that the king's children should be substituted in the room of their deceased parents, left no male child behind him; but had two daughters, one called Beatrix, whom he married to a nobleman named Crinus, thane of the western islands, and, as being the head of the other chiefs, was styled, in that age, Ab-thane; the other, named Doaca, who married the thane of Angus, and became the mother of Macbeth, or Macbeda, of whom in his place.

DUNCAN I. *the eighty-fourth King, began to reign A. D. 1034.*

Malcolm being slain, as hath been related, Duncan, his grandson by his daughter Beatrix, succeeded him; a prince of great courtesy, and of more indulgence to his own kindred than became a king. He was of a mild disposition, and from his youth gave remarkable tokens of his popularity; for, in the most difficult times, when he was made governor of Cumberland by his grandfather, but could not come to the king, to take the necessary oaths, on account of the Danish troops which swarmed over the country, and stopped all passages, he faithfully took part with the English, till Canute, having obtained the rest of that kingdom, made an expedition against him; and then he submitted himself to the Danes, on the same conditions. In this also he was popular, that he administered justice with great equity; and every year visited the provinces, to hear the complaints of the poor; and, as much as lay in his power, he hindered the great men from oppressing their inferiors. But, as these virtues endeared him to the good, so they lessened his authority amongst the lovers of sedition; and his clemency to the former encouraged the latter to become audacious. The origin of that contempt into which his government fell, happened in Lochaber, upon the account of one Bancho, thane of that country, and a strict lover of impartial justice. Some ill men, not enduring his severity in punishments, formed a conspiracy against him, plundered him of his goods, and, after wounding him, left him almost dead. Upon his recovery, and as soon as he was capable of taking the journey, he went and complained to the king; who sent a public officer to do justice upon the offenders. This man, however, was grievously affronted, and afterwards murdered by them; so secure did they fancy themselves to be, by reason of the lenity, or, as they interpreted it, sloth, of a good king. The chief of the faction, that raised this disturbance, was named Macduald; who, despairing of pardon, prepared himself for open war. He called in the islanders, who were always prone to sedition, to his assistance, and also such of the enterprising Irish, as were eager to undertake any thing for the sake of booty. He told these confederates that, under an effeminate and slothful king, who was fitter to rule monks than warriors, there was no fear of punishment, but great hopes of advantage; and that he had no doubt but that the Scots, who were in a manner fettered with the chains of a long peace under the former king, when an alarm was sounded to war, would rise to recover their ancient liberty. These exhortations were seconded with a successful beginning, which much heartened the party. Malcolm, one of the principal of the nobility, was sent by the king against them with some forces; but his

army was presently overthrown, and he himself, being taken prisoner, lost his head. The king, troubled at this overthrow, called a council to consult what measure should be adopted. Some were slow in delivering their opinions; but Macbeth, first cousin to the king, by his mother's side, laid the blame of the misfortune on the decay of military virtue; promising, that, if the command were bestowed upon him and Bancho, who was well acquainted with that country, they would quickly subdue the insurgents, and bring things to a state of tranquillity. This Macbeth was of so sharp an understanding, and lofty a spirit, that, if it had been accompanied by moderation, he would have merited the highest command, but in punishing offenders, his severity, without legal restraints, seemed likely to degenerate soon into cruelty. When it was known that he was made commander in chief of the army, many were so terrified, that, laying aside the boldness which they had conceived from the king's slothful temper, they hid themselves in the most retired places. The islanders and the Irish, being impeded in their flight, were driven to the last despair, and fought stoutly till every one of them was slain. Macduald himself, with a few others, fled into a neighbouring castle, where, being without hope of pardon, he saved himself from the insults of his enemies by a voluntary death. Macbeth, not satisfied with this, cut off his head, and sent it to the king at Perth, while the rest of the body was hung up in a conspicuous place for an example. Those of the party called Redshanks, whom he took, he caused to be executed.

This domestic sedition being appeased, a far greater terror succeeded, occasioned by the Danes; for Sueno, their most powerful king, dying, left three kingdoms to his three sons; England to Harold, Norway to Sueno, and Denmark to Canute. Harold dying soon after, Canute succeeded him in the kingdom of England. Sueno, or Swain, king of Norway, emulous of his brother's glory, crossed the seas with a great navy, and landed in Fife. Upon the news of his coming, Macbeth was sent to levy an army; while Bancho, the other general, remained with the king. Duncan, or Donald, however, as if just roused from a slumber of indolence, was forced to go and meet the enemy. They fought near Culross, with such obstinate courage, that, as one party was scarcely able to fly, so the other had no heart to pursue. The Scots, who looked upon themselves as overcome, rather by the incommodiousness of the place, than by the valour of their enemies, retreated to Perth, and there staid with the remains of their conquered forces, watching the motions of their adversaries. Swain thinking, that, by pressing eagerly on them, he should secure all Scotland to himself, marched towards Perth, with his entire army, to besiege Duncan; while he sent his ships about by the Tay, to meet him. Duncan, though he had much confidence in the present posture of his affairs, because Macbeth was near him with a powerful reserve: yet, being counselled by Bancho to add stratagem to strength, sent messengers, one to Macbeth, to desire him to stay where he was, and another to Swain, to treat about the surrender of the town. The Scots desired, that, upon the surrender, they might have liberty to depart with their families in safety; but Swain, supposing that the request proceeded from depth of despair, would hear of nothing but an unconditional submission. Upon this, Duncan sent other messengers with unlimited instructions, and a command to delay time in making conditions; who, to ingratiate themselves the more, told the Norwegians that, whilst the articles of peace were considering and settling, their king would send abundance of provisions into the camp, as knowing that they were not overstocked with victuals for the army. This gift was very acceptable to the Norwegians, not so much on account of the generosity of the Scots, or their own want, as that they thought it indicated in the donors a despondency of spirits. Upon this a great store of bread and liquor was sent them, both wine pressed from the grape, and also strong drink made of barley, mixed with the juice of a poisonous herb, abundance of which grows in Scotland, called sleepy nightshade. Its stalk is above two feet in length, and in its upper part it spreads into branches; the leaves are broadish, acuminate at the extremities, and faintly green; the berries, which are large, and of a black colour when ripe, proceed out of the stalk under the bottom of the leaves; the taste is sweetish, and almost insipid; and the seeds are as small as the grains of a fig. The

quality of the fruit, root, and especially of the seed, is soporiferous, and will make men mad, if taken too copiously. With this herb all the liquor was infused; and they who carried it, to prevent any suspicion of fraud, tasted of it before, and invited the Danes to drink freely of it. Swain himself, in token of good-will, did the same, according to the custom of his nation. But Duncan, knowing that the force of the potion would penetrate to their very vitals, when asleep, silently admitted Macbeth with his forces into the town, by a gate which was farthest off from the enemy's camp. When he understood, by his spies, that the enemy was fast asleep, and full of wine, he sent on Bancho, who well knew all the avenues of the place, with the greatest part of the army, while he placed the rest in ambush. Bancho, on entering the camp and making a great shout, found all things more neglected than he had imagined. Some few, roused at the noise, ran up and down like madmen, and were slain, but the others were killed in their sleep. The king, who was deeply intoxicated, wanting not only strength, but sense also, was caught up by a few, who were not so far overcome with wine as the rest, and laid like a log or beast on a horse, which they casually lighted on, and so was carried to the ships. There, however, the case was almost as bad as in the camp, for almost all the seamen were slain on shore; so that there could hardly be collected a sufficient number to navigate a single vessel, yet, by this means, the king escaped to his own country. The rest of the ships, by stress of weather, fell foul of one another, and were sunk; and by the hills and mountains of sand, and other slime and weeds which the water carries, meeting together in one great heap, thence grew a place of great danger to sailors, which is commonly called Drumilaw Sands.

While the Scots were rejoicing for this victory, obtained without any loss of blood on their side, news arrived, that a fleet of Danes, sent by Canute to the assistance of Swain, was riding at Kinghorn; and that the soldiers and crews had landed in Fife, where they plundered the inhabitants without resistance. Upon this, Bancho was sent with forces against them, who, assaulting the foremost, made a great slaughter among them. These were the principal men of the nation; and the rest were easily driven back to their ships. Bancho is reported to have made a great deal of money by the sale of burying-places for the slain; and the sepulchres, they say, are yet to be seen in the isle of Æmona.

It is also stated, that the Danes, having made so many unlucky expeditions into Scotland, bound themselves by a solemn oath, never to return thither as enemies any more. While matters thus prosperously succeeded with the Scots, at home and abroad, and all things flourished in peace, Macbeth, who had always a disgust at the inactive disposition of his cousin, and had from thence conceived a secret hope of the kingdom in his mind; was further encouraged in his ambitious thoughts by a dream: for one night, when he was far distant from the king, he thought he saw three women, of a more majestic stature than mortals; one of whom saluted him as thane of Angus; another, as that of Murray; and a third, as king of Scotland. His mind, which before was affected with hope and desire, was now mightily encouraged by this dream; so that he contrived all possible ways to obtain the kingdom; in order to which, as he thought, a just occasion presented itself. Duncan had two sons by the daughter of Sibert, a petty king of Northumberland; Malcolm, surnamed Cammor, which is as much as Great Head; and Donald, surnamed Banc, that is, White. Of these, he made Malcolm, though scarcely yet out of his childhood, governor of Cumberland. Macbeth took this matter exceedingly ill, as an obstacle to his advancement: for, having arrived at the enjoyment of the other honours promised him in his dream, he thought this would prove the means either of excluding him altogether from the kingdom, or else that it would much retard his enjoyment of it; for the government of Cumberland was always looked upon as the first step to the throne of Scotland. Besides, his mind, which was fierce enough of itself, was spurred on by the daily importunities of his wife, who was privy to all his counsels. At length, communicating the matter to his most intimate friends, amongst whom was Bancho, he seized an opportunity, at Inverness, to lie in wait for the king, and slay him, in the seventh year of his reign; then, gathering a company

together, he went to Scone, and, by the favour of the people, was made king. The children of Duncan, alarmed at this sudden disaster, seeing their father slain, the author of the murder on the throne, and snares laid for them to take away their lives, that so, by their death, the kingdom might be confirmed to Macbeth, shifted up and down, and hid themselves, and so for a time escaped his fury; but perceiving that no place could long secure them from his rage; and that, being of a fierce and unforgiving nature, there was no hope of clemency to be expected from him, they fled several ways; Malcolm into Cumberland, and Donald to his father's relations in the *Æbudæ* islands.

MACBETH, the eighty-fifth King, began his reign A. D. 1040.

Macbeth, to secure himself in his ill-gotten throne, strove to win the favour of the nobles by great gifts, having no fear of the king's children, on account of their age, nor of the neighbouring princes, in regard to their mutual animosities and discords. Thus, having engaged the great men in his favour, he determined to procure that of the vulgar by justice and equity, and to retain it by severe measures, in case of necessity. Accordingly, he determined to punish the freebooters, or thieves, who had taken courage from the lenity of Duncan; but foreseeing that this could not be done without great tumults and much difficulty, he devised the project of sowing the seeds of strife amongst them by some fit men for that purpose, instigating them to challenge one another to fight, some in small divisions, and others singly. All these combats were to take place on one and the same day, and that in the most remote parts of Scotland; but when the parties met at the time appointed, they were taken by the men whom Macbeth had posted conveniently for the purpose. Their punishment struck a terror into the rest; but he also put to death the thanes of Caithness, Ross, Sutherland, and Nairn, and some other chiefs of the clans; by whose feuds the commonalty had been miserably harassed. Afterwards he went into the *Æbudæ* islands, where, likewise, he exercised severe justice; and on his return from thence, he repeatedly summoned Macgill, or Macgild, the most powerful man in all Galloway, to appear. This chief, however, refused to come, rather out of fear by being of Malcolm's party, than for the guilt of the crimes objected to him; upon which, Macbeth sent forces against him, who overthrew him in battle, and cut off his head.

The public peace being thus restored, Macbeth applied his thoughts to the enacting of laws, which had been almost wholly neglected by former kings, and indeed he made many good and useful ones, which now are either wholly unknown, or lie obsolete, to the great injury of the public. In a word, he so managed the government for ten years, that if he had not obtained it by violence, he might have been accounted inferior to none of the former kings. But when he had thus strengthened himself with the aid and favour of the multitude, so that he had no fear of any force to disturb him, the perturbed state of his mind, owing probably to the consciousness of his guilt in murdering the king, hurried him to dangerous courses, insomuch that he converted the government, which he got by treachery, into a cruel tyranny. He vented his inhumanity first upon Bancho, who was his accomplice in the parricide. Some ill men had spread a kind of prophecy abroad, among the vulgar, "That Bancho's posterity should enjoy the kingdom." Macbeth, upon this, fearing lest he, being a powerful and active man, who had already dipped his hands in royal blood, might be tempted to imitate the example that had been set him, played the smiling assassin, and very courteously invited him and his son to supper; but in his return caused him to be slain, as in a casual affray. His son, Fleance, happening not to be known in the dark, escaped the ambush, and being informed by his friends, in what manner his father had been treacherously slain by the king, and that his own life was also sought after, fled secretly into Wales. This murder, thus cruelly and perfidiously committed, made the nobles so apprehensive for themselves, that they all departed to their own seats, from whence few of them, and those very seldom, came to court. Thus the cruelty of the king being plainly discovered by some, and vehemently suspected by all, raised mutual fear and hatred betwixt him and the nobility; which, being impossible to be concealed any longer, made him an open, professed, and complete tyrant. The rich and powerful were, for

light, frivolous, and oftentimes for mere pretended causes, publicly executed; while their confiscated goods helped to maintain a band of desperate characters, whom he kept about him under the name of a guard. Thinking, however, that his life was not sufficiently secured by them, he resolved to build a castle on the top of the hill called Dunsinane, which gave him a large prospect all over the country. This work proceeding but slowly, on account of the difficulty of the carriage of materials thither, he employed therein all the thanes of the kingdom; and so dividing the task amongst them, compelled them to find workmen and carriages, and to see that the labourers did their duty. At that time Macduff, the thane of Fife, who was a very powerful man in his country, being loth to venture his life so near the king, would not go in person, but sent many labourers and some of his intimate friends, to hasten the work. The king, either out of a pretended desire to see how the building proceeded, or else to apprehend Macduff, as the latter feared, came to view the structure, and, by chance, spying a yoke of oxen not able to draw up the load against a steep hill, he willingly laid hold of the occasion to vent his passion against the thane, saying, "That he knew before, well enough, his disobedient temper, and therefore was resolved to punish it; and, to make him an example, he threatened to lay the yoke upon his own neck, instead of his oxen." Macduff being informed of this, commended the care of his family to his wife, and, without any delay, fitted up a small vessel, as well as the short time would permit, and so passed over into Lothian, and from thence into England. The king, hearing of his intended flight, made haste into Fife, with a strong band of men, to prevent him, but on entering the castle, and finding that he was escaped, he poured out all his fury upon the wife and children of Macduff. His goods also were confiscated, himself was proclaimed a traitor; and a grievous punishment was threatened to any who should dare to converse with, or entertain him. Macbeth also exercised great cruelty against others, that were either noble or wealthy, without distinction; and, from this time, neglecting the nobility, he managed the government entirely by his own counsels. In the mean time, Macduff arrived in England, where he found Malcolm royally treated at the court of king Edward. That monarch, who had been recalled from a state of exile, when the power of the Danes was broken, gave Malcolm a generous reception, as well on the recommendation of Sibert, his grandfather on the mother's side, as for other reasons. One was, because the father and grandfather of Malcolm, when governors of Cumberland, had always favoured the interests of Edward's ancestors, as much as the times would permit them to do. Another motive probably might be, the similitude of the leading events in their lives, both having been unjustly banished by tyrants; and, lastly, because the affliction of kings doth conciliate and move the minds, even of the greatest strangers, to pity and favour them. Macduff, the thane, as soon as he had an opportunity to speak with Malcolm, in a long discourse declared to him the unhappy occasion of his flight, the cruelty of Macbeth against all ranks of men, and the universal abhorrence in which he was held. He then advised Malcolm, in an earnest manner, to endeavour the recovery of his inheritance; especially since he could not, without incurring great guilt, let the murder of his father pass unrevenged; nor neglect the miseries of the people whom God had committed to his charge; nor, finally, ought he to shut his ears against the just petitions of his friends. Besides, he told him, that king Edward was so gracious a prince, that he would not be wanting to his friend and dependant; and that the people would also favour him, because they hated the tyrant; in fine, that God's favour would attend the good against the impious, if he would not be wanting to himself. Malcolm, who had often before been solicited to return, by messengers insidiously sent to him from Macbeth; to avoid being ensnared, before he committed so great a concern to fortune, resolved to try the faithfulness of Macduff, and therefore framed his answer thus: "I know," says he, "that all you have said is true; but I am afraid that you, who invite me to undertake the regal government, do not at all know my disposition; for the vices of lust and avarice, which have already destroyed many kings, do almost reign in me too; and though now my private fortune may hide and disguise them, yet the liberty of a kingdom will let loose the reins of both;

and therefore," continued he, "pray take care that you do not invite me rather to my ruin, than a throne." To this Macduff replied, "That the desire of many concubines might be prevented by a lawful marriage, and that avarice might be also bounded and forborne, when the fear of penury is removed." Malcolm then rejoined, "That he had rather now make an ingenuous confession to him, as his friend, than be found guilty hereafter, to the great damage of them both. For myself, to deal plainly with you," said he, "there is neither truth nor sincerity in me; I confide in nobody living, but I change my designs and counsels upon every blast of suspicion, and thus, from the inconstancy of my own disposition, I form a judgment of that of other men." Macduff, hearing this, sternly replied, "Avaunt, thou disgrace and prodigy of thy royal name and stock, worthier to be sent into the remotest desert, than to be called to a throne;" and, in a great anger, was about to depart, when Malcolm took him by the hand, and declared the cause of his dissimulation, telling him, that he had been so often assaulted by the wiles of Macbeth, he did not dare lightly to trust any body; but that now he saw no cause to suspect any fraud in Macduff, in respect either of his lineage, manners, fame, or fortune.

Thus, plighting their faith to one another, they consulted how to compass the destruction of the tyrant, and advised their friends of it by secret messages. King Edward assisted them with ten thousand men, over whom Sibert, the grandfather of Malcolm, was made general. On the report of the march of this army, a great commotion was raised in Scotland, and many flocked daily to the new king. Macbeth being deserted by almost all his men, in so sudden a revolt, and not knowing what better course to take, shut himself up in the castle of Dunsinane, sending his friends into the *Æbudæ* and Ireland, with money to hire soldiers. Malcolm, understanding his design, made directly towards him, the people praying for him the whole way, and, with joyful acclamations, wishing him good success. His soldiers taking this as an omen of victory, stuck green boughs in their helmets, thereby representing an army returning in triumph, rather than one going to battle. Macbeth, terrified at the confidence of the enemy, immediately fled; and his soldiers, forsaken by their leader, surrendered themselves to Malcolm. Some of our writers here record many fables, which being like Milesian tales, fitter for the stage than a history, I omit them. Macbeth reigned seventeen years. In the first ten he performed the part of a good king; but in the last seven he equalled the cruelty of the worst of tyrants.

MALCOLM III. the eighty-sixth King, began to reign A. D. 1057.

Malcolm, having thus recovered his father's kingdom, was declared king at Scone the 25th day of April, in the year 1057. In the beginning of his reign, he convened an assembly of the states at Forfar; where the first thing he did was to restore to the children the estates of those persons who had been put to death by Macbeth. He is thought by some to have been the first who introduced new and foreign names, as titles of honour, which he borrowed from neighbouring nations, and no less barbarous than the former ones; such as Dukes, Marquises, Earls, Barons, and Chevaliers or Knights. Macduff, the thane of Fife, was the first who had the title of Earl conferred upon him; and many others, afterwards, according to their respective merits, were honoured with new distinctions. Some write, that at that time noblemen began to be surnamed by their lands, though I think this is false, for that custom is not yet received amongst the ancient Scots. Besides, all the people of Scotland, conformably to their old language and customs, instead of a surname, added their father's name after their own, like the Greeks of old, or else adjoined a word taken from some event, or from some mark of body or mind. And that this custom did then also obtain amongst the French, is plain, by those royal surnames of *le Gros*, "the Fat," *le Chauve*, "the Bald," *le Begue*, "the stammerer; and also by the surnames of many noble families in England, especially such as followed William the Conqueror, and fixed their habitations there. The custom of taking surnames from lands, was but lately received amongst the French, as appears by the history of Froissart, no mean author. Macduff had three requests granted him as a reward for his service; one,

that his posterity should place the king who was to be crowned in the chair of state; another, that they should lead the van of the king's armies; and a third, that if any of the family were guilty of the unpremeditated slaughter of a gentleman, he should pay twenty-four marks of silver as a fine; and if of a plebeian, twelve marks: which last was observed till the days of our fathers, as long as any one of the race was in being.

Whilst these things were transacted at Forfar, they who remained of the faction of Macbeth, carried his son Luthlac, surnamed *Fatus* from his want of wit, to Scone, where he was saluted king. Malcolm, however, assaulted him in the valley of Bogian, where he was slain, three months after he had usurped the regal title; yet, out of respect to his lineage, his body and that of his father were buried in the royal sepulchres in Iona. After this, Malcolm reigned four years in perfect peace; when intelligence was brought to him that a great troop of robbers harboured in Cockburn forest, and infested Lothian and March, to the great damage of the husbandmen. Patrick Dunbar, with some trouble, overcame them; and though he lost forty of his own men in the onset, he killed six hundred of them. Forty more of them were taken prisoners and hanged. Patrick, for this exploit, was made earl of March.

The kingdom was now so settled, that though no open force could hurt the king, his life was attempted by private conspiracy. The whole plot being privately communicated to him; he sent for the head of the faction, who readily came, not at all suspicious of a discovery. After much familiar discourse, the king led him aside into a lonely valley, commanding his followers to stay behind. There he upbraided him with the former benefits bestowed upon him, and accused him with having conspired against his life; adding further, "If thou hast courage enough, why dost thou not now set upon me, seeing that we are both armed, that so thou mayest obtain thy object by valour, and not by treachery?" The traitor, amazed at this sudden discovery, fell down on his knees, and asked pardon of the king; who, being as merciful as he was valiant, easily forgave him. Matthew Paris gives a particular relation of this incident.

About this time, Edgar, to whom, on the demise of Edward, the crown of England belonged, being driven by contrary winds, came into Scotland with his whole family: but, in speaking of this person, it is necessary, in order to be better understood, that I should take up his story at an earlier period.

Edmund, king of England, being slain by the treachery of his subjects. Canute, the Dane, who reigned over part of the island, presently seized upon the whole. At first, he nobly treated Edward and Edmund, the sons of the deceased monarch last mentioned, when they were brought to him; but afterwards, instigated by wicked ambition, and desirous to settle the kingdom in his own family, on their destruction, he sent them away privately to Valgar, governor of Sweden, to be murdered there. Valgar being made acquainted with their noble birth, and pitying their age and innocence, condition and misfortune, sent them to Hungary to king Solomon, but informed Canute that he had put them to death. There they were educated suitably to their quality, and so much gracefulness appeared in Edward, that Solomon preferred him to all his young nobles, and gave him his daughter Agatha to wife. By her he had Edgar, Margaret, and Christian. Canute was succeeded by Hardicanute, and when he was slain, Edward was recalled from Normandy, whither he was before banished, together with his brother Alfred. Earl Godwin, a powerful man of English blood, but who had married the daughter of Canute, was sent to fetch them home. He, being desirous to transfer the kingdom to his own family, caused Alfred to be poisoned; but Edward was preserved rather by divine providence than by human foresight, and reigned most devoutly in England. As Edward had no children of his own, his chief care was to recall his kinsmen from Hungary, to take the government; affirming, that, when Edgar returned, he would willingly surrender the throne to him. The modesty of Edgar exceeded even the king's piety, for he refused to accept the crown during the life of the reigning monarch.*

* Buchanan is far from being correct in this narrative. Canute was succeeded by Harold surnamed Harefoot, who, being a native of Denmark, was not agreeable to the English. How-

At length, on the death of Edward, Harold, the son of Godwin, usurped the throne, who dealt favourably with Agatha the Hungarian, and her children. When, however, he was overthrown by William the Norman, Edgar, to avoid the cruelty of the latter, resolved to return, with his mother and sisters, to Hungary. In the voyage, the vessel by a tempest was driven into Scotland: where Edgar was courteously entertained by Malcolm, who made him his kinsman, by marrying his sister Margaret. William, who then reigned in England, was, upon the lightest occasion, very cruel against the nobles, whether of English or Danish extraction. Understanding therefore what was going on in Scotland, and fearing that a storm might arise from thence, he sent a herald to demand Edgar, with a threat of denouncing war unless he were given up. Malcolm looking upon it as a cruel and faithless thing to deliver a guest and kinsman, and one too against whom his very enemies could allege no crime, to his capital foe to be put to death, steadily determined to suffer any thing rather than so disgrace himself. He, therefore, not only continued to harbour Edgar, but gave admission to his numerous friends, who were banished from their own homes, and granted them lands to live upon; by which means their descendants were incorporated into many rich and opulent families. On this a war ensued between the Scots and English, wherein Sibert, king of Northumberland, took a part with the former, and joined his forces with those of Edgar. The Norman, elated by the good success of his affairs, made light of the Scottish war, and thinking to end it in a short time, sent one Roger, a nobleman of his own country, with forces into Northumberland; but he being overcome and put to flight, was at last slain by his own men.

Then Richard, earl of Gloucester, was despatched with a greater army, but with no better success; for Patrick Dunbar harassed him so much with skirmishes, that his men could not even venture abroad for plunder and forage. At last, Odo, the brother of William, and bishop of Bayeux, being made earl of Kent, came down with a more formidable army, and committed great ravages in Northumberland, slaying those who resisted. But when he was returning with a great booty, Malcolm and Sibert attacked him, slew many of his men, and recovered the prey. The army being recruited, Robert, the son of William, was sent down thither, but he obtained no greater advantages than those who preceded him; wherefore, he pitched his camp by the river Tyne, where, instead of carrying on the war, he acted on the defensive, and repaired Newcastle, which was almost decayed by reason of its antiquity. William, thus wearied with a contest that was more tedious than profitable, and his courage being also somewhat cooled, began to think of peace; which was made on these conditions, "That Stanmore, so called from its being a stony heath, lying between Richmondshire and Cumberland, should be the bounds of both kingdoms, and that, to determine the limits, a cross of stones should be erected, containing the statues and arms of the kings on both sides, whence, as long as it stood, it was called King's Cross: and that Malcolm should enjoy Cumberland on the same terms as his ancestors had done." Edgar was also received into the favour of William, who bestowed upon him a large revenue; and, that he might avoid giving any occasion of suspicion, he never departed from the court. Voldiosus, the son of Sibert, had his paternal estates restored to him; besides which, he was admitted into affinity with the king, by marrying the daughter of his sister.

Tumults at home succeeded peace abroad: for the men of Galloway, and of the Æbudaë, ravaged and committed murders over all the adjacent parts; while the people of Murray, together with those of Ross, Caithness, and their neighbours, made a conspiracy, and calling in the islanders to their aid, threat-

ever, he secured possession of the crown; which gave such offence to Emma, the mother of Hardicanute, that she contrived to bring over Alfred and Edward, her sons by Ethelred, from Normandy. Earl Godwin was so far from assisting in this design, that he warned the king of his danger, and, by an artifice, drew Alfred from Winchester to the monastery of Ely, where his eyes were put out, and he soon afterwards died of grief, or was poisoned. Edward, upon this, escaped to Normandy, and his mother to Bruges, where she was met by Hardicanute, and while they were in consultation Harold died a natural death; upon which Hardicanute hastened over to England, and Godwin was one of the first that did him homage; A. D. 1039.

ened the government with a dangerous war. Walter, the nephew of Bancho, by his son Fleance, who had before been received into the king's favour, was sent against the men of Galloway, and Macduff against the other rebels, whilst the king himself collected greater forces. Walter having slain the head of the faction, so quelled the rest, that the king, at his return, made him lord steward of Scotland for his services.

This officer was to gather in the king's revenues; he had also a jurisdiction similar to that of the sheriffs of counties, and he was in every respect the same with what our ancestors called a Thane. But at present, the English speech having supplanted our country language, the Thanes of counties are, in many places, called Stewards; and he who was formerly termed Abthane, is now the Lord High Steward of Scotland; though in some few places the name of Thane yet remains. From this Walter, the family of Stuarts, or Stewarts, who have so long reigned over Scotland, took its beginning.

Macduff, who carried on the war in the other province, when he came to the borders of Mar, was promised by the people a sum of money to spare their lands; upon which, fearing the multitude of the enemy, he protracted the time in negotiations, till the king should arrive with an accession of strength. When the respective forces joined at Monymusk, the king, being troubled at the report of the enemy's numbers, promised to devote the village, whither he was going, to St. Andrew the apostle, the tutelar saint of Scotland, if he returned victorious from the expedition. After a few marches, he came to the river Spey, the most violent current in all Scotland; where he beheld a greater body of soldiers than he thought could have been levied in those countries, placed on the other side of the river, to oppose his passage. Upon this, the standard-bearer making a halt, and delaying to enter the stream, the king snatched the standard out of his hand, and gave it to Alexander Carron, a knight of known courage. The posterity of this man have, ever since, had the honour to bear the royal ensign in the wars; and instead of Carron, the name of Scrimzeour was afterwards given to him, because he, by mere valour, though ignorant of the rules of fencing, conquered one who was a master in the science of arms, and who valued himself highly upon that account. As the king was entering the river, the priests, with their mitres on their heads, prevented him; and, having obtained his permission, passed over first, by which means the war ended without blood. The nobles surrendered upon quarter; but the most seditious, who were the authors of the rebellion, had their goods confiscated, and were condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

Peace being thus, by his great prudence, obtained at home and abroad. Malcolm turned his pains and industry towards the reformation of the public manners; for, being devout and pious himself, he invited others, by his example, to a modest, just, and sober life. It is thought that he was assisted in this by the counsels and monitions of his wife, who was an excellent woman, and eminent for her piety. She omitted no office of humanity towards the poor or the priests. Neither did Agatha her mother, or Christiana her sister, fall short of the queen in religious duty; and as, in those days, a monastic life was accounted the great nourisher and maintainer of piety, both of them leaving the toilsome cares of the world, shut themselves up in convents. The king, to the four former bishops of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Whitehorn, and Mortlach, where the old discipline, by the sloth and default of the bishops, was either remitted or laid aside, added those of Murray and Caithness; all which sees he filled, according to the times, with men of piety and learning. And as now luxury began to spread, by the increase of commerce with foreign nations, and the influx of English exiles, who were entertained and scattered almost all over the kingdom, he laboured, though to little purpose, to restrain it. But he had the hardest task of all with the nobles, whom he endeavoured to reclaim to the practice of their ancient simplicity; for they, having once caught the bait of pleasure, did not only grow worse and worse, but ran headlong into debauchery; which foul vice they laboured to cover under the false names of neatness, bravery, and gallantry. Malcolm, foreseeing that such courses would be the ruin, not only of religion, but of military discipline, first began to reduce his own family to order; and afterwards to enact severe sumptuary laws, denouncing great punishments against the violators of them.

Though these remedies rather stopped than cured the disease; nevertheless, as long as he lived, he employed all his endeavours to work a thorough reformation. It is also reported, that his wife obtained of him a repeal of the law of *Eugenius*, which gave to certain of the nobility the privilege of lying the first night with the new-married wife of a tenant. This extraordinary custom was now abrogated, and the husband had liberty to redeem his rights by paying half a mark of silver, which payment is yet called *mercheta mulierum*.

Whilst Malcolm was thus busied in correcting the public manners, William, king of England, died; and was succeeded by his son, William Rufus. Peace could not long be continued between two monarchs so widely different in disposition. The king of the Scots was at this time building two temples or cathedrals, one at Durham in England, the other at Dunfermline in Scotland; upon both which piles he bestowed great cost, so that he endeavoured to retrieve ecclesiastical affairs, which then began to slacken and decay; and, withal, he translated Turgot, abbot of the monastery at Durham, to the bishopric of St. Andrew's. While he was thus employed, Rufus was plucking down towns and monasteries, and planting and making forests, that he might have the more range for hunting. And when Anselm, the Norman, then archbishop of Canterbury, took the freedom of rebuking him for his excesses, he banished him the kingdom. He also sought for an occasion of war against the Scots, and therefore surprised the castle of Alnwick in Northumberland the garrison of which he put to death. Malcolm demanded restitution, but in vain, upon which he invested the castle with a large army. The besieged, being reduced to great extremity and want, proposed to surrender, and desired the king to come and receive the keys with his own hand; but as he was about to take them, on the point of a spear, the soldier ran it into his eye, and killed him. His son Edward then, being too forward in revenging the death of his father, and not sufficiently mindful of his own safety, made an unwary assault upon the enemy, wherein he received a wound, of which he died soon after. The Scots, in consequence, being afflicted and troubled at this double slaughter of their two kings, raised the siege, and returned home; where Margaret did not long survive her husband and son, but died of grief. The bodies of these kings, which at first were buried in a monastery, situated at the mouth of the Tyne, were afterwards brought to Dunfermline. Malcolm held the kingdom thirty-six years, not only free from any imputed vice, but famous to posterity for his great and many virtues. He had six sons by his wife Margaret, of whom Edward was slain by the English at the siege of Alnwick castle; Edmund and Ethelred were banished into England by their uncle Donald, where they died; the other three, Edgar, Athelred, and David, succeeded in the kingdom one after another. He also had two daughters; the elder, Maud, surnamed the Good, married Henry, king of England; the younger, named Mary, had Eustace, earl of Boulogne, for her husband. Several prodigies happened in those days; and, in particular, there was such an unusual inundation of the German ocean, that it did not only drown the fields and country, and choked them up with sand, but also overthrew villages, towns, and castles; and besides, there were great and terrible storms of thunder, and more were killed with lightning than were ever known before to have perished by that kind of death in Britain.

DONALD VII. surnamed BANE, the eighty-seventh King, began to reign
A. D. 1093.

Upon the death of Malcolm, his brother, Donald Bane, that is, the White, who, for fear of Macbeth, had fled into the *Æbudar*, was, without any difficulty or opposition, declared king; for he had promised all the islands to Magnus, king of Norway, on condition of receiving his assistance in gaining the throne of Scotland. He was further indebted chiefly in obtaining the kingdom to those who did falsely accuse the former king of corrupting the discipline of his ancestors; and who were, besides, vexed that the banished English should enjoy the estates of the natives in Scotland. Edgar, in this sudden change of affairs, being afraid, and anxious about the safety of his sister's children, who were yet young, caused them to be brought over to him into England. But this piety of the good man was evil reported of by some; for Orgar, an

Englishman, seeking to gain the favour of William Rufus, accused Edgar of having secretly boasted, that he and his kindred were the lawful heirs of the crown. The calumniator not being able to make good his allegation by any witnesses, the matter was adjudged to be decided by a duel; wherein the accuser was overcome by another Englishman, who undertook the combat instead of Edgar, who was now grown old and sickly. As for Donald, all good men who venerated the memory of Malcolm and Margaret, hated him; because, by foreign aid, in conjunction with those of his own faction, he had seized the kingdom. This enmity he, by his rashness, did much increase, particularly by the severe threats which he uttered amongst his familiars against the nobles, for refusing to swear allegiance to him. They, therefore, sent for Duncan, a natural son of Malcolm, who had served long with credit in the wars under William Rufus, to oppose Donald. At his coming, many revolted from Donald; so that he, out of fear, fled into the Æbudæ about six months after his usurpation of the throne.

DUNCAN II. the eighty-eighth King, began his reign A. D. 1094.

Neither did Duncan reign long; for he, being a military man, and not equally skilful in the arts of peace, carried it more imperiously than a quiet and civil government required; so that he quickly became an object of hatred to the majority of his subjects. When Donald, who observed all his motions, heard of this in his banishment, he corrupted Macpender, earl of Mearn, and, by him, caused Duncan to be slain in the night, at Monteith, one year and six months after he began to reign. As for Donald, he governed a troublesome kingdom for about three years; good men, for want of a better, enduring, rather than approving, him. The English on the one side, and the islanders on the other, in his time, molested Scotland very much. The general dislike of him was also heightened, on account of the seizure of the Western islands by Magnus, king of Norway; which though he seemed to have done by force, yet all men perceived the cheat, because Donald did not offer to resent the injury. At last the public indignation increased more intensely against him, when the people understood that this act was the result of a secret agreement between him and Magnus.

EDGAR, the eighty-ninth King, began to reign A. D. 1098.

In consequence of these animosities, secret messengers were despatched to Edgar, Malcolm's son, desiring him to come and assume the command of the insurgents, in order to obtain the kingdom; promising that, as soon as he appeared upon the borders, the people would resort to his standard. And they were as good as their word; for Edgar, being assisted by Rufus with a small force, at the instance of his namesake and uncle, scarcely entered Scotland, before Donald, being abandoned by his men, fled, but was pursued, taken, and thrown into prison, where he died soon after. Edgar, having recovered the kingdom by the general suffrage of all the states, in the first place made peace with William, king of England; on whose death, without issue, he renewed it with Henry his brother. He also gave him Maud, his sister, to wife, who was surnamed the Good, from her virtuous manners, as I have already said; and by her he had William, Richard, Euphemia, and Maud. Edgar reigned nine years and six months in great peace, revered and beloved by good men; and so formidable to the wicked, that, in all his time, there were no civil tumults or seditious, nor any fear of a foreign enemy. One monument of his public works, was the monastery of Coldingham, dedicated to St. Ebb, the virgin, which he built in the seventh year of his reign; though, afterwards, it was changed into the name of Cuthbert.

ALEXANDER I. the ninetieth King, began his reign A. D. 1107.

Edgar dying without issue, his brother Alexander, surnamed Acer, or the Sharp, succeeded him. In the very beginning of his reign, some young men, who loved to be fishing in troubled waters, imagining that he would be a peaceable, or, in their own phrase, a sluggish king, as his brother was, conspired to take away his life, that they might rob and plunder with the greater freedom. The plot, however, was discovered; and he pursued the conspi-

rators to the farthest part of Ross. On coming to the river Spey, they thought the king's advance would be prevented by the rapidity of the river; besides which, his friends would not suffer him to attempt the passage, because, the tide coming in, they judged it impracticable, yet he set spurs to his horse, and was about to venture; while the rest, lest they might seem to forsake their king in a danger so great, prepared to follow. Some of his own men, however, as I have just said, drew him back; so that he sent over part of his army, under the command of Alexander Carron, the son of him whom I mentioned before, and his wonderful boldness in crossing the river with his forces struck such a terror into the enemy, that they presently betook themselves to flight. Many were slain in the pursuit; and their leaders were either then taken, or else were afterwards brought to the king, and executed on a gallows.

This expedition procured him peace for the rest of his life. As he was returning through Mearn, a poor woman met him, grievously complaining that her husband had been scourged with a whip of thongs, by the son of the earl of that county, because he had sued him for a debt. The king, hearing this, presently, in great anger, leaped from his horse, and would not stir from the place till the offender had received condign punishment; and so he returned to Invergowrie, or, as some write, to Baledgary, Edgar's town. Some write, that the surname of Acer, or Sharp, was given to him for these exploits; but others say it had a very different original, namely, that some thieves, having corrupted one of his bed-chamber, were privately admitted in whilst he was asleep; and that, awakened by their sudden rushing in, he first slew his treacherous servant, and afterwards six of the robbers. This raised a great clamour in the court, and the rest fled; but Alexander pursued them so fiercely, that most of them were slain. Afterwards, turning his thoughts to the works of peace, he built St. Michael's church, in Scone, from the ground, and the college of priests there, he converted into a monastery. Being once surprised in a tempest, and driven into the isle Æmona, he was there reduced to such great want and hunger, that neither he nor his companions could procure any food for some days, except what they got from one of those solitary livers called hermits. He built a church there also, in memory of St. Columb, supplying it with canons, as they call them, and lands for their maintenance. He likewise bestowed great gifts and estates on St. Andrew's, which was rich enough before. Besides all this, he finished the church of Dunfermline, which his father had begun, and endowed it with revenues.

After these transactions in peace and war, when he had reigned seventeen years, he departed this life, leaving no children by Sibylla his wife, the daughter of William the Norman.

DAVID I. *the ninety-first King, began to reign A. D. 1124.*

His brother David succeeded him in the kingdom, in the year 1124. On seeing that his brothers reigned successively, one after another, in Scotland, he remained with his sister Maud in England. There he married his cousin Maud, a woman of great beauty, wealth, and nobility; for Voldiosus, earl of Northumberland, was her father, and her mother Judith was niece to William the Norman. He had a son by her, named Henry, in whom the disposition of both parents did presently appear. This marriage increased his revenues very much, by the accession of Northumberland and Huntingdonshire to the lands which he before enjoyed. Thus, with the universal gratulation of his subjects, he came into Scotland to possess the kingdom. It is true, the memory of his parents was of great weight in procuring him the favour of the people; yet his own virtue was such, that he stood in no need of any adventitious help; for, as in other respects, he equalled many excellent kings, so, in his condescension to hear the causes of the poor, he was much superior to them. As for the complaints of the rich, he heard them himself; and if a false judgment had been given, he would not set it aside, but compelled the judge who tried the cause to pay the damages awarded. He restrained luxury, which then began to spread, according to the example of his father. He also banished epicures, and such as studied arts to pamper the appetite, out of the kingdom. He far exceeded the beneficence of his parents and kindred, who, however, were

rather worthy of pardon than praise, in increasing the revenues of the church. He not only repaired monasteries, whether decayed by age, or ruined by the wars; but he also built new ones from the ground. To the six bishoprics which he before founded, he added four more, Ross, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dunblane; but he almost impoverished the succeeding kings to endow them, by bestowing upon them a great part of the crown-lands. John Major, who, in my youth, was famous for his theological studies, having highly praised this king for his other actions, yet, in a solemn oration, which I wish had been undeserved, blames his extravagance in enriching monasteries. And I the more wonder at this immoderate profusion of the public money and patrimony; because, even in those times, St. Bernard sharply reproved the priests and monks in his severe sermons, for their excessive luxury and prodigality; which yet, if compared with that of our age, seems to have been but moderate. The fruits which followed these donations, shew that the design was not well grounded: for, as in bodies too corpulent, the functions of the members cease, so the sparks of wit, oppressed by indulgence, languished in abbeys. The study of learning was neglected, piety degenerated into superstition, and the seeds of all vices sprang up in them, as in an uncultivated field. All the time of this reign there was but one domestic commotion, and that was rather a tumult than a civil war; which as quickly ended in the slaughter of Æneas, earl of Murray, with a great number of his followers. After, this Malcolm Macbeth, for endeavouring to raise a new sedition, was committed prisoner to the castle of Roxburgh. Other matters succeeded according to his desire, but yet a double calamity fell upon him. One from the untimely death of his wife; the other, of his son. As for his wife Maud, she was a woman of high descent, of exquisite beauty, and most accomplished manners; he loved her passionately whilst she lived, and the loss of her in the flower of her age, did so affect him, that for twenty years after, he lived a widower, in perfect continence: yet the greatness of his sorrow did not hinder him from managing the public offices and concerns, both of peace and war. Concerning his son, I shall speak in the proper place.

Thus David habituated himself to the arts of peace, but some troublesome matters in England drew him unwillingly into a war. The occasion was this: All the offspring of king Henry of England, except his daughter Maud, were drowned in their passage from France into England; which misfortune so grieved him, that, according to report, he was never seen to smile afterwards. Maud, who alone escaped that calamity, married the emperor Henry the Fourth; but on the death of her husband, without children, she returned into England to her father; who, being willing to settle the succession on her, as she was a widow and childless, and considering his own mortality, caused all the nobility to swear an oath of fealty to her. Further, in hopes that she might have children, he married her to Geoffrey Plantagenet, earl of Anjou. Five years after this, both Robert duke of Normandy, and king Henry, died; and Geoffrey of Anjou, falling into a dangerous disease, became totally helpless, and was confined to his bed.

In the mean time, Stephen, earl of Boulogne, taking advantage of the want of royal issue, assumed the crown of England. Neither was this a design of any great difficulty, for the adverse party was weak, and he had himself some of the royal blood running in his veins; being born of a daughter of William the Norman, who married the earl of Blois. Besides this, Stephen married Matilda, daughter of the former earl of Boulogne, and the cousin-german of Maud, or Matilda, the empress, by Mary, sister to David king of Scotland. Upon the strength of these affinities, and encouraged by the absence of the lawful queen, and the sickness of her husband Geoffrey, Stephen hoped he might easily get possession of the throne. To make his way clearer, without any regard to the oath, which he, as well as the rest of his kindred, had taken to queen Maud, he drew over to his side, by great promises, the bishops of England, though they were also bound by the same solemn obligation of fealty. The principal of these were, William, archbishop of York, who was the first that swore allegiance to queen Maud; and Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who had not only taken the oath himself, but had also pronounced it to the other nobles at the time of their taking it.

Thus supported, even while his uncle Henry lay unburied, Stephen usurped the throne, and the two first years reigned peaceably enough; which made him so insolent, that he began both to violate his covenant with the English, and also to deal arrogantly with his neighbours. After bringing the former, either by fear or fair promises, to take the oath of allegiance to him, he sent ambassadors to David, king of Scots, requiring him to do the same, for the counties of Cumberland, Northumberland, and Huntingdon, which he held of him. David answered, that he, together with Stephen himself, and all the nobles of England, had, not long before, bound themselves by oath to obey Maud, as their lawful queen; and that, therefore, he neither ought, nor would, acknowledge any other sovereign as long as she was alive. When this answer was brought to Stephen, he presently began a war: and the English who were in the neighbourhood of Scotland, ravaged the country near them with fire and sword; nor were the Scots backward in retaliating the injuries they received. The year following, an army, under the earls of March, Monteith, and Angus, entered England, and, at the town of Allerton, engaged the forces commanded by the earl of Gloucester. A sharp battle was there fought, with great slaughter on both sides; but at last the English fled, many were slain in the pursuit, and several of the nobility were taken prisoners, amongst whom was the earl of Gloucester, the general. Stephen, being much concerned at this disaster, and fearing that it might alienate the affections of the friends and kindred of the captive nobles, readily acceded to conditions of peace, which were these: "That the English prisoners should be released without ransom; and that Stephen should relinquish the claim which, as chief lord, he pretended to have over Cumberland." But Stephen observed these articles no better than he did the oath which he had formerly taken to his kinswoman Maud; for, before the armies were quite disbanded, and the prisoners released, he renewed the war by privately surprising some castles in Northumberland, and plundering the neighbouring parts of Scotland. The Scots, upon this, gathered another army in the adjacent provinces, and contemning the English, because they had defeated them so lately, rashly provoked a battle near the river Tees; where they paid dear for their folly in undervaluing the enemy, and received such a signal overthrow, that they were compelled to abandon Northumberland. David, to retrieve this loss and obliterate the shame, mustered as great an army as he could, and came to Roxburgh. Thither Thurstan, or, as William of Newbury calls him, Trustinus, archbishop of York, was sent by the English to propose a pacification; and as there was some prospect of an amicable settlement, a truce was made for three months, on condition that Northumberland should in the mean time be restored to the Scots. But Stephen gave this promise only to get the army disbanded; upon which David despoiled that part of Northumberland possessed by the English, and carried off a quantity of plunder. Stephen as quickly gathered a considerable force, and penetrated into Scotland as far as Roxburgh. Finding, however, that his nobles were adverse to the war, as being unnecessary and unjust, he turned hastily into England, without performing any thing of consequence. The year following, being in fear of some intestine sedition, he sent his wife, Matilda, to her uncle David, to negotiate peace. Upon her mediation, it was stipulated that David, whose ordinary residence was at Newcastle, and Stephen, who was at Durham, should send arbitrators for settling their differences, to the town of Chester le Street, situated midway between both places. David sent the archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow; and Stephen, the archbishops of Canterbury and York. Both parties were the more inclinable to peace, because Stephen was apprehensive of a foreign war, as well as of domestic seditions; and the Scots complained that they were forced to bear the weight of a contest in the cause of Maud, a stranger, who remained passive. Upon this, peace was made on the following conditions: that Cumberland, as by ancient right, should be possessed by David, and that Northumberland, as far as the river Tees, and Huntingdonshire, (so we are told by William of Newbury the Englishman,) should be enjoyed by Henry, the son of David, as being his mother's inheritance; and that he should do homage to Stephen for the same. When things were thus composed, David retired into Cumberland, and Stephen into Kent. This peace was made in 1139, and the same year

Maud, on her return to England, sent her son, who was afterwards king Henry, to David, his great uncle, at Carlisle, that he might be instructed in military affairs. That monarch, who, without doubt, was the most excellent warrior of his time, conferred upon his nephew the order of knighthood, which dignity was, in those days, bestowed with great pomp and ceremony.

At this period, England was so much disturbed by domestic discords, that no part of the country was free from civil war, except that which was in the possession of David, king of Scotland; but, that he alone might not plead exemption from the public calamity, within three years after, his son, the hopeful heir of his power and felicity, died in the flower of his age, leaving three sons and as many daughters. So greatly was he beloved, both by the Scots and English, that, besides the public loss, every one lamented his death as a personal misfortune; for the sincerity and mildness which shone forth in him, even in that age when youth is accustomed to play the wanton, made every one expect most rare and singular fruits of his disposition, when it should be ripened by age. His father's grief was further increased, on account of the tender age of his grand-children, the ambitious and restless temper of Stephen and the fierce spirit of Henry, the son of Maud, who was the next in succession to the English throne. But when the thoughts of so many apprehended evils assaulted his diseased and feeble mind, so that all men imagined he would have sunk under them, he bore up against them firmly, and invited to supper some of the principal nobility, who were solicitous for him, lest he should be too much afflicted, as well they might, and there entertained them with a discourse rather like a comforter than a mourner. He told them, "That no new thing had happened, either to them or his son; that he had long since learned from the discourses of holy and learned men, that the world was governed by the providence of God, whom to resist was both foolish and impious: that, as to himself, he was not ignorant of the law under which his son was born, that he must as certainly die, and so pay the debt to nature which he owed at his birth; that if men were but always ready to submit to this universal obligation, it was no matter when their great creditor should call upon them for it: that if only the wicked were subject to death, then one might justly grieve at the decease of his kindred; but when we also see good men die, every Christian ought to be thoroughly persuaded, that no evil can happen to the virtuous, either living or dying; and therefore why should we be so much troubled at a short separation, especially from our kindred, who have only gone before us, to our common country; whither we likewise, though our lives may be ever so long, must at last follow?" "As for my son," said he, "though he hath taken this journey early, that so he might visit and enjoy the fellowship of my friends and brethren, those holy men, somewhat earlier than usual; let us not be troubled thereby, but take heed lest we seem rather to envy his happiness, than to mourn for our own loss. With regard to yourselves, excellent lords, as I have received from you many acts of respectful kindness; I, therefore, now return you thanks, in my own behalf and that of my son, for your love to me, and your grateful and pious esteem for his memory."

This greatness of mind in the king, as it added much to the veneration that was paid to his royal person, so it increased the sense of the loss of his son in the minds of all, when they considered of what a prince they and their children were deprived. David, that he might make use of the only means of consolation now left him, caused the children of his son to be brought to him, and trained up in the discipline of his court, which was then a pattern of piety. In fine, he provided for their security as far as the ingenuity of man, or human foresight, could provide. He commended Malcolm, the eldest of the three, to the care of all the nobility, particularly of Maeduff, earl of Fife, a very powerful and prudent man; whom he caused to carry the prince all over the land, that so he might be received as the undoubted heir of the kingdom. William, the next son, he created earl of Northumberland, and put him into the immediate possession of that county. David, the third son, he made earl of Huntingdon, in England, and of Garioch, in Scotland. He was the more eager in settling these arrangements, because, lingering under a disease that was judged to be mortal, he foresaw that his time could not be long in this world. He died

on the 24th of May, 1153. He was so well beloved, that all men thought they had lost in him the best of fathers, rather than a king; for though his whole life exhibited an unparalleled instance of piety, yet, some few years before his death, he applied himself particularly to the preparation for his latter end; so that his deportment then very much increased the general veneration in which he was held. While he equalled his royal predecessors, who were most praise-worthy, in the art of war, and excelled them in the study of peace; yet now leaving off all competition with others, for superiority in virtue, he maintained, as it were, a combat with himself alone, wherein he advanced so much, that if the most learned and ingenious men should endeavour to give the idea or pattern of a good king, they could never comprehend in their thoughts such an exemplary prince as David evinced himself throughout the whole course of his life. He reigned twenty-nine years, two months, and three days.

MALCOLM IV. the ninety-second King, began his reign A. D. 1153.

He was succeeded by his grandson Malcolm, who, though then under age, gave great hopes of his future probity; for he had been so educated by his father and grandfather, that he seemed to resemble them as much in the virtues of his mind, as in the lineaments of his person. At the beginning of his reign a great famine raged all over Scotland, by which great numbers of men and cattle were destroyed. At that time, one Somerled was thane of Argyle, whose fortune was above his family, and his mind above his fortune. He, conceiving some hopes of enjoying the kingdom, by reason of the king's youth, and the present calamity, gathered a band of his confidants, and invaded the adjacent provinces. The ravages he committed made a great noise; so that the fear of him, spreading itself abroad, induced many bad men to join him; while others, of a better character, were compelled to do the same. This encouraged Donald, the son of Malcolm Macbeth, to raise another insurrection; but, being taken at Whitehorn, in Galloway, and sent to the king, he was committed to the same prison with his father; and soon after both received the royal pardon, and were released. Gilchrist, earl of Angus, was then sent with an army against Somerled, who, being defeated, and many of his men slain, fled into Ireland. This victory, thus unexpectedly and suddenly obtained, though it brought tranquillity at home, excited envy abroad. Henry, king of England, being an ambitious prince, and desirous of enlarging his dominions, resolved to keep down the growing greatness and power of Malcolm; but he could not well make open war upon him, without a flagrant violation of the covenant which he had sworn to observe; for when he received the customary military girdle from king David, the grandfather of Malcolm, at Carlisle, he promised, and took an oath thereon, as William of Newbury, besides our own writers, say, "That he would never endeavour to deprive either that monarch or his posterity of any part of the possessions which they held in England." Being, therefore, bound by his oath, he resolved to provoke the king's patience in a less affair. While John, bishop of Glasgow, was dedicating churches, ordaining priests, and performing, according to the rule of those times, the other parts of his episcopal office, all over Cumberland; Henry, by Thurstan, archbishop of York, sent a new prelate thither, with the title of bishop of Carlisle. John was so affected at this injury, that, seeing there was no sufficient security either in the king or in the law, he left his bishopric, and retired into the monastery of Tours, in France; from whence he refused to return, until the pope, at Malcolm's request, drew him unwillingly out of his cell, and compelled him to go back to his own country. Malcolm bore the affront better than was expected; and, instead of thinking it a sufficient cause for war, went to Chester le Street, there to quiet suspicions, and to cut off all occasion of discord. On his arrival at that place, by the fraud of Henry he was circumvented, and forced to take an oath of fidelity to him; although it was not himself, but his brothers, who, having lands in England, according to an old agreement, were bound to that obligation. This, however, was craftily and maliciously devised by the English king, to sow the seeds of discord amongst brethren; which, the year following, more fully appeared, when he decoyed Malcolm out of Northumberland,

which was the patrimony of his brother William ; and sent for him to London, that, according to the custom of his ancestors, he might, in a public assembly, acknowledge himself his feudatory for the lands which he held in England. Malcolm, under covert of the public faith, came speedily thither ; but, instead of performing the service for which his journey was pretended, he was forced against his will, with his little retinue, to accompany Henry into France. The design of the latter, in this, was partly that the Scots might not attempt any thing against him during his absence, and partly to alienate the mind of Louis, king of France, from them. Thus was Malcolm compelled, for fear of a greater mischief, to serve against his old friend, and was not suffered to come back to his own country, till Henry, having gained little advantage by the French war, returned to England. Malcolm then obtained leave to revisit Scotland, where, in a convention of the nobles, he related the history of his travels ; but found many of them very much incensed, that he should have joined with a known enemy against a tried friend ; and did not foresee the artifices by which Henry had deceived him. The king, on his part, alleged, that he was drawn unwillingly to France, by a monarch in whose power he was, and to whom he could deny nothing at that time ; and therefore, he said, that he had no doubt but that the French would be satisfied and appeased when they were made acquainted with the manner in which he was hurried thither, and particularly as he took none of his own forces along with him. This harangue, with much difficulty, quieted, for the present, the spirit of sedition, which was almost ready to break out into rebellion.

But Henry, who had his spies every where, knowing that the tumult was only suspended, and that the minds of the people were far from being reconciled to Malcolm, summoned him to a convention at York. There an accusation was brought against him, that the English had been worsted, in France, principally by his means. On this pretence, it was referred to the assembly, whether he ought not to lose all the lands which he held in England ; and though he answered all that was objected to him, and fully cleared himself, yet he found the ears of the assembly so shut against him, and prepossessed by the fears or favour of the king, that a decree was made in favour of Henry ; who, not contented with this injury, suborned some persons, fit for his purpose, to report it abroad, that Malcolm had freely, and of his own accord, relinquished his interest in those territories. At this, his subjects, the Scots, were so incensed, that, on his return home, they besieged him in Perth, and had almost taken him prisoner ; but, by the intervention of some great men, their anger was a little abated, especially when he informed them how unjustly and fraudulently Henry had despoiled him of his ancient patrimony. This made them unanimously come to the resolution, to enable him to recover by arms, what had been unlawfully taken from him by force. Accordingly, a war was resolved upon, declared, and begun, though not without great inconvenience, to both nations. At last, the two kings came to a conference not far from Carlisle, and, after much contention on both sides, Henry took Northumberland from Malcolm, and left him the counties of Cumberland and Huntingdon. The only pretence Henry had for his sordid ambition, was, that he could not suffer so great a diminution to be made of his kingdom ; and Malcolm, seeing that neither respect to justice and right, agreements nor covenants, not even the solemnity of an oath, could restrain his insatiable avarice ; and being himself a man of low spirit, and too desirous of peace upon any conditions whatever, accepted of his terms, though greatly to the dissatisfaction of the Scottish nobility, who denied that the king could alienate any part of his dominions, without the general consent of the estates.

After this, the king began to be despised by his subjects, as not having fortitude or prudence enough to wield the sceptre ; neither could any thing restrain their fierce minds from rising in arms, but the fear of Henry ; who, they knew, aimed at the conquest of the whole island, being encouraged thereunto by the simplicity of Malcolm, and the hopes of foreign aid. This general disaffection to the king did much lessen the reverence of his government. A rebellion was first begun by Angus, or Æneas, of Galloway, a potent man, but one who promised himself more from the king's slothfulness, than his own power. Gilchrist was sent against him, who overthrew him in three

battles, and compelled him to take sanctuary in the monastery of *Whitehorn*, out of which it was not deemed lawful to take him by force; and, therefore, after a long siege, being driven to the want of all necessaries, he was forced to capitulate. He was deprived of part of his estate, by way of punishment, and compelled to give his son as a hostage for his future good behaviour; but he, being of a lofty spirit, and not able to endure this reduction of his former greatness, took the tonsure, and secluded himself in a monastery near *Edinburgh*, to avoid the scorn of men. Neither was there peace in other parts of the realm; for the people of *Murray*, who were always given to sedition, rose in arms under *Gildo*, or rather *Gildominick*, their captain, and not only spoiled all the countries round them, but even barbarously slew the heralds of arms that were sent to them by the king. *Gilchrist* was despatched against them also, with a greater army, but with different success; for the valour of an adversary, which is wont to be a terror to other rebels, drove these men, who were conscious of their own demerits, to desperation; and, therefore, resolving to sell their lives as dear as they could, they routed the royal army, and became conquerors. *Malcolm*, upon this defeat, recruited his forces, and, marching into *Murray*, met the victors at the mouth of the river *Spey*; who, though they knew that the king's army was increased, and their own diminished in the late fight, yet, being encouraged by the advantage of the place, and their recent success, they resolved to risk another battle. The fight was carried on with great spirit, and no less slaughter; for the insurgents did not give way till the royal troops, being wearied, were relieved by the reserves sent to them; and then the men of *Murray* fell into confusion, so that there was no more fighting, but killing, and the soldiers, in their fury, spared neither age nor rank. In this battle the rebels of *Murray* were almost all slain; which punishment, though cruel, seemed not undeserved; and the greatness of the revenge was allayed and made excusable by the savage cruelty of that perfidious people against others. Upon this depopulation, new colonies were sent into the lands of those who had perished.

Somerled, in this perturbed state of the government, did not choose to remain quiet. This man, as I have already said, after his overthrow, fled into *Ireland*, and from that time exercised piracy upon the coasts of *Scotland*; but now, thinking that as a great part of the military men were slain in battle, he might either gain a rich booty from those who would avoid the hazard of fighting, or else procure a cheap and easy victory over those who resisted, he gathered a band of ruffians, and arriving at the frith, or bay, of the river *Clyde*, there made a descent on the left side of it. Fortune at first favoured his design so much, that he penetrated to *Renfrew*; but, owing to his want of precaution and eagerness for plunder, he was surprised by a less number than his own, and lost all his followers; he himself being taken prisoner, and brought to the king for further punishment; though some say, that both he and his son were slain in battle. These things occurred about the year of our Lord 1163.

The kingdom being thus freed from tumults, an assembly of all the estates was summoned at *Scone*, where many things were decreed for the confirmation of the good order of the kingdom; and, amongst the rest, the whole assembly unanimously made it their request to the king, that he would think of marriage, as he was arrived at maturity, being above twenty-two years of age, that so he might have children to succeed him. They told him, that it was a public debt due to the kingdom, as well as a private one to his family; and that he ought to regard not only the present time, but to have an eye to the tranquillity of future ages. To this he answered, "That ever since he had been capable of ordering and directing his own life, he had solemnly made a vow to heaven to live a continent and single life; which obligation," said he, "I think, is the more acceptable to God, both because he has given me the strength to perform it, and also, because he hath prepared heirs already to succeed me; so that I am not compelled to break my vow, neither by the weakness of my own spirit, nor by any public necessity." Thus, dismissing the parliament, and securing peace abroad, he applied his mind to the practice of his forefathers, in building churches and endowing monasteries. In this he would probably have far exceeded his ancestors, if God had given him

a longer life ; but he died not long after, on the ninth of December, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and a little more than the twelfth of his reign, in the year 1165.

WILLIAM, the ninety-third King, began his reign A. D. 1165.

His brother William succeeded him, who entered upon the kingdom fifteen days after the death of Malcolm ; but he would transact no public or private business of any weight, till he had craved of Henry, king of England, the restitution of Northumberland. Henry, instead of complying with his request, commanded him to come to London, to do him homage for the counties of Cumberland and Huntingdon, according to custom ; which he did not unwillingly, yet at the same time continued to press the restoration of Northumberland. Henry gave him an ambiguous answer, saying, that as Northumberland had been taken from Malcolm, and given to him by the states of the kingdom, he could not relinquish it without their consent ; but that he should come to the next parliament, and there look for justice. William could expect no good from the parliament, yet, to avoid all occasion of reproach from his adversary, he resolved to wait in England for the convening and opening of that assembly ; and, in the mean time, very reluctantly consented to accompany Henry in his expedition against France. There finding that nothing was to be gained by his daily solicitations, and foreseeing that the king would not speedily return into England, with much difficulty he obtained his passports, and returned to Scotland. The first thing he did, after his arrival, was to repress the insolence of thieves and robbers, by punishing and clearing the country of those offenders ; then he erected castles, and placed garrisons in convenient places, to prevent sudden invasions. At last he sent ambassadors into England, to demand Northumberland, denouncing hostilities in case of refusal. Henry, being entangled in the French war, consented to yield up that part of Northumberland which had been held by the great-grandfather of William, who accepted it ; but on this condition, that he would neither remit his right nor claim to the rest. The king of England took this very ill, and being sorry that he had given up any part of Northumberland before the difference was settled, made incursions into the Scottish borders. Thus, by sowing the seeds of a new war, he hoped to take away also the other lands, and bring them into the dispute. When a right was claimed by the wardens of the marches, according to custom, the English complained that their borders were molested by the Scottish robbers ; so that the ambassadors were sent away, without obtaining what they came for, and almost without an answer. The Scots, to obtain that by force which they could not gain by fair means, levied an army, and entered upon and wasted the bordering lands of the English with fire and sword. As this happened about the time of harvest, the English, in the absence of their king, were content with standing upon the defensive as well as they could. They, therefore, levied no army then, but in the winter following some skirmishing passed, and many incursions were made. The next summer, William raised a great force, and marched into the enemy's country ; and, as the English had few or no troops ready to withstand them, they sent ambassadors to the Scottish camp, offering a great sum of money for a truce, and holding out hopes that all things would be satisfactorily settled. William, being a honest man, and preferring peace, if it could be obtained upon reasonable conditions, even to a just war, gave credit to their fallacious assurances. The English, having thus succeeded, spent all the time of the armistice in preparations for hostilities ; meanwhile deluding the Scots with ambassadors, who made large promises, though their true errand was to discover the strength of the enemy's camp. These men finding the Scots, in confidence of the truce, remiss and negligent, and the greatest part of their army scattered to get in forage, returned, and made their report, that now was a fair opportunity for action, which they so strongly urged, that the English placed the greatest part of their force in ambush, while about four hundred horsemen, a few hours before sun-rising, marched directly to Alnwick, where the camp of the Scots was pitched. There, finding a more favourable opportunity than they expected, they set upon the king, who was riding up and down, with sixty horse only, as if there had been a settled

peace, and before it could well be discerned whether they were friends or enemies, being disguised with Scottish arms and ensigns, that they might pass for such, they took him prisoner in the ninth year of his reign. A few were roused at the uproar, and pursued them in a scattered manner; but, by rushing amongst their enemies, and not willing to forsake their king, they were made prisoners. William was carried to Henry, who was then engaged in a war with France. The English, elated with this sudden success, invaded Cumberland, thinking to carry it without resistance; but Gilchrist and Rolland, two Scottish commanders, gave them such a reception, that, being repulsed, they made a truce, and were content to enjoy Northumberland only, as long as William was a prisoner. Cumberland and Huntingdon were also left in the possession of the Scots.

In the mean time, David, the brother of William, who was earl of Huntingdon in England, and of Garioch in Scotland, and then fought under the English banners, received a passport, and returned home; where, having settled things for the present, he sent ambassadors to Henry about the ransom of his brother, who was then kept prisoner at Falaise, a town in Normandy. The king gave for his liberty fifteen hostages to the English, and surrendered up the four castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Edinburgh, and Stirling, and then was permitted to return home on the 1st of February; but soon after was called upon by the English to appear at York, with his nobles and bishops, on the 15th of August. Being arrived there, he, and all his followers, who were of the chief nobility, took an oath of obedience to king Henry, and gave up the kingdom of Scotland into his guardianship and patronage. Though these conditions were very hard, yet the Scots were willing to accept of them, in order that they might have the best of kings restored to them, according to the language of the English writers. Thomas Walsingham, of England, says, that this surrender was not made at York, but at Constance; yet there are others who assert, that this interview of the two sovereigns was not for the surrender of the kingdom, but for the payment of certain pensions; and that the castles were put into the hands of the English, by way of security only, for the payment. This opinion seems to me most probable, as appears by the league renewed with Richard, the son of Henry, of which in its due place.

William, at his return, in a few months, by Gilchrist his general, quelled the insurrections that had been raised, during his absence, in Galloway. On the 28th of January, there was an assembly summoned at Norham by Tweed, whither William came; and where the English laboured extremely, that all the Scottish bishops should acknowledge the archbishop of York for their metropolitan; in which desire the pope's legate also concurred, and earnestly pressed that it might be so settled. After a long dispute, the Scots answered, that few of their countrymen were present, and that they could not bind the absent by their judgment. Upon this, the matter was deferred to another time; and shortly after, agents were sent to Rome, to justify the cause of the Scottish bishops, before pope Alexander III. who, by his decree, released them from the English yoke, and so they returned joyfully home. Not long after this, Gilchrist, who has been often mentioned, slew his wife, though the king's sister, because she had committed adultery. He was summoned to appear on a certain day, but, being contumacious, sentence of perpetual banishment was pronounced against him; his houses were demolished, and his goods were confiscated. About the same time the castle of Edinburgh was restored to the Scots, on payment of one of the stipulated sums: and, to make the concord between both kings more firm, it was agreed, that neither of them should harbour the enemy of the other. In consequence of this contract, Gilchrist, who had lived in England after his banishment, was forced to return; and, shifting from place to place, as an alien and unknown amongst strangers, he passed his miserable life in great penury and distress. Meanwhile, William prepared for an expedition into Murray, to suppress the thieves of the Western isles, whose captain, Donald Bane, or, the White, derived his pedigree from the kings, and had also assumed the regal title. He made frequent descents from his ships, in different places, and not only ravaged the maritime coasts, but increasing in boldness by impunity, he ventured to plunder those places also which were remote from the sea. The king

sent out ships to search for and burn his fleet, whilst he with an army attacked them on land; and, by so doing, he put them almost all to the sword. In his return, being near Perth, he met three countrymen, who yet seemed to be above that condition, even in their mean and uncouth habit; and who looked also as if they wished to avoid all company. The king, struck with their appearance, caused them to be brought to him, and, viewing them intently, was very earnest to know who they were. Gilchrist, the elder of them, fell down at the feet of the king, and, giving a miserable relation of his misfortunes, discovered himself; upon which, the recollection of his former state, which he had passed with so much splendour, did so passionately affect all present, that they could not avoid weeping; while the king commanded him to rise, and restored him to his former dignity, and the same degree of favour he had before enjoyed.

These things happened about the year 1190; at which time Richard, who, the year preceding, had succeeded Henry his father in the throne of England, prepared for an expedition into Syria. He restored the castles to the king of Scotland, and sent back the hostages, freeing him and his posterity from all the covenants made with the English, whether extorted by force, or obtained by fraud; and suffered him, as Matthew Paris relates, to possess his dominions by the same right, and within the same limits, as Malcolm, or any former kings, had held them. William, on his part, that he might not be ungrateful to Richard, upon his going to war into a strange country, gave him ten thousand marks of silver, and commanded David his brother, who was earl of Huntingdon, to follow him into Syria. This David, in his return from thence, having his fleet scattered by a tempest, was taken prisoner by the Egyptians, and redeemed by the Venetians; and at last, being known at Constantinople by an English merchant, after four years' time returned to Scotland, where he was received with the general gratulation of all men, especially of his brother. Boetius thinks that the town where David landed in safety, and which was before named Aleetum, was now called Deidonum; but, because the name of Aleetum is found in no other author, I rather think it was called Taodunum, a word compounded of Tay and Dun, that is, Dundee.

Not long after, Richard, after many hazards and misfortunes, returned also from the same expedition. William and his brother went to congratulate him upon his arrival, and gave him two thousand marks of silver as a present, being moved thereunto either out of remembrance of his former bounty, or in consideration of his present necessity. Neither, as many assert, were the Scots and English ever more friendly and courteous to each other than at this time. There William fell very sick; and a rumour of his death being spread abroad, caused new combustions in Scotland. Harold, earl of the Orkades, and of Caithness, hated the bishop of Caithness, on the ground, as he alleged, that he was the obstacle to his obtaining what he desired of the king; and therefore he took him prisoner, cut out his tongue, and also put out his eyes. The king, on his return home, defeated Harold in several skirmishes, and destroyed most of his forces. At last, Harold himself, being taken in his flight, was brought to the king; who caused his eyes to be put out, by way of retaliation, and then hung; besides which, his whole male stock were emasculated; while the rest of his kin, and the companions of his wickedness, were heavily fined. These things are thus related by Hector Boetius, and they are confirmed not only by common report, but by the name of the hill where the punishment took place, so that it seems more likely than what others relate of this matter. These things happened in the year of our redemption 1199, in which year also the king had a son born to him, named Alexander; and Richard of England dying, was succeeded by his brother John.

Hereupon the king of Scots went into England, to take the oath of fealty to John for the lands which he held in England. This was in the beginning of the new reign; but his coming was not more acceptable, than his departure was displeasing, because he refused to follow John in his expedition into France, against Philip, the old friend of William. As soon, therefore, as John returned out of France, he sought occasion for a war with the Scots, and began

to build a fort over-against Berwick. William having in vain complained of the injury, by his ambassadors, gathered his forces, and demolished as much of the works as were erected. Upon this, armies were levied on both sides; but when their camps were near each other, peace was made by the intervention of the nobles, on these terms, that William's two daughters should be espoused to John's two sons, as soon as they became marriageable. A great dowry was promised, and caution provided, that no fort should be built; besides which, hostages also were given for the performance of the conditions. William, on his return, fell into an unexpected danger; the greatest part of the town of Berth being swept away in the night, by an inundation of the river Tay; neither was the king's palace exempted from the calamity; for his son, an infant, with his nurse, and fourteen more, were drowned; the rest escaping with difficulty; and many of the people lost their lives. The king, perceiving that the water had inundated the greatest part of the ground on which the town stood, and that almost every house had suffered, caused a new one to be built a little below, in a more commodious place, on the same river; and, making some small variation of the name, called it Perth, in memory, as some say, of a nobleman, who gave the king the land on which the town was built. About the same time, the king took Gothred Mackul, captain of the rebels in the north, who was betrayed by his own men. After he was prisoner, he constantly abstained from all food, to prevent, as it is thought, a more heavy punishment. This was, in a manner, the last memorable act of William; though, considering his advanced age, it was rather performed by his captains; for he died soon after, in the 74th year of his age, and the 49th of his reign, A. D. 1214.

Not long before his death, leagues were renewed with John king of England, almost every year; for, he being a man desirous of enlarging his dominions, though he had a war with the French abroad, and the people at home; and, moreover, was never on certain terms of peace with the Irish or Welsh; yet did not break off his inclination to invade Scotland, which had then an old man for its king, and the next heir to him a child. Frequent conferences were held on these occasions, rather to try what might be obtained, than in hopes of any good issue; but at length the matter broke out into open suspicion; and, after many covenants made between them, William was called to Newcastle-upon-Tyne; whither he came, but there falling into a dangerous disease, he returned without doing any thing. In fine, a little before his death, he was invited to Norham on the Tweed; and when his sickness would not permit him to go, his son was desired to come in his stead, which, by the advice of the council, was refused. The leagues established in these interviews, I shall not particularly mention, for they all contain nearly the same things, having in them nothing new, except that in one of them, it was agreed, that not the Scottish kings, but only their children, should swear, or be feudatories to the kings of England, for the lands they held in that country. But no mention of these things is to be found in the English writers, I believe for this very cause.

ALEXANDER II. the ninety-fourth King, began his reign A. D. 1214.

William was succeeded by his son Alexander, whose mother was Emergard, the kinswoman of the king of England, and daughter of the earl of Beaumont. He was only sixteen years of age when he began to reign. And though he entered upon the government in troublesome times, he composed and settled things more prudently than could be expected from one of his years. At the beginning of his reign, he called a public convention of the states, and there, by a decree, confirmed all the acts of that good and prudent prince, his father. His first expedition was into England, not out of any private ambition, but to restrain the tyranny of John; and it was then said, that he was invited by the ecclesiastics of that kingdom. Having laid siege to Norham, he left it upon certain conditions; and, penetrating farther into the realm, treated the adherents of the king very severely. Soon after his return home, John invaded Scotland, where he made a great devastation in Dunbar, Haddington, and the neighbouring parts of Lothian; and, to spread the war and ruin further, he determined to take a circuitous course in his passage back.

Alexander being desirous of coming to a decision by a battle, pitched his tents between Pentland hills and the river Esk, to intercept John in his return; but he, to avoid fighting, marched along the sea-coast, and burnt the monastery of Coldingham: after which, he took and destroyed Berwick, which was then but meanly fortified. While he thus hastened home, Alexander followed him as fast as he could, and making great havock all over Northumberland, came to Richmond; but John, by speedy marches, having retreated into the heart of England, Alexander returned by Westmoreland, and laid the whole country waste to the very gates of Carlisle; which city he also took by storm, and fortified it. The next year, Lewis, the son of Philip, king of France, was sent for to London, by those who favoured the ecclesiastical faction; that, upon the deposition of John, he might possess the kingdom. At the same time also, Alexander came thither to assist his old friend the French prince; but John being deserted by his subjects, and invaded by foreign arms, upon the present payment of a great sum of money, which he promised to continue yearly, and by transferring the sovereignty of England to the pope, whose vassals the kings were to be for the future, was received into favour. In consequence of this, John obtained letters from Rome by cardinal Galo, a man of known avarice, wherein the Scots and French were, with great threats, forbidden to meddle with a people who were tributaries to the holy see.

Upon this sudden change of things, Lewis returned to France, and Alexander to Scotland; but his passage home was not so easy as his entrance had been; for the English pressing upon the rear of his army, took many of the stragglers prisoners; besides which, John had destroyed all the bridges on the Trent, fastened sharp pikes or palisadoes in its fords, and removed the vessels and boats; so that these were such obstacles to the retreat, as in appearance threatened sure destruction. In the mean time, John was poisoned by an English monk at Newark, a town seated on the Trent, and being carried in a litter, died within two days.* This event opened the way for the progress of Alexander; who, then blaming his men for their former carelessness, marched on more circumspectly, but not without great injury to the inhabitants of the countries through which he passed; for whatever could be driven away, or carried off, he took with him, and so returned home with a great booty. Galo, the papal legate, after placing Henry, the son of John, on the throne, fined the nobles of England in a great sum of money, and then received them into favour. But to give them some recompense for their loss, at the expense of their enemies, he excommunicated Lewis of France, and Alexander of Scotland, in hopes of obtaining thereby some additional plunder or contributions. The Scots were interdicted all divine offices; for he imagined that his thundering anathemas would prevail more over the simple people than with their kings: but at last peace was made between the two monarchs; by which the Scots were to restore Carlisle, and the English Berwick; both covenanting to observe the ancient boundary of King's-cross. Alexander and his subjects were now released from excommunication by the English bishops, who were authorised for that purpose, but Galo was so much enraged at having this great prey taken out of his hands, that he turned his anger on the prelates, and the rest of the clergy of Scotland, as being his own peculiar, over whom kings had no authority. He, accordingly, summoned them to appear at Alnwick, whither, when they came, the more timid appeased his wrath with money, while those who were resolute were cited to Rome. But these prelates, having received many letters from some of the English bishops and abbots, directed to the pope, concerning the sordid spirit of the legate, made grievous complaints against him, calling him the firebrand of all mischief, because, instead of studying the public good, he consulted nothing but his own avarice, trafficking for, and selling peace and war between princes, at his own pleasure. Galo, not being able to clear himself of the crimes laid to his charge, was deprived, by the pope, of the money he had procured, which was ordered to be divided amongst his accusers, who, however, received none, but returned home with a cargo of large promises, and empty purses. A few years after

* This old story appears to be perfectly fabulous, for the best accounts ascribe the death of John partly to grief, and partly to a surfeit.

this, Henry of England, being now grown to maturity, both in years and judgment, came to York; where he agreed, in the presence of Pandulph, the pope's legate, that Alexander should take his sister Joan to wife; by whom, through her untimely death, he had no children.

From this period, there was peace between both kings as long as they lived; and there Henry also solemnly promised, and swore before the same Pandulph, that he would bestow the two sisters of Alexander in honourable marriage, according to their dignity, as his father had pledged himself before; but one of them returned home single, the other only being provided with a husband. The next year, that is, in 1220, cardinal Giles came into England, under the pretence of collecting money for a holy war; and, accordingly, having obtained, by his fraudulent arts, a great sum in both kingdoms, from those who were over credulous, he spent it luxuriously in his journey; so that he came empty to Rome, falsely alleging that he had been robbed by thieves in the way. Another legate presently succeeded him; but the English, having been twice cheated by Italian fraud, forbade him, in a public decree, to set his foot upon their ground. Alexander was at this time busied in suppressing those vices at home which had sprung up by the licentiousness of war; for which purpose he travelled over the whole kingdom, accompanied by his queen, to administer justice; whilst Gillespie, a man of Ross, spoiled that and the neighbouring countries; for, passing over the river Ness, he took and burnt the town of Inverness, and cruelly slew all those who refused to swear obedience to him. John Cumin, earl of Buchan, was sent against him, and having taken him and his two sons as they were shifting about, and changing their quarters to secure themselves, he cut off their heads, and sent them to the king. About this time, the people of Caithness entered by night into the residence of Adam, their bishop, and killed a monk, who was his usual companion, he having been before abbot of Melrose, and one of his bed-chamber; then they dragged the bishop himself, grievously wounded, into the kitchen, where they burnt him, together with the house. The cause of this great cruelty was, it is reported, because the bishop was more severe than usual in exacting his tithes; but the offenders were diligently sought for, and severely punished. The earl of Caithness, though he was not present at the deed, was yet somewhat suspected of being concerned in it; but, afterwards, being brought privately to the king on the Christmas holidays, which are the Saturnalia of the Scots, he humbly begged his pardon, and obtained it.

About this time, Alan of Galloway, the most powerful man in Scotland, departed this life. He left three daughters behind him, of whom I shall speak hereafter. Thomas, his bastard son, taking advantage of their age and sex, set up for himself as lord of the family: and not content with that, gathered ten thousand men, slew all that opposed him, and plundered the adjacent country far and near. At last the king sent an army against him, when five thousand of the rebels were slain, together with their general. The same year Alexander, with his wife, went into England, to assist in quelling the tumults that were raised against Henry, and to reconcile him to the nobility. While he was busy about this at York, his wife accompanied the queen of England on a pilgrimage to Canterbury; but, at her return, fell sick in London, where she died, and was buried. Not long after her death, that is, in 1239, the king, being childless, married Mary, the daughter of Ingelr m, earl of Couci, in France, by whom he had Alexander, who succeeded his father in the throne. Two years after this, namely, in 1241, the king set out for England, to visit that monarch, who was newly returned from France. In this journey Alexander amused himself in Haddington with horse-races, but, while there, the lodging, or inn, of Patrick of Galloway, earl of Athol, was set on fire, where that nobleman, and two of his servants, were burnt, the fire spreading itself a great way farther. It was thought not to have casually happened, because of the noted feuds between Patrick and the family of the Bissets. And though William, the chief of that house, was at Forfar, above sixty miles from Haddington, on the night that the fire happened, as the queen could testify in his behalf; yet, because the adverse party, the kindred of Patrick, pleaded that many of his tenants and servants were seen at Haddington at the time, Bisset was summoned to appear; he came to Edinburgh

on the day appointed ; but not daring to stand a trial, on account of the power of his adversaries, who were the Cumins, he would have contested the matter in a duel ; which challenge being refused, he and some of his friends emigrated into Ireland, where he left a noble family of his name and house. There was also another seditious tumult in Argyle, raised by the son of Somerled ; but he being defeated in a few days by Patrick Dunbar, and submitting to the king's mercy, obtained pardon for all his offences. The king, not long after this, fell sick, and died in the fifty-first year of his age, the thirty-fifth of his reign, and of our Lord 1249.

ALEXANDER III. the ninety-fifth King, began to reign A. D. 1249.

Alexander III. his son, though a child not more than eight years old, was crowned king at Scone the same year. The power of all things was now mostly possessed by the faction of the Cumins ; who turned the public revenue to the enrichment of themselves, oppressed the poor, and, by false accusations, cut off such of the nobles as opposed their desires, and dared to speak freely of the state of the king. These persons being condemned, had their goods confiscated, and brought into the king's exchequer ; from whence the Cumins, who rather commanded than obeyed the king, drew them out for their private emolument. A convention of the estates being held, the chief matter in agitation was, to keep peace with the king of England, lest, at such a troublesome time, he should make any attempt upon them ; and, to do this more easily, an affinity was proposed ; which course, the party adverse to the Cumins thought more likely than force, to undermine their power. Accordingly, ambassadors were sent to England, where they were kindly received, and munificently rewarded by the king, who granted them all their desires. The next year, which was 1251, both kings met at York on the 24th of November ; and there, on Christmas-day, Alexander was made a knight by the English monarch ; the day after which, a match was concluded betwixt him and Margaret, the daughter of Henry. Peace was also renewed between them, which, as long as Henry lived, was inviolably observed. But, because Alexander was yet a child, and under age, it was settled by the advice of his friends, that he should consult his father-in-law, as a guardian, in all matters of weight. The effect of this decree was, that some of the principal nobility, falling under charges of peculation, and other offences, secretly withdrew themselves. When the king returned home, Robert, abbot of Dunfermline, chancellor of the kingdom, was accused, because he had declared the wife of Alan Durward legitimate, though she was the natural daughter of Alexander II. ; the object of which was, that, if the king should die without issue, she might claim the throne as heiress. Upon this, the chancellor immediately surrendered up the seal to the nobles, and was succeeded by Gamelin, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrew's.

The three next years, the members of the privy council did, almost all of them, conduct themselves as kings, appropriating whatever they could seize to their own use ; so that the poor commons were left destitute, and miserably oppressed. The king of England, being made acquainted with this, out of paternal affection to his son-in-law, came to Wark castle, situated on the borders of Scotland, and sent for Alexander and his nobles thither. There, by his advice, many beneficial regulations were made, especially in the enactment of profitable statutes, and in changing those magistrates who had, by their misconduct, caused insurrections. The king returned to Scotland with his wife, and, having an English guard to convey him home, resolved to reside in the castle of Edinburgh. Walter Cumin, earl of Monteith, then kept the castle, who was disaffected on account of the reform of the public state that had been made by the king of England ; yet he was compelled to give up the place by Patrick Dunbar, with the assistance of the English forces. The greatest part of the nobility, as well as the ecclesiastics, were also offended, because their power was abridged by the new statutes, which they regarded as a yoke imposed upon them by the English, and a beginning of their servitude : nay, they proceeded to that height of contumacy, as to disobey the summons which they received to appear and give a legal account of their former conduct in the management of affairs. The same persons, who were the principal actors in

disturbing things before, were now the chief fomenters of disaffection. These were generally the clans of the Cumins, Walter earl of Monteith, Alexander earl of Buchan, John earl of Athol, William earl of Mar, and other considerable men of the same faction. They did not, however, dare to put their cause on a legal trial, as being conscious to themselves of the many wrongs done to the poor and meaner sort, nay, to the king himself; and therefore they resolved to outface justice by effrontery and audacity; for, being informed that the king was only lightly guarded, and lived securely in Kinross, as in a time of peace, they immediately gathered a band of their vassals about them, seized him as he was asleep, and carried him to Stirling; and, as if there had been no force in the case, but they had been rightfully elected, they discharged and expelled his old servants, appointed new ones, and directed all things at their own will and pleasure; so that now the former counsellors were viewed with terror and consternation.

But this sedition was damped by the death of Walter Cumin, who is supposed to have been poisoned by his wife, an English woman; and the suspicion of its being done by her was increased, because, though she was courted by many noblemen, yet she married a young Englishman, named John Russel, who had been her gallant. She was therefore accused of poisoning her husband, and thrown into prison, though she soon purchased her liberty. Russel and his wife also obtained letters from the pope, permitting them to commence an action of the case against their adversaries, for the wrong that was done them, before the legate; but it was to no purpose, because the Scots set up an ancient privilege, exempting them from going out of the kingdom to plead in any of their own causes.

When the king was of age, on the humble petition of the Cumins, he pardoned them, as if all their offences had been expiated by the death of Walter. He was induced to do this, as some say, on account of the greatness of the family; and also, because he was apprehensive of a foreign war, when matters were so unsettled at home; but the war that was dreaded did not begin so soon as men thought it would.

On the first of August, in the year 1263, Acho, king of Norway, with a fleet of one hundred and sixty vessels, came to Ayr, a maritime town of Kyle, where he landed twenty thousand men. The cause of the invasion, as he pretended, was, that some islands which had been promised to his ancestors, by Donald Bauc, were not yet put into his hands, namely, Bute, Arran, and both the Cumbræes. Though these were never reckoned amongst the *Æbuda*, it was enough for him, who sought any pretence for war, that they were islands. Acho took two of the largest of them, and reduced the castles before he met with any opposition. Elated with this success, he made a descent upon Cunniamham, the next mainland opposite Bute, and in that part of it called the Largs. There he met with two disasters almost at the same time. The first was, in being defeated by Alexander Stuart, the great-grandfather of the first king of Scotland of that name; when Acho, being almost taken by his numerous pursuers, hardly escaped, in great terror, to his ships. The other was, that his fleet, being tossed in a mighty tempest, could hardly carry him, with his few followers that were left, into the Orcades. There were slain in this battle sixteen thousand of the Norwegians, and five thousand of the Scots. Some writers say, that king Alexander himself was in this fight; but they also make honourable mention of the name of Alexander Stuart. Acho died of grief for the loss of his army, and that of his kinsman, a valiant youth, whose name is not mentioned by historians.

When his son Magnus, who had but lately joined him, found things in a more desperate state than he thought they could have been brought to; that there were no hopes of obtaining supplies from home before the spring; that the minds of the islanders were alienated from him; and that he was forsaken by those Scots, in confidence of whose aid his father had undertaken the war; he easily inclined, on these considerations, to terms of peace. The spirit of the young man also was depressed by the late unfortunate battle, and also by his fear of the islanders; for Alexander, having sent about some ships, had recovered the Isle of Man, situated almost in the midst between Scotland and Ireland; upon these conditions, that the king of it should send ten galleys to

assist the Scots, whenever required; and that they, on their part, should defend him from a foreign enemy. When Magnus saw that the inhabitants of the other islands inclined to follow the example of those of Man, he sent ambassadors to treat of peace, which Alexander refused to make, unless the *Æbuda* were restored. At last, by the exertions of the commissioners, it was agreed that the Scots should have these islands; on condition of paying down four thousand marks of silver, and one hundred every year. It was also agreed, that Margaret, the daughter of Alexander, who was then but four years old, should marry Hanganan, the son of Magnus, as soon as she was of age for wedlock.

About this time, the king of England being troubled with a civil war, had five thousand Scots sent to his assistance, under the command of Robert Bruce and Alexander Cumin, which last the English writers call John. The greatest part of these were slain in fight; and Cumin, with the English king himself, his son, and a great part of the nobility of the royal party, were taken prisoners.

Moreover, the Scottish monarch was much disturbed by the arrogance of the priests and monks in his kingdom; who, being enriched by former princes, began not only to grow insolent in a continued peace, but endeavoured to be equal, if not superior, to the nobility, because they excelled them in wealth. The young men of rank resented this with indignation, and used the ecclesiastics so roughly, that complaints were made by them to the king, who imagining either that their wrongs were not so great as they represented them, or else that they suffered deservedly, paid no regard to their pretended grievances. Upon this, they excommunicated the whole body of the nation, except the king; and, in great wrath, determined to go to Rome. But Alexander remembering what great commotions Thomas Becket, the main promoter of ecclesiastical ambition, had lately raised in England, recalled them from their journey, and caused the nobility not only to satisfy their avarice, but even to submit to their arrogance. But in truth the priests were more inclinable to a compromise with the king, because he had lately undertaken the patronage of the religious orders against the avarice of the Romanists; for a little before, Ottobon, the pope's legate, came into England to appease the civil discords; but not being able to effect that object of his mission, he omitted the public business, and, consulting only his own private gain, called an ecclesiastical assembly, summoning thereto delegates from Scotland. In the mean time, he also endeavoured to exact four marks of silver from every parish in Scotland, and six from every cathedral, by way of procuration money. On the refusal of this contribution, or tax, news came that another legate had arrived in England, with the intention also to visit Scotland, under the pretence of collecting money for the holy war. Further, besides also what was obtained in the sale of indulgences, and other lures to catch money, he endeavoured to wrest from all bishops, abbots, and parish priests, as judging them to be immediately under papal jurisdiction, the tenth part of their yearly revenues; that so Edward and Edmund, sons to the king of England, might go more nobly and numerously attended to the war in Syria. The Scots considered this tax as the more grievous and unjust, because the English, in their eagerness for the grant, seemed to treat their country not as an absolute, but a dependent kingdom. Moreover, they were afraid lest the legate should riotously mispend the money designed for the war, as had been done some years before. Upon these considerations, they forbade the legate from entering their borders, but sent him word that they would of themselves, without his presence, gather money, and furnish soldiers for the Syrian war. They, accordingly, did send troops, under the command of the earls of Carrick and Athol, two of the chief nobility, to Lewis, king of France; while to the pope, lest he might think himself altogether slighted, they sent one thousand marks of silver.

The year after, Henry king of England died, and his son, Edward I. succeeded him, at whose coronation Alexander and his wife were present; but, in returning, she died soon after. David, the king's son, and also Alexander, who was but lately married to the daughter of the earl of Flanders, followed her to the grave shortly after, and thus made a continuation of mourning and

funerals. Margaret also, the king's daughter, departed this life, who left behind her a daughter by Hanganan, king of Norway. Alexander being thus, in a few years, deprived both of his wife and children, espoused Joleta, the daughter of the count de Dreux; but, within a year after, he fell from his horse, and broke his neck, not far from Kinghorn, in the year of our Lord 1285, on the nineteenth of March; having lived forty-five years, and reigned thirty-seven.

He was more missed than any king of Scotland had been before him; not so much for the eminent virtues of his mind, and personal accomplishments, as because the people foresaw what great calamities would befall the kingdom upon his decease. Those wholesome laws which he made are grown obsolete, and out of use, through the negligence of men, and the length of time; so that their utility is rather celebrated by report, than known by trial and experience. He divided the kingdom into four districts, and almost every year travelled over them all, staying about three months in each, to administer justice and hear the complaints of the poor, who had free access to him during the whole time of his stay. Whenever he went to an assize or sessions, he commanded the prefect, or sheriff of the district, to meet him with a select number of men, and to accompany him at his departure to the bounds of his jurisdiction, where he was received by the next sheriff. By this means he gained a thorough knowledge of all the nobility, and was himself as well known to them; neither were the people, in his progress, burdened with a troop of courtiers, who are commonly imperious, and given to rapacious practices wherever they come. He commanded the magistrates to punish all idle persons who followed no calling, nor had estates to maintain them; for his opinion was, that idleness is the cause of all wickedness. He restricted the train of horsemen that attended the nobles in travelling, to a certain number; because, in his opinion, a multitude of horses, that were not wanted for war, devoured too much provision. Further, since through the unskillfulness of men in navigation, or their avarice in venturing out rashly to sea, many shipwrecks had happened; so that thereby, together with the injury sustained from the violence of pirates, merchants were almost ruined, the king commanded that they should carry on no more a maritime trade. This order lasted about a year; but being complained of by many, as a public prejudice, at length so great a quantity of foreign commodities was imported, that they were never cheaper in Scotland within the memory of man. In this case, that he might consult the good of the company of merchants, he issued a decree that none but themselves should buy of foreigners what was imported by wholesale; and that what every man wanted, he should purchase it of the merchant by retail.

BOOK VIII.

ALEXANDER and his whole lineage, except a female child of his daughter, being extinct, a convention of the estates was held at Scone, to consult on the election of a new king, and for the settlement of the affairs of the kingdom. When most of the nobility were come, they, in the first place, appointed six vicegerents to govern the nation for the present; so dividing the provinces, that Duncan Macduff should preside over Fife, of which he was earl; John Cumin, earl of Buchan, over Buchan; William Fraser, archbishop of St. Andrew's, over the northern part of the kingdom; while Robert, bishop of Glasgow, another John Cumin, and John Stuart, governed the southern countries; fixing the river Forth as the boundary in the middle. In the mean time, Edward, king of England, knowing that his sister's grandchild, who was the daughter of the king of Norway, was the only surviving person of all the posterity of Alexander, and that she was the lawful heiress of the kingdom of Scotland, sent ambassadors thither, to desire her as a wife for his son.

The ambassadors, being admitted to the session, discoursed much of the public utility likely to accrue to both kingdoms by this marriage, nor did they

find the Scots averse to it; for Edward was a man of great courage and power, which he desired to increase; and his valour highly appeared in the holy war in his father's life-time, as also after his death in his conquest of Wales. Neither was there ever more cordiality subsisting betwixt the Scots and the English, than under the last kings; insomuch, that the ancient hatred seemed no way more likely to be abolished than by uniting both nations, on just and equal terms, into one.

For these reasons the marriage was easily assented to; and, by the consent of both parties, it was agreed that the Scots should have their own laws and magistrates, till the offspring of the marriage should come to govern the kingdom; but that if there should be no such issue, or they should die without coming to the crown, then the kingdom of Scotland should go to the next of kin to the blood-royal. Matters being thus settled, two ambassadors were sent into Norway, Michael, or, as others call him, David Weems, and Michael Scot, both eminent knights of Fife, and much famed for their prudence in those days. But Margaret, which was the name of the young princess, died before they came thither; so that they returned home in a despondent state, without having accomplished their mission.

The untimely death of the princess, occasioned a controversy concerning the kingdom, which gave a mighty shock to England, and nearly proved the ruin of Scotland. The competitors were men of great power, John Baliol and Robert Bruce. Baliol had lands in France, as Bruce had in England, but both of them enjoyed possessions and alliances in Scotland. Before I enter, however, upon their disputes, in order to render all things more clear to the reader, I must carry the relation a little higher.

The three last kings of Scotland, William, and the two Alexanders, the second and third, with their whole offspring, being extinct, there remained none who could lawfully claim the crown, but the posterity of David, earl of Huntingdon. This David was brother to King William, and great-uncle to Alexander III. He married, in England, Maud, daughter of the earl of Chester, by whom he had three daughters. The eldest, named Margaret, married Alan of Galloway, a man very powerful amongst the Scots: the second was united to Robert Bruce, surnamed the Noble, of high English descent, and large estate; the third espoused Henry Hastings, an Englishman also, whose posterity deservedly enjoy the earldom of Huntingdon to this day. But to omit the latter, because he never set up any claim to the kingdom, I shall confine my discourse to the stock, cause, and ancestry of Baliol and Bruce only. Whilst William was king of Scotland, Fergus, prince of Galloway, left two sons, Gilbert and Ethred; between whom, to prevent the seeds of discord, William equally divided their father's inheritance. Gilbert, the eldest, took this so much amiss, that he not only conceived an hatred against his brother, as his rival, but also against the king too, for a distribution which he considered unjust. Afterwards, when the king was prisoner in England, Gilbert, being then freed from the fear of the law, discovered his long-concealed animosity against both. In the first place, he seized his brother unawares, put out his eyes, deprived him of his tongue, and, instead of killing him at once, caused him to endure grievous and excessive tortures before he died. He then joined with the English, and preyed upon his neighbours and countrymen, whose lands he wasted with fire and sword, as if they had been those of an enemy. In this state of disorder, unless Rolland, the son of Ethred, had gathered a band of his countrymen, who remained firm to the king, together, to resist Gilbert, he would have carried destruction further, or have drawn the people entirely over to his party. This Rolland was a forward young man, of great abilities, both of body and mind. He not only abated the fury of his uncle, but always fought valiantly, and often successfully, with the English, whenever he met them; repressing their plunderings, and spoiling their lands. At last, when the king was restored, Gilbert, by the mediation of his friends, got a pardon on the promise of a sum of money for the wrongs which he had done, and giving pledges to that purpose. But he dying a few days after, those who were accustomed to blood and plunder by following him, and who had since placed themselves under the protection of the king of England, either through the inconstancy of their dispositions, fear of punishment,

or stung by the remorse of an accusing conscience, which pricked them for what they had formerly done, took up arms again under the command of Kilpatrick, Henry Kennedy, and Samuel, the assistants and companions of Gilbert in his wickedness. Rolland, therefore, being sent with an army against them, after a great battle, slew their principal leaders, and a great part of the soldiers. Those who escaped fled to one Gilcolumb, a captain of freebooters and robbers, who had committed considerable depredations in Lothian, and much injured the nobles and wealthy, some of whom he put to death. Thence, marching into Galloway, he took up the cause of Gilbert, when every body else looked upon it as desperate; not only claiming the lands as his own, but deporting himself with as much state as if he was the lord of all Galloway. At last Rolland fought with him on the 1st of October, about three months after the defeat of Gilbert's adherents, and slew him, together with the greatest part of his army, while very few fell on his own side; amongst whom, however, was his brother, a young man of experienced bravery.

The English king being troubled at the overthrow of these men, who had put themselves under his protection the year before, marched with an army to Carlisle. Thither also came Rolland, being reconciled to that monarch by the mediation of William, where he refuted the calumnies of his enemies, and shewed that he had done nothing maliciously, or without a cause, against one who was as much his foe as that of the public; upon which he was honourably dismissed by the king. William, the king of Scotland, also returned home, and calling to mind the constancy of Rolland's father, Ethred, and how many noble exploits he had performed for the good of the nation, gave him all Galloway. Besides this, he also bestowed Carrick on the son of Gilbert, though his father had not deserved so well of him. William of Newbury, the English writer, records these things as having been done in the year 1183. Rolland took to wife the sister of William Morvill, who was lord high constable of Scotland; and who, dying without issue, Rolland enjoyed that great station as being hereditary in his family. He had a son called Allan, who, for his assistance afforded to John, king of England, in his Irish war, was rewarded by him with large possessions; on which account, by the permission of William of Scotland, he became a feudatory to the English king, and swore fealty to him. This Allan took to wife Margaret, the eldest daughter of David, earl of Huntingdon; by whom he had three daughters. The eldest of these, Dornagilla, married John Baliol, the father of that John who was king of Scotland for some years. But Robert Bruce, who espoused Isabella, David's second daughter, had by her a son, Robert, who came to be earl of Carrick, in the following manner. Martha, countess of Carrick, being marriageable, and the sole heiress of her father, who died in the holy war, happening to cast her eyes upon Robert Bruce, the handsomest young man of his time, as he was hunting, courteously invited, and in a manner compelled, him to come into her castle, which was near at hand. Being come thither, their age, beauty, kindred, and manners, easily produced mutual love, and they were soon quickly married. When the king was informed of this, he was much offended with them both, because the right of bestowing the lady in marriage lay in him; yet, by the mediation of friends, he was afterwards reconciled to them. Of this marriage was Robert Bruce born, who afterwards became king of Scotland.

But enough by way of preface. I come now to the matter in hand, and the competitors for the kingdom: who were Dornagilla, the grandchild of David of Huntingdon, by his eldest daughter; and Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, great-grandson of the said David, by his second daughter. Dornagilla's pretensions were grounded on the custom of the country, whereby the nearest in degree, without regard to sex, had a prior right. Robert Bruce, on the other hand, insisted, that, in the order of propinquity, males were to be preferred before females: and, therefore, he denied it to be just, that while a grandson was alive, a grand-daughter should inherit the estate of her ancestor; and though sometimes the contrary might be practised in the inheritances of private men, yet that the matter was far otherwise in those estates which are called feuds, and the succession of kingdoms. And of this there was urged a late example in the controversy concerning the duchy of Burgundy; which

the count of Nevers, who married the grand-daughter of the last duke by his eldest son, claimed, yet the inheritance was adjudged to a younger son of the duke's brother; so that Robert contended he was nearer in degree, as being a grandson, than John Baliol, who was but a great-grandson: and that, with respect to Dornagilla, with whom he stood equal in degree, he was to be preferred before her, as a male before a female.

The Scottish nobles could not decide this dispute at home; because, through the power of both parties, the land was divided into two factions; for Baliol, by his mother, held all Galloway, which is a very large county; and besides, he was allied to the Cumin family, which was the most powerful next to that of the king; for Mary, the sister of Dornagilla, had married John Cumin. Robert, on the other side, in England, possessed Cleveland; and in Scotland, Annandale and Garioch; and, by his son, the earl of Carrick, who was afterwards king, he was related to many noble families; besides which he was also very gracious with his own people. For these reasons, the controversy could not be settled in Scotland; and even if it had been equitably determined, there was not a sufficient party in the kingdom to compel both sides to stand to the award. On this account, Edward of England was almost unanimously chosen to be the arbitrator of this important point; neither could any doubt be made of his fidelity, as he was the son of a man in whom the late king of Scotland had found both a loving father-in-law and a just guardian. Moreover, the English king had received a late and memorable testimony of the good-will of the Scots towards him, in so readily consenting to the marriage of his son with their queen.

Edward, on his arrival at Berwick, sent letters to the peers and governors of Scotland to come to him, protesting that he summoned them, not as subjects, to appear before their lord or supreme magistrate, but as friends before an arbitrator chosen by themselves. First of all, he exacted an oath of the competitors to stand to his award; and in the next place he required the nobles and commissioners to promise upon oath that they would accept and obey that person for their king, whom he, upon his oath, should declare so to be; and for this he desired there should be given to him a public scroll, or record, signed by all the estates, and each one's seal affixed to it. This being done, he chose, out of the most prudent of all the estates, twelve Scots, to whom he added as many Englishmen; enjoining them upon oath, to judge rightly and truly, according to their consciences, in the case. The open, and apparently candid, manner of these proceedings, gave great satisfaction to the people. But the English king had a private design, which was that of bringing Scotland under his dominion, though he managed it very covertly, and imparted his scheme only to a chosen few. The thing was thought feasible enough, as the kingdom was divided into two factions; but to make the way more intricate, and to cover the fraud the deeper from every eye, he raised up eight other competitors, besides Bruce and Baliol, that he might the more easily bring over one or more to his party, during the contention of so great a number.

And, lest a matter of such moment might seem to be determined unadvisedly, he consulted with those who were most eminent in France for piety and prudence, as well as most learned in the law, having no doubt but that, as this class of men are seldom, if ever, of one opinion, he should draw something out of their answers which might make for his purpose. The new competitors, seeing no grounds for their pretensions, quickly desisted of their own accord; but as Edward governed and influenced the lawyers according to his pleasure, a false and fabricated case was thus stated and propounded to them: "A certain king, that was never either crowned or anointed, but only placed in a kind of seat, and declared sovereign by his subjects, while he was in fact not his own master, being under the protection of another king, whose homager or beneficiary he professed himself to be, died without issue. Two of his kinsmen, the children of Sempronius, great-uncle of the deceased, claim the inheritance, namely, Titus, great-grandson by the eldest daughter of Sempronius, and Sejus the grandson by his younger daughter; now, which of these is to be preferred, in an estate, the nature and essence of which is, that it can never be divided?" The case being propounded in almost these very

words, they all generally answered, "That if any law or custom obtained in the kingdom which was sued for, they were to be guided by, and stand to it; if not, then they must be directed by him under whose patronage they were, because, judging of freehold, custom doth not ascend; that is, the usage and award of the superior is to be a law to the inferior, but not the contrary." It would be too prolix a task, to specify the several opinions and answers which were, almost all of them, very doubtful and ambiguous, as to the right of the competitors; but, as the case was falsely stated, they all gave the supreme power of judgment, in the controversy, to Edward. Thus the matter was made more intricate and involved than before; so that the next year they met again at Norham. There Edward, by agents fit for his purpose, gently tried the minds of the Scots, whether they would willingly put themselves under the power and jurisdiction of the English, which, as was alleged, their ancestors had frequently done; but when they all unanimously refused so to do, he called to him the competitors whom he himself had set up; and, by great promises, extorted from them an oath of fealty; and next he persuaded the rest to remove the assembly to Berwick, as a more convenient place. There he shut up the twenty-four judges, who were elected as before, in a church, without any person else amongst them, commanding them to give their judgments in the case; and no man was to have access to them, till they had unanimously come to a conclusion. But they being slow in their proceedings, he every now and then went in alone to them, and, by discoursing sometimes with one, and sometimes with another, gained a great majority to his opinion, that the right lay in Baliol, though he was inferior in favour and popularity. Edward, upon this, went to Bruce, thinking that, as he was cast by their votes, he would more easily be persuaded to close in with his design; and promised him the crown of Scotland, if he would put himself under the patronage of the king of England, and be subject to his authority. Bruce answered him ingenuously, "That he was not so eager of a crown, as to accept of it by abridging the liberty which his ancestors had left him." Upon this reply, he was dismissed, and John Baliol sent for, who, being more desirous of a kingdom, than of honest methods to come by it, greedily accepted the condition offered him by Edward.

JOHN BALIOL, *the ninety-sixth King, began his reign A. D. 1293.*

* Accordingly, John Baliol was declared king of Scotland, six years and nine months after the death of Alexander. The rest of the Scots, desirous of the public tranquillity, conducted him to Scone, and there crowned him, according to custom, all swearing allegiance to him, except Bruce. He being thus made king by the English, with the acceptance of the Scots, and standing now in full security of the nation, came to Edward, who was at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and, according to his promise, swore fealty to him; while the noblemen, his attendants, not daring to contradict two monarchs, especially at such a distance from home, did the same. As soon as the rest of the nobility heard of this, they were extremely offended; but, conscious of their want of power, they, for the present, dissembled their anger.

However, soon after, an occasion was offered them to shew their resentment. Macduff, earl of Fife, one of the six governors of Scotland during the interregnum, being murdered by the rich and potent family of Abernethy; they threw the charge upon his brother, and brought him to answer for the same before the assembly of the states, when the king gave sentence in favour of the accusers. Macduff, in consequence, was dispossessed of the land that was contested betwixt them; which made him doubly displeased with the king; first, on account of his own wrong; and, secondly, because he had not severely punished the murderers of his brother. Upon this, he appealed to the king of England, and desired that Baliol might answer the matter before him. Accordingly, the cause was removed to London; and, as Baliol was sitting next to Edward in the parliament-house, on being called, he would have answered by a procurator, but it was denied him; so that he was forced to rise from his seat, and plead his cause from a lower place. He bore this affront silently for the present, not daring to do otherwise; but, immediately on his departure, such flames of anger burnt in his breast, that his thoughts were wholly taken

up how to appease his own subjects, and to be avenged of Edward. While his mind was taken up with these meditations, it opportunely happened for him, that a new discord arose betwixt the French and English, which soon after broke out into a war. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the assembly of estates in Scotland, from both kings. The message from France was to desire a renewal of the ancient league with the new king. That from England was, to call upon them, by virtue of their late oath to Edward, to contribute aid to him in the war that he had commenced. Both embassies were referred to the council of the estates, where the nobles, prone to rebellion, gave it as their opinion, that the request of the French was just, but that the demand of the English was otherwise. They said that the league made by universal consent, with the French, more than five hundred years before, had been kept sacred and inviolable to that very day, on account of the equity and utility which went with it; but that this late subjection and surrender of themselves to the English, had been extorted from the king against his will. And they went on to say, that even though he had been consenting thereto, yet it neither obliged him nor the kingdom, because the covenant was made by the king alone, without the consent of the estates; whereas the king could do no act relating to the rights of the nation, without, much less against, their advice. Therefore, a decree was made, that ambassadors should be sent into France to renew the ancient league; and that a wife should be desired for Edward Baliol, the son of John, from the royal family of that nation. Another embassy was also sent into England, to signify that the king of Scots revoked the surrender of the kingdom and himself, which he had been forced unjustly to make; and that, renouncing Edward's friendship for that cause, and also for the many other wrongs which that king had done to him and his, he was resolved to assert his ancient liberty. As no man of any eminence would carry this message to Edward, whose temper, naturally fierce, was rendered still more so by the indulgence of fortune, which made him almost forget himself; a certain monk, or, as some say, the abbot of Aberbrothick, undertook to be the bearer of the letters; but he was forced to undergo many affronts for his pains, and had great difficulty in escaping home, being rather protected by the meanness of his condition, and so undervalued, than by the reverence due to an ambassador.

In the mean time, Edward made a truce with the French for some months, hoping that before it terminated he should have subdued the Scots, by taking them unprovided. Accordingly, he sent the fleet, which had been designed for France, against Scotland; commanding it to stop all provisions from being carried into Berwick, where he understood there was a very strong garrison. The Scots, having encountered this fleet at the mouth of the river, destroyed and took eighteen ships, and put the rest to flight. Edward, who was of an impetuous and irascible disposition, fired by this loss, breathed nothing but fury and revenge. He summoned Baliol, repeatedly, to appear before him; and then he levied a great army, with which he came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. There also he issued forth an edict, commanding John to appear, in order to clear himself from the crimes objected against him in a legal way. But as neither Baliol, nor any one for him, came at the time appointed, Edward added policy to force, and sent for Bruce, promising him the kingdom, if he would do his endeavour faithfully to depose and drive out his rival; "to do which," said he, "you need be at little labour or cost; only write letters to your friends, persuading them either to desert the royal party, or to be neutral if it comes to a battle." Then, by long marches, he came to Berwick; but not being able to carry it, by reason of the strength of the garrison, he pretended to raise the siege, and caused a rumour to be spread abroad, by some Scots of Bruce's party, stating that he despaired of taking it; because Baliol was coming with a great army to relieve the place, and was now near at hand. Upon this, the chief men of the garrison hastened out to receive their king honourably, but without any order, horse and foot promiscuously; of which Edward took the advantage, by sending in his cavalry, who trod down and killed some, separated others from their company, and, having seized the nearest gate, entered the town. Edward followed with his foot, and made a miserable slaughter among the people of all orders. About seven

thousand Scots are reported to have been there slain, amongst whom were the flower of the nobility of Lothian and Fife.

Though it was my intention, from the beginning, not to interrupt the series of the narration with any unnecessary digression, yet I cannot forbear to expose that unbridled liberty of evil-speaking, which Richard Grafton,* who lately compiled the History of England, has assumed to himself; that so they who read what I here write, may judge of the degree of credit due to him. He quotes Hector Boetius, as saying, in his 14th book, chap. ii. "that so much blood was spilt upon this occasion, that rivers of it, running through the city, might have driven a water-mill for two days." Now, to this, I say, that Boetius never divided his book into chapters; and, besides, what Grafton affirms, is no where to be found in his writings. But, to leave this unlearned and shameless chronicler, I return to Edward; who, big with the exorbitant power and numbers of his army, sent part of it to besiege Dunbar; and, within a few days after, the castle of Berwick, despairing of any relief, was surrendered to him. Soon afterwards he joined his forces together at Dunbar, to fight the Scottish army which came to relieve that place. It was a very fierce engagement; and the victory inclining to the English, the chief of the nobility retired into the castle, which was soon taken either by the treachery of Richard Seward the governor, or else because he had not provisions for so great a multitude as were shut up in so narrow a compass. Edward was very cruel to all the prisoners. Some cast the blame of this overthrow upon the elder Bruce, alleging that his friends, by giving way in the battle, struck a terror into the rest. All our writers agree in saying, that when Bruce demanded of Edward the crown of Scotland, according to his promise, as the reward of his services on that day, the other answered in French, of which language he was a perfect master, "What, have I nothing else to do, but to win kingdoms for you?" When Dunbar, and some other castles near the borders of England, were taken, the surrender of Edinburgh and Stirling followed soon after. Next, Edward passing over the Forth, directed his march to Forfar, where Baliol was; who, when the English king had advanced as far as Montrose, without any opposition, by the persuasion of John Cumin of Strathbogie, went and surrendered to him both himself and the kingdom. Baliol was sent into England by sea; and Edward, returning to Berwick, issued a strict and severe summons to all the Scottish nobility to attend him there; and, on their arrival, compelled them to swear fealty to him. But William Douglas, who was a man of great distinction, as well on account of his family, as his own famous exploits, obstinately refused to do so, for which he was thrown into prison, where, in a few years, he died.

Edward, having thus succeeded in his expedition according to his mind, left behind him John Warren, earl of Surrey, as his viceroy; and Hugh Cressingham, as lord chief justice, or treasurer; and then returned to London; where he committed John Baliol to prison, in the fourth year of his reign; but some time after, at the entreaty of the pope, and upon his promise that he would raise no further tumults in Scotland, he was allowed to go into France, his son Edward being retained as a hostage. King Edward having prepared all things for the French war, which, on account of the commotions in Scotland, had been suspended, now sailed thither with a great army. The Scots took advantage of his absence, and, stimulated by some hopes of regaining their liberty, chose twelve men to govern the state; with whose unanimous consent John Cumin, earl of Buchan, was sent into England, at the head of a considerable force; and as the English, who were scattered in garrisons over Scotland, dared not stir, he ravaged Northumberland without opposition, and laid siege to Carlisle, but to no purpose. Though this expedition somewhat elevated the spirits of the reduced Scots, and hindered the English from doing them farther mischief, yet it contributed little or nothing to the general benefit, because all the places of strength were garrisoned by the enemy. But when the nobility had neither strength nor courage to undertake great matters, there presently arose one William Wallace, a man of an ancient and noble

* Grafton was a printer of eminence in London, who published a large Chronicle of the English History, in 1569.

family, but who had lived poorly and meanly, as having little or no estate. The actions of this man, however, during the present contest, not only surpassed the expectation, but even the belief, of all the common people; for he was of a bold spirit, and vigorous constitution; who, when but a youth, had slain a young English nobleman, that had insulted and domineered over him. For this fact, he was forced to fly, and hide himself in several places for some years, to save his life; by which course of hardship his body was fortified against wind and weather, and his mind was likewise rendered capable of undergoing greater dangers when such should occur. At length, growing weary of this wandering and unsettled mode of living, he resolved to attempt something, though never so hazardous; and therefore, gathering a band of men together, of like fortune with his own, he did not only assault single persons, but even large companies, though with an inferior number, and slew several persons in various places. He performed these deeds with as much despatch as boldness, and never gave his enemy any advantage to fight him; so that, in a short time, his fame was spread over both nations, by which means many joined him, moved by the similarity of their condition, or with the like love of their country; so that at last he mustered up a considerable army. This tumultuary band, observing that the nobles, either out of fear or indolence, were tardy in the management of affairs, proclaimed Wallace regent of the kingdom; and, in virtue of this election, he directed things as a lawful magistrate, and the substitute of Baliol. He accepted this title not out of any ambition, or desire to rule, but because it was given him by his countrymen out of pure love and good-will. The first remarkable exploit which he performed with his army was at Lanark, where he slew the major-general of that precinct, an Englishman of good descent. Afterwards he took and demolished many castles, which were either slenderly fortified, meanly garrisoned, or negligently guarded; and these petty attempts so inspired his soldiers, that they shunned no service, however hazardous, while under his conduct, knowing, by experience, that as his boldness was guided by counsel, so his counsel was seconded by success.

When the report of these things was spread abroad, and perhaps somewhat enlarged beyond the bounds of truth, out of men's respect and favour to him; all that wished well to their country, or were afraid of their own particular condition, flocked in to him, as judging it fit to take opportunity by the forelock; so that in a short time he reduced all the castles which the English held on the other side of the Forth, though well fortified, and more carefully guarded, for fear of his attacks. He took and demolished the fortresses of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and Montrose; he seized on Dunnottar by surprise, and garrisoned it; he entered Aberdeen, which the enemy had plundered, burnt, and abandoned, even whilst it was in flames; but a rumour being raised, that the English army was advancing, prevented his taking the castle; being determined to meet them at the Forth, and not willing to hazard a battle except in a place that he himself should select. King Edward, when he went into France, as I have already said, put English garrisons into all the strong fortresses of Scotland. Besides this, many of the Scots remained faithful to him, though disloyal to their country, but those of the nobility whom he suspected, he banished into the heart of England till his return. Amongst these was John Cumin, lord, or petty king, of Badenoch; and Alan Logan, a man fit for either the cabinet or the field. Edward, having thus settled matters, was so far from fearing any insurrection in Scotland, that he carried all his army over along with him. But when he heard of the exploits of Wallace, he deemed it necessary to send an expedition against him; though, after all, the force which he despatched on this service was unworthy of a king; because the English considered Wallace only in the light of a wandering robber. Therefore, Edward wrote to Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and William Latimer, that they should speedily levy what forces they could out of the neighbouring parts, and join themselves with Cressingham, who as yet remained in Scotland, to subdue the rebels in that country. Thomas Walsingham says, that the earl of Warren was the commander of this expedition. But Wallace, who was then besieging the castle of Cupar in Fife, lest his army, which he had increased against the approach of the English, who were

near at hand, should be idle, marched directly to Stirling. The river Forth, hardly any where fordable, may be there passed over by a bridge of wood, even when increased by the addition of other rivers, and by the coming in of the tide. Thero Cressingham passed over with the greatest part of his army; but the bridge, either having its beams loosened and disjointed on purpose, as our writers affirm, by the artifice of the builder, that so it might not be able to bear any great weight; or else, being overladen with the heavy weight of so many horse, foot, and carriages, gave way, whereby the march of the rest of the English was obstructed. The Scots, seeing this, attacked those who had crossed, before they could form themselves into order; and having slain their captain, drove the rest into the river; so that they were almost all either killed or drowned. Wallace returned from this exploit to besiege the castles; and, in a short time, so changed the aspect of affairs, that he left none of the English in Scotland, except such as were prisoners. This victory, wherein the only man of distinction that fell was Andrew Murray, whose son, some years after, was regent of Scotland, happened on the thirteenth of September, in the year 1297. Some say, particularly John Major and a few monastic chroniclers, that Wallace was called off to this battle, not from the siege of Cupar, but that of Dundee, whither he also returned after the fight.

Owing to these commotions, the fields lay untilld, insomuch that after this overthrow a famine ensued, to which a pestilence succeeded; from whence a greater destruction was apprehended than from the war. Wallace, to prevent this mischief as much as he could, called together all those who were fit for service, to appear on a certain day, with whom he marched into England; judging not only that their bodies, being exercised with labour, would be thereby invigorated, but that, by wintering in an enemy's country, provisions would be saved at home; and that the soldiers, who were in great want of necessaries, would reap some fruit of their labours in a country rich and flourishing through a long continuance of peace. When he entered into England, no man would venture to attack him, so that he staid there from the first of November to the first of February; and having refreshed and enriched his soldiers with the fruits and spoils of the enemy, he returned home with great renown. This expedition, while it increased the fame and authority of Wallace amongst the common people, heightened the envy of the nobles against him in a great degree. For his praise seemed a tacit censure of them, who being men of great power and wealth, either out of slothfulness durst not, or out of treachery would not, attempt what he, though a mean man, and destitute of all the advantages of fortune, not only bravely undertook, but successfully performed. Moreover, the king of England, finding the business to be greater than could well be managed by those whom he had deputed, made an arrangement of his affairs in France, and returned home; where he collected a great army, but one that was hastily levied, for he brought not back his veteran soldiers from beyond sea. With these raw and unexperienced recruits he marched towards Scotland; supposing that he had only a disorderly band of robbers to encounter. But when he saw the armies in battle-array, about five hundred paces from each other, on the plains of Stanmore, he could not help admiring the discipline, order, and boldness of his enemies. Upon this, though he had much the greater force, yet he durst not put it to the hazard of a battle, against a veteran and captain so experienced, and soldiers inured to all hardships, but turned his ensigns, and marched slowly back. Neither did Wallace, on the other hand, dare to follow him, for fear of ambuscades, but kept his army within their trenches. Having thus, however, gained a victory, without blood, over a powerful monarch, his enemies were so much the more enraged against him, and caused rumours to be spread, that Wallace openly affected a supreme or tyrannical power. This greatly provoked the nobles, especially Bruce and Cumin, of the royal stock; who said within themselves, "That if they must be slaves, they had rather be those of a great and potent king, than of an upstart, whose rule was not only likely to be base, but dangerous;" and therefore they determined, by all means, to undermine the authority of Wallace. As Edward was not ignorant of these jealousies, he, the next summer, raised a great force, consisting partly of English and partly of Scots, who had remained faithful to him, and came to Falkirk, which is a village built in the

very tract of the wall of Severus, and distant from Stirling little more than six miles. The army of the Scots was not far from them, of sufficient strength, being thirty thousand, if the generals and leaders had been united amongst themselves. Their generals were John Cumin, John Stuart, and William Wallace, the most distinguished persons of their time and nation; the two former, for their high descent and opulence; the latter, for the splendour of his exploits.

When the army, in three divisions, was ready to fight, a new dispute arose, besides their former envy, who should take the lead; and, while all three were asserting their claims, the English decided the controversy, hastening with banners displayed and a swift pace towards them. Cumin and his forces retreated, without striking a blow; Stuart, being surrounded, was slain, with all his followers; and while Wallace was sorely pressed in the front, Bruce fetched a circuitous course, about a hill, and fell on his rear. Yet, in this conflict, his spirit remained unsubdued, and by his prudence he contrived to effect a retreat beyond the river Carron, where, availing himself of his situation, and the advantage which the river gave him, he acted on the defensive, and collected the scattered fugitives. Here Bruce desired a conference, to which Wallace agreed; and they two stood over against each other, where the river hath the narrowest channel, and the highest banks. First, Bruce began, and told Wallace, "He wondered what could be in his mind, that, hurried on by the uncertain favour of the people, he should expose himself to such incessant labour and imminent danger against the most potent king of the time, and who was also assisted by a great number of the Scots. That his enterprise tended to no purpose; for, if he defeated Edward, the Scots would never grant him the kingdom; and that if he should be overcome, he had no refuge but in the mercy of his enemy." To whom Wallace replied, "I never proposed any such end of my labours, as to obtain the kingdom, of which my fortune is not capable; neither doth my mind aspire so high; but when I saw my countrymen, by your slothfulness, to whom the kingdom doth rightfully appertain, destitute of governors, and exposed, not to the slavery only, but even to the butchery of a cruel enemy, I had pity on them, and undertook the cause which you deserted; neither will I forsake the liberty, good, and safety of my countrymen, till life shall forsake me. You, who had rather choose base servitude with security, than honest liberty with hazard, may follow and embrace the fortune which you so highly esteem; as for me, I will die free in my country, which I have so often defended, and my love to it shall remain as long as my life continues." Thus the conference was broken off, and each of them retired to their forces. This battle was fought on the 22d of July, where, of the Scots there fell above 10,000, amongst whom, of the nobles, were John Stuart, Macduff, earl of Fife; and of Wallace's army, John Graham, the most valiant person of the nation, next to Wallace himself. Of the English were slain Frere Briangy, a man highly famed, and noticed for skill in arms and military exploits. After this disastrous conflict Wallace went to Perth, and dismissed his army, yielding to that envy which he knew he could not resist, and from that day forward he never acted as a commander; yet he ceased not, with a few of his friends, who still adhered to him, though he renounced the name of a general, as often as a convenient opportunity was offered, to attack the English.

Edward, after wasting the whole of the country beyond the Forth, as far as Perth, and receiving into his obedience those who durst not, while he was present, venture to make an insurrection, drew back his army. Those of the Scots, who, after the enemy's departure, did most consult the liberty of their country, being now a little heartened, made the youngest John Cumin their regent. He, according to the advice of council, sent ambassadors to Philip of Valois, king of France, desiring him, that, by the mediation of his sister, who was then betrothed to Edward, they might obtain at least a truce. Accordingly, by her endeavours, a suspension of arms was obtained for seven months, which, however, was not faithfully observed; for the English detained the ambassadors who were sent to pope Boniface VIII. and committed them to person. In the mean time, the Scots, who could neither bear the tyranny of the English, appease the cruel mind of Edward by their sufferings, nor

obtain equitable terms of peace from him, became resolute to a state of desperation, and resolved to fight it out to the last. In the first place, therefore, they expelled all the English governors, who had been put by Edward into the towns and castles; and further, they tormented the Scots who adhered to that faction as much as they could. Things remained in this posture almost two years, at the expiration of which time, Edward sent Ralph Confray with a great force, to reduce the robbers, as he called them, and to put an end to the war. These troops met with no opposition, but plundered the country far and near, till they came to Roslin, in Lothian, about five miles from Edinburgh, where they divided their army into three parts, to make the greater havoc, and so formed their camps. John Cumin, with the assistance of John Frazer, the most potent man in all Teviotdale, gathered eight thousand men, and marched towards the enemy, thinking to contract the limits of their ravaging excursions; or otherwise, to seize any favourable opportunity that might offer itself for action. In this he proved more fortunate than he could have anticipated, for the English, little expecting an assault from an enemy whom they had so often conquered, and brought so low, became careless, and dispersed themselves, in a very imprudent manner, about the country; so that their first camp was soon taken, by the sudden approach of the Scots, and with a great slaughter. Those who escaped, carried terror to the next camp; where again all were in confusion, and crying out to "arm, arm," exhorted one another to succour their fellow-soldiers; but perceiving this purpose was too late, they prepared for revenge. A furious combat now commenced betwixt them, as men eager and desirous of conquest and revenge; but, in the end, the English were routed and put to flight, and the victory, though a sanguinary one, remained with the Scots. In the mean time, the soldiers of the third camp, which was farther off, came up, and produced some disorder among the Scots; for, as many of them were wounded, and the greatest part wearied with the toil of two actions, they saw that there was imminent danger in fighting, and assured destruction in retreating. In this emergency, by the command of their leaders, they slew all their prisoners, lest, in the contest, they should be annoyed by them in the rear; then, arming their servants with the spoils of the slain, they made a show of a greater army than in reality they were. Upon this, the battle was renewed with increasing fury on both sides; but though the fight was for a long time doubtful, the Scots, by the encouragement of their leaders, who put them in mind of their recent victory, took fresh courage, and charged the enemy with such violence, that they broke their ranks, and put them to flight. This happened at Roslin, on the 24th of February, in the year 1302.

This extraordinary achievement was the more famous, being obtained by only one army over three, on the same day. Edward, therefore, being mightily incensed, to blot out the ignominy, and put an end to a long and tedious war, levied a greater force than ever he had before, and assaulted Scotland both by sea and land, devastating it, even unto the extremity of Ross, no one daring to oppose this powerful army in the field. Only Wallace and his men, sometimes in the front, at others in the rear, and now on the flanks, harassed the English greatly in their progress, falling suddenly upon those who were separated from the rest; and thus, by obliging them to remain compact in one body, prevented them from committing much mischief by plundering. Edward, finding himself so much annoyed by this enterprising chief, strove, with great promises, to bring him over to his party; but his constant answer was, "That he had devoted his life to his country, to which it was due, and if he could do it no other service, yet he would die in exerting himself for its defence." There were some castles yet remaining, not surrendered to the English, particularly Urquhart in Murray, which was taken by storm, and all the garrison put to the sword; upon which the rest were given up through fear. After these exploits, the English king joined his son Edward, whom he had left at Perth, and, with this addition of force, he invested Stirling, which, at the end of a month, the garrison being reduced to the want of all things, surrendered, the conditions being only life and liberty. Notwithstanding this, William Oliver, the governor, contrary to the articles of capitulation, was sent prisoner to London. All Scotland being

now reduced, an assembly of the states was called by Edward, to be held at St. Andrew's, where, the whole body, being overawed, took an oath of allegiance to him, except Wallace alone; who, fearing that he should be given up, by the envious nobility, to Edward, his mortal enemy, retired, with a few followers, to his old hiding places.

Edward, having appointed governors and magistrates over all Scotland, returned into England. At his departure, however, he gave an evident demonstration of his inveterate hatred to the whole Scottish race; for, not content with taking away all those whom he feared would raise new seditions, he endeavoured, as much as he could, to root out the very memory of the nation, by abrogating their old laws, and modelling the ecclesiastical state and ceremonies, according to the manner of England. He likewise caused all histories, leagues, and ancient monuments, whether left by the Romans, or formed by the Scots, to be destroyed; and he carried away all the books, together with the teachers of learning, into England. Besides this, he sent also to London an unpolished marble-stone, wherein it was vulgarly reported and believed, lay the fate of the kingdom; neither did he leave any thing behind him, which, on the account of its celebrity, might excite generous minds to the remembrance of their ancient fortune and condition; or excite them to any true greatness of mind. Thus, having broken their spirits as he thought, as well as their forces, and cast them into a servile dejection, he promised himself perpetual peace from Scotland. At his return, he left Ailmer of Valence as his regent, or viceroy, who was to check all seditious attempts, if any should break forth, in the very bud. Yet a new war sprang up against him, and that too in a quarter of which he had no suspicion.

There were some of the prime nobility in Scotland, with Edward, as Robert, the son of that Robert Bruce who contended with Baliol for the kingdom, and John Cumin, called the Red, on account of the colour of his face, cousin-german to John Baliol, the last king of Scotland. Edward called these persons often to him aside, and gave each of them vain hopes of the kingdom, by which means he made use of their assistance in the conquest of Scotland. At last, when they discovered the mockery and cheat, both of them desired nothing more than a fit occasion to repay the king for his perfidy; but, as they were rivals, their mutual suspicion withheld them from communicating their counsels to one another.

At last, Cumin, perceiving that the conduct of Edward was distasteful to Bruce, spake to him, and began his discourse by lamenting their common miseries, deploring the lamentable condition of their native land, and greatly inveighing against the treachery of the English monarch; at the same time grievously accusing himself and Bruce too, that they had, by their labour and assistance, contributed to plunge their countrymen into an abyss of misery. After this discourse, they proceeded farther, and, each of them promising silence, they agreed, that Bruce should enjoy the kingdom, and that Cumin, on waving his right, should enjoy all those large and fruitful possessions which the former had in Scotland; and, in a word, that he should be the second man in the kingdom. These conditions were drawn up in writing, sealed, and sworn to, betwixt themselves. Upon this, Bruce, watching an opportunity to rise in arms, left his wife and children in Scotland, and went to the court of England. After his departure, Cumin, according to report, either repenting himself of his agreement, or else endeavouring fraudulently to remove his rival, and so obtain an easier way to the kingdom, betrayed the secret combination to Edward, in evidence of which, he sent him the covenants signed by both. Upon this, Bruce was impleaded as guilty of high-treason; forbid to depart the court; and a privy guard set over him, to inspect his words and actions. The king's delay to punish Bruce for a crime so manifest, arose from the desire he had to take his brothers too, before they should have heard of his execution. In the mean time, Bruce was informed of his danger by the earl of Montgomery, the old friend of his family, who, not daring to commit his advice to writing, being discouraged by what had just happened, sent him a pair of gilt spurs, and some pieces of gold, under the pretext that he had borrowed them of him the day before. Robert, on the receipt of this present, as dangers make men sagacious, soon understood the

meaning, therefore he sent for a smith the same night, and commanded him to shoe three horses the reversed way, that his flight might not be traced by the marks of the feet in the snow. This being done, he and two companions immediately commenced their journey, and, with great fatigue to man and horse, in seven days came to his castle, situated by Lochmaben. There he found David his brother, and Robert Fleming, to whom he had scarcely declared the cause of his flight, before he met with a flying post, who was conveying letters from Cumin to Edward; purporting, "That Robert ought speedily to be put to death; for that there was danger in delay, lest a man so nobly descended, and popular, as he was, by adding boldness to cunning, should raise new commotions." The perfidious treachery of Cumin being in this, as well as other circumstances, plainly detected, inflamed Robert to such a degree of anger, that he rode presently to Dumfries, where his adversary was in the church of the Franciscans, whom he confronted with his own letters, which he then shewed him, and when the other impudently denied them to be his, Robert, no longer able to bridle his wrath, ran him through the body with his dagger, and so left him for dead. As he was mounting his horse, James Lindsay and Roger Kilpatrick, one his kinsman, the other his old friend, perceiving by his countenance that he was troubled, asked him the cause; on which he told them in brief the whole business, adding withal, that he thought he had killed Cumin. "What," said Lindsay, "will you leave a matter of that consequence to a supposition?" And as soon as he had spoken these words, he ran into the church, and despatched him quite, and also his kinsman, Robert Cumin, who endeavoured to save him. This murder was committed on the tenth of February, in the year 1305. About the same time also, Wallace was betrayed in the county of Glasgow, where he then lay concealed, by his own familiar friend, John Monteith, whom the English had bribed with money, and so he was sent to London; where, by Edward's command, he was wofully butchered, and his limbs, for the terror of others, hung up in the most noted places of England and Scotland. Such was the end of this person, who was the most famous man of the age in which he lived, and who deserved to be compared with the most renowned captains of ancient times, both for his greatness of mind in undertaking dangers, and his wisdom and valour in overcoming them. In love to his country he was second to none; for, when others were slaves, he was alone free; neither could he be induced by rewards, or moved by threats, to abandon the public cause in which he had once embarked. His death was the more to be lamented, because he was not conquered by his enemy, but betrayed by his friend, who had little reason to be guilty of so treacherous an action.

BRUCE, the ninety-seventh King, began his reign A. D. 1306.

BRUCE was obliged to wait long, till he had obtained his pardon from the Pope, for killing a man in holy church; and then in April following, 1306, he went to Secone, and was crowned king.

The first thing he did, knowing that he had to do with a powerful enemy, was to levy all the force he could raise; and notwithstanding he had to encounter the whole family of the Cumins, whose greatness was paramount, and never equalled in Scotland, either before or since; and though the minds of many were offended with him, for his former alliance with the English; while most of the Scots, out of fear, desired to be at peace under their power; yet he ventured, with a small army, to try his fortune at Methven, where he was overthrown by Ailmer, the general of Edward, but with little slaughter, because his men, seeing their own weakness, fled in a body almost at the first charge. This happened on the 20th of July; and not long after he came to Athol, with the intention of passing into Argyle, but his design being discovered by the Cumins, he was forced in his march, to try his fortune in a battle at a place called Dalree, or Kingsland, where he was defeated again, but lost few men, because they all fled several ways as they thought fit. After this time, he had but two or three in his company; for he found himself more secure with a few attendants, and thus he wandered up and down in secret places, living mostly a forester's life, and despairing of any aid, even if he had a mind again to try his fortune; for the common people, upon his

double discomfiture, drew thence discouraging omens, and so they all left him; only two of his old friends, Malcolm Earl of Lennox, and Gilbert Hay, never forsook him, but remained constant to him in all his misfortunes. The English, not yet satisfied with his miseries, sent about through all parts of the kingdom, to apprehend his adherents and kindred; besides which, they commanded all the wives and children of those who were banished to depart the kingdom by a set time. The wife of Robert was taken by William Earl of Ross, and sent into England. Neil, his brother, with his wife and children, fell into the hands of the English; his castle of Kildrummy being betrayed to them by the governor. Moreover, his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, in endeavouring to pass from Galloway to Carrick, were taken at Loch Ryan, (called by Ptolemy, the Bay of Rerigonius,) and sent into England. These three were put to death in different places. The rest of the party of Bruce were also diligently sought after, executed, and their estates confiscated. In the mean time, the king himself, with one or two, and sometimes alone, wandered up and down through uncouth places, daily, and even hourly, changing his recesses. But, not thinking himself safe from the cruelty of his enemies, and the perfidiousness of his subjects, he passed over to another friend of his into the Western Isles, where he lurked for some months: and as he appeared no where, he was thought to be dead, and so they gave over searching for him. This report, though it secured his person, would, if it had continued long, have taken away all the hopes of his friends, of his ever obtaining and recovering the kingdom. Upon this account, he judged it fit to make some attempt, and having procured a small force from his protectors where he had concealed himself, he sailed over into Carrick, and, by his sudden arrival, surprised a castle, which was his own inheritance, but garrisoned by a strong party of English, whom he put to the sword. Then, lest his passage might be prevented by the enemy, he crossed over the bay of Clyde, and came to the strong castle of Inverness, situated on a pretty high hill by the side of the river Ness, which, as being in a remote country, and negligently guarded, he succeeded in capturing.

The report of these things being provulged, occasioned great emotions and a spirit of courage all over Scotland: for, besides his old friends, who came to him from all places out of their retreats, the insolence of the English raised him many new ones: for those oppressors, thinking he had been dead, began to lord it more imperiously and cruelly than ever they had done before. The forces therefore of Robert, being considerably increased, and that too with good soldiers, whom either labour had hardened or despair urged to the most desperate attempts, he took all the castles in the north of Scotland, and demolished them, partly that he might not weaken his forces by dividing them into garrisons, and partly that the enemy might be wholly deprived of all fortified places. Thus, overcoming all resistance, he made his way into the very heart of the kingdom. John Cumin, Earl of Buchan, being informed of it, quickly gathered a body of Scots and English, as many as were able to bear arms; and when Bruce came to the forest, through which the river Esk falls down into the plains of Mearn, overtook him at a place called Glenesk. Bruce, perceiving that the narrowness of the pass was advantageous for his men, who were few in number, stood on the defensive, waiting for the enemy. Cumin drew out his army at great length, imagining that his opponent would be astonished at the sight of such a multitude; but when he saw that Bruce stirred not from the place, and being also conscious of the weakness of his own force, he was afraid to venture an action. Accordingly he first sent an herald to Bruce for a truce, wherein they might treat of terms of peace; which being acceded to, Cumin made no more mention of a treaty, but increased his numbers as much as he could; neither would he trust the Scots that were with him, because he knew that many of them inclined to Robert, but craved aid from England. In the mean time, Bruce, to remove the degrading opinion which the English might conceive of him, and to encourage the spirits of his friends, was always on the alert; now taking one castle, and now another; always surprising the weakest garrisons; and never remaining long in a place, nor giving an opportunity to the enemy to bring him to a general battle.

About this time, Simon Fraser and Walter Logan, two brave soldiers, and lovers of their country, were taken by some of the Cumin faction, delivered up to the English, and put to death in London. Amidst these transactions, James Douglas joined the party of Bruce; he was the son of William, and a young man extremely well instructed in all the liberal arts: who, while studying at Paris, hearing that his father was cast into prison by the English, where he soon after died, returned home to consult with his friends, how he might order his future conduct; but being deprived of his patrimony, and all his family variously dispersed, he in great want repaired to William Lambert, Bishop of St. Andrew's; by whom he was admitted into his household, and kindly entertained, until king Edward came to besiege Stirling, after having conquered almost all the rest of Scotland. Lambert going thither to salute the king, carried Douglas along with him, and having gained an opportunity, solicited Edward to restore the young man his patrimony, take him into his protection, and make use of his faithful endeavours in his service; adding other things in his praise. The king, on hearing his name and family, threw out some severe reproaches on the memory of William, his father, for his perverseness; and then concluded with saying, that he neither would make any use of the son, nor of his assistance; and as for his paternal estate, he could not restore it if he would, because he had gratified his friends with it, who had merited well of him. James being thus dismissed by the king, continued with Lambert till Bruce came to Mearn; and then, that he might neglect no occasion to injure Edward, whose mind, he found was implacably bent against him, he carried off Lambert's horses, and some money, though not without his privacy. Thus furnished, he joined Bruce; and his service was of great use to him afterwards on many trying occasions.

Not long after, both kings, almost at the same moment of time, fell grievously sick. Edward, being busy in preparations for war against Scotland, died within a few days at Lancaster, leaving the crown to his second son Edward, who was named Carnarvon from the place of his birth. This prince marched into the country of his enemy with the army which his father had raised; and sent a proclamation before him, summoning the Scots to meet him at Dumfries. The mandate, however, was slowly obeyed, and the few who came to him were mostly from the neighbouring parts. At this time he received information that his affairs were in a very indifferent state abroad: on which, leaving a force sufficiently strong, as he thought, to quell any insurrection in Scotland, and settling things as soon as he could, he went over to France. Meanwhile Robert, hearing of the death of Edward the First, was somewhat relieved, and began to augur a favourable change in his circumstances. The strength of his mind supported his enfeebled body; but being aware how much the sole conduct of a general contributed to victory, he so prepared himself for the extremities of fortune, as to look for an enemy, and a battle. On the other side, the English king retarded his return more than his friends wished; which made John Cumin ambitious of the honour of ending the war alone, and thinking that Robert was dead by reason of his disease, joined to his hardships, or at least that his sickness would hinder him from being present with the army, he gathered together all the forces he could muster, and marched directly towards his enemy. Robert, on the other hand, to encourage his men, caused himself to be set on horseback, supported between two, and though he remained but a short space, the very sight of him had such an effect upon the soldiers, that they never began a fight more courageously. Cumin, who had placed his hope of victory in the sickness of his antagonist, being unable to keep his men together either by persuasions or threats, was forced to fly with them. Many were taken in the pursuit, and all of them were courteously used. This victory, which was gained at Inverary, restored the king to health, and proved the omen of his future successes; for, from that day forward, he prospered in all that he attempted. Some time after he marched into the country of Argyle, which he pillaged, and compelled its lord, Alexander, to relinquish the possession. That chief then retired into England, where shortly after he ended his miserable life in great poverty. The same year, on the 30th of June, Edward Bruce was also very fortunate in a battle fought at Dee, a river in Galloway, Rolland, a noble knight of that

county, was slain in the fight; Donald the highlander, in his attempt to escape, was taken prisoner, and the whole country was wasted far and near. These commotions roused Edward, who was rather desirous of living in peace, to a war against his will. Perceiving that his affairs were ill conducted, he the next year, with a great army of English, entered Scotland, and there joined a numerous body of the natives, who had not yet revolted. With these forces he advanced as far as Renfrew, but then retreated, without performing any memorable act in his expedition; either because he was of a dull inactive nature, or that Robert, availing himself of the scarcity which then prevailed in Scotland, caused all the provisions to be carried off from the places through which the enemy had to march, and laid them up in security. After his departure, Bruce spent the rest of the year in recovering those castles the English yet held, many of which surrendered before they were besieged, because the garrisons despaired of being relieved.

The next year, which was 1310, Bruce, to repay the English for the damage they had done in Scotland, made two incursions with his army across the borders, and returned back laden with spoils, without coming to any engagement. The two next years, he recovered almost all the strong garrisons, which yet remained in the hands of the English. He took Perth by storm, and put all the garrison, Scots as well as English, without distinction, to the sword; and that others might be deterred from holding out by this example, he razed the walls, and filled up the trenches. The terror of this stroke caused Dumfries, Lanark, Ayr, and Bute, and many other weaker fortresses, to surrender at discretion. Early in the spring, Roxburgh was taken by James Douglas, while the garrison was intent upon their sports and pastimes, at those revels which were wont to be celebrated about the beginning of Lent. Not long after this, Thomas Randolph recovered the strong castle of Edinburgh: the isle of Man was also surrendered, and the castles thereof demolished, that they might not again be a receptacle to the enemy. In the mean time, Edward Bruce laid close siege to the castle of Stirling, situated on a rock, which was every where steep, except by a single passage. It was defended by Philip Moubray, a vigilant commander, who, perceiving the success of the party of Bruce in Scotland, and foreseeing an attack, took care to store and fortify the place beforehand with provisions and arms. Therefore, when Edward had fruitlessly spent many days in the siege, and had no hopes of carrying it by force, in order that he might not seem to be repulsed without doing any thing, he entered into a treaty with Moubray, "That if he was not relieved in a year, to commence that very day, by the English, the castle should be delivered up, and the garrison have liberty, with their baggage, to march whither they pleased." Though these conditions greatly displeased the king; yet, that he might not detract from his brother's credit, he resolved to observe them. However, as he had no doubt but that the English would come at the time appointed, he made as much preparation, as in so great a scarcity he was able, to encounter his potent enemy. And indeed Edward, considering that he was not only dispossessed of Scotland, a nation left to him by his father, conquered and broken—but that he was also forced to fight for England,—had a desire to root out a people who were often rebellious, and always disobedient and turbulent. In order to this, he levied an army, not only of English, and such Scots as still adhered to him, but increased it by supplies from his foreign dominions, which then were many, great, and opulent; so that his force was larger than any king of England had ever raised before.

He received also additional succours from his allies beyond the seas, especially from Flanders and Holland, whose princes his father had powerfully assisted against Philip king of France. Thus, it is reported that his army consisted of above one hundred thousand fighting men. There also followed him a multitude of baggage-men, attendants, and suttlers, who carried provisions by sea and land, because they were going into a country not very fruitful of itself; and which, besides, had for several years been harassed with all the miseries of war. Moreover, as there were numbers who set out on this expedition for the purpose of forming colonies, and to receive portions of land, they took their wives and children with them. Thus the force of the rich,

powerful, and flourishing kingdom of England being in a manner abridged and epitomized into one army, the consideration of it produced such a confidence in the whole body, that now all their discourse was not of fighting, but of dividing the spoil. Bruce hearing of this great preparation of the enemy, prepared also his forces, which, though far inferior in number to the vast multitude opposed to them, and consisting of thirty thousand only, yet were they inured to hardships, and the toils of war; and carried the hopes of their lives, fortunes, and of every thing dear to men, as it were on the points of their swords. With this army he pitched on the left side of the Bannock, a river that hath very steep banks on both sides. It is about two miles from Stirling, and below the hills, before it enters the Forth, it passeth through a little even ground, which here and there is marshy. In the winter it usually runs with a rapid torrent; but, at that hot time of the year, the water was low and fordable in many places, though in general the passages are few and narrow. In proportion as Bruce was weak in numerical strength, he found it necessary to be wary and circumspect in his conduct. Accordingly he called art and policy to his aid, to make the passage over the river more difficult to the English, who possessed the right bank. For this purpose he caused deep trenches to be dug in level places, where he fastened sharp stakes, or spikes, and covered them over with light soil, that so his stratagem might not be discovered; besides which, he caused caltrops* of iron to be dispersed up and down in convenient places.

Wherefore, when camp was almost joined to camp, as being on opposite hills, only a small river running between them, Edward sent forward eight hundred horse towards Stirling. When they were gone a little way, Robert, imagining they had been sent to plunder the neighbourhood, gave command to Thomas Randolph to follow them with five hundred horse, either to prevent the stragglers from wasting the country or, should a fit occasion offer, to fight them. The English seeing them, desisted from their intended march to Stirling, faced about, and began a sharp combat, which continued long. While the victory hung doubtful, James Douglas being concerned for the Scots, who were the fewest in number, entreated Bruce for leave to go and relieve them. This was peremptorily denied, and Bruce remained a spectator of the conflict from a hill; yet resolving, if his Scots should be farther distressed, to succour them himself: but when he saw the English give back, and the Scots gain ground, he withheld his march, that so he might not detract from the praise of other men. The English were far from being discouraged at losing those few out of so great a multitude; and the Scots, inspired by the exploit, made vigorous preparations for the battle of the ensuing day, as if they had already received the omen of a complete victory.

The night, though short, for the battle was fought on the twenty-third of June, seemed long to both parties, who were eager to engage. All the Scots were divided into three brigades. The king led the centre; his brother commanded the right wing, and Randolph the left. The English, besides a multitude of archers, which they placed on the outside of both their wings, had also cuirassiers out of France. These hastening towards Randolph, who stood on the lower ground, and endeavouring to wheel about and take him on his flank, fell suddenly into the ditches made by Bruce, where they fell one upon another with great slaughter, both of men and horses. Those who fell first, were slain by the pressure of those that came upon them, and the last ranks being discouraged at the loss of the first, retreated back. This terror of the cavalry in some measure embarrassed the infantry, for they were afraid of falling into the like snares. There happened likewise another accident, which, though little in itself, yet contributed very much, as such niceties are wont to do in war, to the ultimate success. Robert, in riding up and down before his army, to keep them in their ranks, with a baton in his hand, was recognized by an Englishman, who ran at him with his spear. The

* These were small engines, ordinarily round, with sharp iron spikes standing out on each side, so that, thrown any way on the ground, one spike or other stood upward. The intent of them was to wound or pierce the horse's foot that trod upon it, and thus make him lame and unfit for service.

king avoided the blow, and, as his adversary's horse proved somewhat restive, he took the advantage to strike the rider dead with his baton, and down he fell to the ground. The soldiers being highly animated by the brave and perilous exploit of their king, could no longer be restrained by their commanders, but rushed headlong upon the enemy, with such eagerness and resolution, that they would have broken the ranks of the English, had not the archers, who were placed on the wings, repulsed them, though with great loss to themselves. Bruce also sent in some troops of horse, who drove them back. Yet, in this affair a trivial incident did more prejudice to the English than the enemy. The rabble that followed the Scotch camp caused the baggage-men to mount their draught-horses, and hang out some linen cloth instead of ensigns; thus they stood on a hill where they might easily be seen, and made an appearance of a new army. The English, who stood nearest, being surprised with a double fear, retreated upon the main body: and their terror disordered the rest of the army. An incredible number of soldiers were slain in the pursuit; and some of our writers go so far as to say, that 50,000 English fell in the fight. Caxton, an Englishman, doth not set down the precise number, but he says it was a mighty overthrow, and that an innumerable multitude were slain. He did well in not being positive as to the number, for it was hard to compute it, because the flight was so irregular, wherein more perished than in the battle. It is certain, the slaughter was so great, that the English, though they had many provocations from the Scots, did not stir for two or three years after. Of the English nobility there fell about two hundred, and almost as many were taken. The prisoners said, that the king himself was the first who fled; and that if he had not been received into the castle of Dunbar by the Earl of March, and so sent in a boat to Berwick, he would not have escaped the hands of Douglas, who, with four hundred horse, pursued him forty miles. Amongst the prisoners there was a monk, one of those who are called Carmelites, from Mount Carmel in Syria; he was accounted a good poet for that age, and was brought with the army to celebrate the victory of the English in a poem; but they being beaten, he sang their overthrow in a canto, for which he had his liberty. His verse is rude and barbarous, yet it did not altogether displease the ears of the men of that age. The victory did not prove unbloody to the Scots; for they lost four thousand men, amongst whom there were only two knights. The immediate consequence of this battle was the fall of Stirling castle, which was surrendered according to compact, and the garrison dismissed.

About this time there happened a circumstance not unworthy to be related, in regard to the variety of incidents that occurred within a narrow compass of time. John Monteith, who betrayed his friend Wallace to the English, and was therefore deservedly hated by the Scots, received, amongst other rewards, the government of the castle of Dumbarton, from the English. When other forts were recovered, this only, or but very few with it, held out: and, because it was naturally impregnable, the king negotiated with the governor, by his friends and kindred, for its surrender. He demanded the county or earldom of Lennox, as the price of his treachery and submission: neither would he listen to any other terms. In this case the king wavered and fluctuated in his mind what to do: on the one side he earnestly desired to have the castle; yet, on the other, he did not so much prize it, as, for its sake, to disoblige the earl of Lennox, who had been his fast, and almost only friend in his calamities. But the earl hearing of it, came in, and soon decided the controversy, by persuading the king, at all events, to accept the conditions. Accordingly, the bargain was made as John Monteith would have it, and solemnly confirmed; but when the king was going to take possession of the castle, a carpenter, named Rolland, met him in the wood of C^oquhoun, about a mile from thence, and having obtained liberty to speak with the king, concerning a matter of importance, told him of the treacherous design which the governor had against him, and was prepared to execute. In a private wine-cellar under ground, he concealed a number of Englishmen, who, when the rest of the castle was given up, and the king secure, were to issue forth upon him as he was at dinner, and either kill or take him prisoner. The king being thus apprized, when the castle was surrendered, received an invitation

from John, to partake of the entertainment which he had provided. But he declined so doing, till he should have examined the lower parts of the building, particularly the wine-cellars. The governor excused himself, by pretending that the smith, who had the key, was out of the way, but that he would come again presently. The king, not satisfied, caused the door to be broken open, and so the plot was discovered; the English were brought forth in their armour, and, being severally examined, confessed the whole truth, and added also another circumstance, that a ship rode ready in the neighbouring bay, to carry the king to England. The accomplices in this wicked design were put to death; but John was kept in prison, because the king was loath to offend his kindred, and especially his sons-in-law, in so dangerous a time, for he had many daughters, who were all very beautiful, and married to men rich enough, but factious. Therefore, as it was a time of imminent danger, when the battle drew near, wherein all was at stake, lest the mind of any powerful man might be rendered averse to him, and thereby inclined to practise against him, it was deemed expedient to release John out of prison, upon this condition, for the performance of which his sons-in-law undertook, that he should be placed in the front of the battle, and there, by his valour, await the decision of Providence. And, indeed, the man, though otherwise treacherous, was in this faithful to the king, for he behaved himself so valiantly, that the enterprise of that day procured him not only pardon for what was past, but large rewards for the future.

The fame of this victory being spread over all Britain, as it abated the fierceness of the English, so it raised the Scots from the depth of despair; supplying them not only with money, but glory, arms, and apparatus of war. Besides regaining numbers of their countrymen, who had been made prisoners, either in fight, or by surrender, they raised likewise great sums by the ransom of the English whom they had taken. Out of the spoils, many not only recompensed themselves for the losses which they had met with in former times, but realized considerable estates; for the English carried with them all their precious things, as if, instead of a battle, they had been going to an assured victory.

The king having thus prosperously succeeded in the conflict, spent the following winter in settling the state of the kingdom, which was much weakened by so long a war, and also in bestowing rewards on those who had merited them. The next spring, Berwick was taken from the English, after they had enjoyed it twenty years. In the next place, an assembly of the estates was convened at Ayr, a town of Kyle. There, in a full assembly, by the suffrages of all the orders, the kingdom was confirmed to Bruce; and afterwards, because the king had only one daughter, left by his former wife, the states, remembering what public mischiefs had happened by the dispute brought on in former times concerning the right of succession, made a decree, that if the present monarch left no male issue, his brother Edward should succeed him in the kingdom, and his sons in order after him; but that if he also died without male issue, then the crown should descend to Mary, the daughter of Robert, and to her posterity; yet so, that the nobility were to provide her a husband fit for her royal estate, and for the succession in the kingdom, it being looked upon as far more just, that a husband should be selected for the young princess, than that she should choose one for herself, and a king for the whole land. It was also decreed, that, in the case of a minority, Thomas Randolph, or, if he should fail, James Douglas, should be guardian to the king, and governor of the kingdom.

The fame of Robert's noble exploits both at home and abroad, induced the Irish to send over ambassadors, desiring to put themselves and their kingdom under his protection; adding, that if his domestic affairs would not permit him to accept the crown himself, yet that he would allow his brother Edward to take it, that so a nation allied to him, might no longer suffer under the cruel, insulting, and intolerable domination and servitude of the English. The Irish wrote also to the pope to the same purpose; and he, by his missionaries, desired the English to forbear wronging and oppressing the Irish, but in vain; so that Edward Bruce went thither with a great army, and, by universal consent, was acknowledged king. In the first year after his arri-

val, he not only drove the English out of Ulster, and reduced it to his obedience, but went through all the whole island with his victorious army. The next year, fresh forces being sent over from England, and Robert perceiving that the war would grow hotter, levied new troops, and made haste to the assistance of his brother. He suffered much in this expedition, through a want of provisions; and when he was about one day's march from Edward, he learned that he and all his men were defeated on the 5th of October. The story is, that Edward, spurred on by too great a desire of military glory, precipitated the fight, fearing lest his brother should share with him in the merit of the victory.

The king of England, being informed that the flower of the militia of Scotland attended Bruce in a foreign country, and thinking this a fit opportunity offered him to revenge his former losses, sent a great army thither under select commanders. Douglas, governor of the borders, fought with them thrice in several places, and slew almost all their officers, and a greater part of the soldiers. The English having fared so ill with their forces by land, came into the Forth with a fleet, and infested all the sea-coasts by their incursions, on which the earl of Fife sent five hundred horse to restrain the plunderers; but they, not daring to encounter so great a multitude, fell back, and were met by William Sinclair, the bishop of the Caledonians, at the head of about sixty horse. He, perceiving the cause of their retreat, reproached them severely for their cowardice; then exclaiming, "All you that wish well to Scotland, follow me!" he snatched up a lance, upon which they all cheerfully returned, and he made so brisk an assault on the scattered English, that they fled hastily to their ships; one of which, in the eagerness of the fugitives to get on board, being overladen with passengers, upset, and all that were in her perished. This action of Sinclair's was so grateful to the king, that ever after he called him "his bishop." The same summer, when all the English counties bordering on Scotland lay desolate, occasioned chiefly by the want of provisions, the diseases which abounded amongst all sorts of tame cattle, and also by reason of the frequent invasions, Edward, to remedy this evil, came to York; but there he was not able to complete an army, on account of the deficiency of the population, so that the people of London, and other parts adjoining, were fain to supply him with soldiers, though many of them had been before discharged from all military service. At length, however, he collected some forces, and marched against Berwick; but he had scarcely arrived there, when Thomas Randolph passed the river Solway, and penetrated by another way into England; where he wasted all with fire and sword, without any resistance; and, in some places, could hardly meet with any man at all; for the plague, which raged the former year, had made such a devastation, that the face of things seemed very piteous, even to their enemies. When the Scots had marched above one hundred miles, and had burnt all places, especially about York, the archbishop of that see, moved rather by the indignity of the thing, than any confidence in his forces, took up arms. He gathered together an army numerous enough, but unwarlike, consisting of a promiscuous company of priests, artificers, and husbandmen, whom he led with more boldness than conduct against the invaders; but, being overcome by them, he lost many of his men, while he, and a few others, with some difficulty, saved themselves by flight. So great was the slaughter of priests there, that the English, for a long time after, called this conflict the White Battle.

When Edward was informed of this overthrow, lest the victorious enemy should make farther and greater attempts, he raised the siege of Berwick, and came back to York, from whence the Scots had withdrawn themselves into the heart of the kingdom. The English were busied with domestic troubles; so that a short truce was made, rather because both kings were tired with the war, than from any sincere desire of amity. In this calm, Robert called a convention of the estates and nobility: and because the changes produced by so long a war had confounded the right of men's possessions, he commanded every one to produce and shew the title of his lands. This matter was equally grievous to the old possessors, and the new. Valiant men thought they enjoyed that by a good right, which they had gained from

their enemies ; and they took it greatly amiss, that what they had obtained by their military toil, and as the price of their blood, should be rent from them in times of peace. As for the old owners of estates, since there was hardly one house almost that had not suffered in the war, they had lost their deeds by which they held their lands, as well as their other goods. Therefore they all entered upon a project, which, though it had a brave appearance, proved too bold and rash in the event. For when the king in the parliament commanded them to exhibit their titles, every one drew his sword, and cried out, "We carry our titles in our right hands." The king, amazed at this sudden and surprising spectacle, though he took the matter very heinously, yet stifled his indignation for the present, and deferred his revenge till a convenient season. And it was not long before an occasion offered him to shew it ; for some of the nobles being conscious within themselves of the boldness of their late attempt, and fearing to be punished for it, conspired together to betray the kingdom to the English. The plot was discovered to the king, and so plainly, that the letters declaring the manner, time, and place, were intercepted, and the crime made evident. They were all taken and brought before the king, without any tumult being raised by their apprehension. And because it was much feared, that William Soulis, governor of Berwick, would deliver up both town and castle to the English, before the conspiracy was publicly divulged, the king made a journey thither as it were casually. A convention was then held at Perth to try the prisoners, where the letters were produced, and every one's signature and seal made known ; so that being convicted of high-treason by their own testimony, they were put to death. The chief of these were David Breechin and William Lord Soulis, of the nobility ; also Gilbert Mayler, Richard Brown, and John Logie ; but though many others of all ranks and degrees were accused, as there was only matter of suspicion against them, they were dismissed. The death of David Breechin only variously affected men's minds ; for besides that he was the son of the king's sister, he was accounted a promising young man of his age for all arts, as well of peace as of war ; and of his valour, he had given evident proofs during the holy war in Syria. Though drawn in by the popular conspirators, he never gave his consent to the treason ; and his only crime was, that being made acquainted with so foul a machination, he did not discover it. The body of Roger Moubray, who died before conviction, was condemned to an ignominious exposure ; but the king remitted that punishment, and caused it to be buried.

A few months before this process was made, the Pope's legate, who, at the request of the English, came to compose the dissensions betwixt the kingdoms, finding that he was unable to accomplish his errand, and yet being desirous of doing something for those who employed him, proceeded to excommunicate the Scots, and forbid them the use of public worship, so terrible were the papal thunderbolts in those days. Bruce, however, to shew how little he valued the Pope's curses in an unjust cause, gathered an army, and invaded England, following the legate at his departure almost at his heels. There he made dreadful havock with fire and sword, as far as the cross at Stanmore. The English, unwilling to let this great disgrace pass unrevenged, levied so numerous an army, that they promised themselves an easy victory, even without blood. Robert, thinking it dangerous to run the hazard of all in a battle against the mighty power of so great a king, resolved to act with policy rather than force. He accordingly drove all the cattle into the mountains, which were almost inaccessible by the troops ; and all other things of service to an army, he caused either to be deposited in fortified places, or rendered useless.

The English, who came thither in hopes of a speedy battle, and had not provisions for a long march, when they perceived what devastation was made in the country, were inflamed with anger, hatred, and the desire of revenge, and resolved to pierce into the midst of Scotland, drag the king out of his recesses, and compel him to fight whether he would or not. For the greatness of Edward's forces encouraged him to hope, that either he should blot out his former disgrace by a splendid victory, or else retrieve the loss he had lately sustained by an extended devastation. With this resolution, he came in all

haste to Edinburgh, sparing churches only in his march; but the farther he went, the greater scarcity he had to experience; so that, in the space of five days, he was forced to retreat. At his return, he spoiled all things, as well sacred as profane. He not only burnt the monasteries of Dryburgh and Melrose, but killed the old monks, whom either weakness, or confidence in their old age, had induced to remain there. As soon as Bruce was informed that Edward had retreated for want of provision, and that disease raged in his army, so that he had lost more men than if he had been overcome in battle, he pursued him very closely with an army, more distinguished for the goodness than the number of the soldiers, and came as far as York, making grievous havock as he went. He had almost taken the king himself by an unexpected assault at the monastery of Byland, where Edward, in a tumultuary battle, was put to flight, all his equipage, money, and baggage, being taken. John Briton, Earl of Richmond, was here made prisoner, together with a great number of other prisoners of inferior rank. To obliterate the shame of this infamous flight, Andrew Berkeley, earl of Carlisle, was awhile after accused, as if he had been bribed to betray the English; and so he lost his life, in punishment for the cowardice of another man.

The next year, a double embassy was sent, one to the Pope, to reconcile him to the Scots, from whom he had been alienated by the calumnies of the English; and another to renew the ancient league with the French. Both ambassadors easily obtained what they desired; the favour of the Pope was easily obtained when he learnt that the late contention arose from the injurious dealings of Edward the First, who affirmed, "That the King of the Scots ought, as a feudatory, to obey the king of England; though the English had nothing to support their claim but old fables, and late usurpations. Besides, it was proved that the English when they were in prosperity, on being summoned by the Pope, always avoided an equal decision of things, though, in adversity, they were ever humble suitors to him for his aid; while the Scots, on the other hand, were in all cases willing to have their cause settled, and never shunned the determination of an impartial judge, nor the arbitration of any good man. Moreover, they produced many grants and writings of former popes which made for them, and against their enemies, and that the stronger, because the Scots were always present at the time appointed, and the English, though they had notice given them, never came. Upon considering all these circumstances, the Pope was easily reconciled to the Scots, and the French were as easily induced to renew the ancient league with them; only one article was added to the old conditions, "That if any controversy should hereafter arise among the Scots, concerning the successor in the kingdom, the same should be decided by the council of the states; and the French monarch, if need required it, was to assist that person by his authority, and with his arms, who by lawful suffrages should by them be declared king."

Our writers fix the rise of the Hamiltons, now a powerful family in Scotland, in these times. There was a certain nobleman in the court of England, who spoke honourably of the fortune and valour of Bruce; whereupon one of the Spencers, lord of the bedchamber to the king, either thinking that his speech was reproachful to the English, or else to gain favour with the looser sort of the nobility, drew his falchion, and, making at him, gave him a slight wound in the body. The man being of great spirit, felt more concern at the contumely, than at the damage which he had sustained; but was hindered, by the coming in of many to part the fray, from taking present revenge. The day after, however, finding his adversary opportunely in the same place, he ran him through; and fearing the punishment of the law, and the great power of the Spencers at court, fled presently into Scotland to king Robert, who gave him a gracious reception, and some lands, near the river Clyde. His posterity, not long after, were advanced to the degree of nobility; and from him the opulent family of the Hamiltons took their name, which also was imposed on the lands bestowed upon him by the king.

Not long after, Edward had great combustions at home, insomuch that he put many of the nobles to death, and advanced the Spencers, the authors of all evil counsels, higher than his own kindred could bear; so that he was seized by his son, and his wife, who had received a small force from beyond

sea, and kept close prisoner. Not long after he was put to a cruel sort of death; an hot iron being thrust into his body, through a pipe of horn, by which his bowels were burnt up, and yet no sign of so terrible a fact appeared on the corpse. His wife and son were thought to have been privy to the murder, either because his keepers would never have dared to commit such a deed openly, unless they had great authority; or else because they were never called in question for so inhuman a butchery.

The disturbances in England, which followed that king's death, and the infirmities of Bruce, who was now old and weak, were the causes that a peace was kept on foot for some years between the two neighbouring nations. For Bruce, being freed from the fear of the English, and being also called upon by his age, now turned his thoughts entirely to domestic affairs. In the first place he made haste, with the consent and decree of the estates, to settle the kingdom (which was not quite recovered, nor fully secured, from the commotions of former times) upon his only son, who was yet but a child; and in case of his death without issue, Robert Stuart the son of his daughter was declared his successor. For the due observance of this decree he exacted an oath from all the nobles; but fearing lest, after his death, Baliol might renew the old dispute about the inheritance; especially seeing his heirs, because of their minority, might be liable to be wronged by others, he sent James Douglas to John, then in France, desiring him, with large gifts and promises, to relinquish his claim. This he did, not so much to acquire a new right, because, according to the Scottish custom, the king is made by the decree of the estates, who have the supreme power in their hands, but that he might cut off all occasion from wicked men, to injure his posterity; and also that he might root out all seeds of sedition. Douglas found Baliol far more compliable than he or others thought he would be; for he was now surrounded with the miseries of extreme old age. He ingenuously confessed that his inordinate ambition was justly punished, and that he was deservedly driven out of the kingdom, as unworthy to reign; and therefore he was pleased that his kinsman Robert enjoyed the crown, by whose high valour, singular felicity, and unwearied industry, it was restored to its ancient splendour; moreover, in this he rejoiced, that they by whom he was deceived, did not enjoy the rewards they promised themselves for their treachery.

When Robert had settled these matters according to his desire, the same year, which according to our writers was 1327, ambassadors were sent into Scotland, by Edward the Third, for a pacification. It appears, however, that in this he acted treacherously by his agents, who, instead of peace, carried home war; but what the particular fraud was, is not expressed, and the English say, that the aggression lay with Robert, though they do not relate the cause of it. That it must needs have been some great and just one, on his side, is very evident, or else a sickly and an infirm old man, when peace was scarcely settled at home, and who might have been satisfied with his former victories, rather than with war, would not so soon have been provoked to a fresh exercise of arms. Thus much is certain, that the king, on account of his age, did not conduct the war himself in person; but Thomas Randolph and James Douglas, the most valiant as well as the wisest men of that age, were sent by him into England, with twenty thousand gallant light horse, and without any foot. The reason was, that they might make rapid excursions, and not abide in any one place, nor be forced to fight the English, unless they had a mind of themselves to venture an engagement. For they knew, that the English would make head against them in their first expedition, with a far more numerous army than their own. Neither were they deceived in their opinion; for the king of England, besides his domestic forces, had procured great assistance of cavalry from Flanders; but these troops and the English happened to fall out at York, so that, as some writers say, they returned home again. Froissart, however, a French writer of the same age, states, that they accompanied the English during the whole expedition; and that, not only for the sake of honour, but also for fear of sedition, they had the next place to the king's regiment always assigned to them in the camp. The king, having made a junction of all his forces, which amounted to more than sixty thousand men, marched against the Scots, who had already crossed the Tyne.

Now, there were two fortified towns on the borders, one nearer Wales, which was Carlisle; and the other about fifty miles lower, called Newcastle. The English had strongly garrisoned both places, to hinder the enemy's passage over the river; but the Scots, knowing where it was fordable, crossed silently without being discovered, and so deceived both the garrisons. When the English came into the bishopric of Durham, from the tops of the hills they might see fires from afar, and then beginning to understand how near their enemy was, they tumultuously called each other to arms, as if they were presently to come to an engagement.

They drew forth their army in a threefold order of battle, and marched directly to the place where they saw the smoke of the fire; the general denouncing a great punishment to him, that, without his leave, should stir from his colours. Thus they fatigued themselves till the evening, and then marked out a place for their camp, in a wood, near a certain river; and there placed their baggage and carriages, which could not so swiftly follow the flying army.

The next day they marched in the same order, but towards evening were forced to abide in their tents, which they had pitched as conveniently as the place would afford, that so the draught-horses, and infantry, might receive a little refreshment. There the nobles came to the king, and deliberated how they should bring the Scots to a battle. The most part were of opinion, that the English foot would never be able to overtake the flying horse of the Scots; and that if they did, they could not compel them to fight, unless in those places which the enemy should judge most convenient for themselves. But because there was such a general devastation, that they could not stay long in a hostile country, they judged it best to pass the Tyne with all their forces, and to intercept the enemy on their return home. Besides, they said that as the country beyond that river, being more level, was fitter to draw up an army in, so all the forces could there be brought more easily into action. This opinion was approved, and the order given to refresh themselves, but to do it as silently as they could, that they might more easily hear the word of command, and the sound of the trumpet; that leaving the baggage behind, every one should carry a loaf each; and that, if the next day they were to fight the enemy, they should wait the event of fortune. So their bodies being refreshed from the weariness of the foregoing day, a little after midnight they took up their arms, and in good order began their march. But the marshes and hills, by which they were to pass, quickly made them break their ranks, and he that could, led the van; the rest followed their steps; and thus their march was in such disorder, that many horses and beasts of burden either stuck in the mud, or else fell down the precipices. Frequently they cried, 'To your arms;' and then all of them, in great trepidation, ran to the place from whence the noise and cry issued, without the least regard to order. But when they came to those who led the van, they understood that the tumult was occasioned by a multitude of stags; which being roused out of the heath by the noise of men, and frightened at their appearance, ran up and down in great confusion, amongst the brigades. At last, about evening, the cavalry alone, without the foot, came to the fords of the Tyne, over which the Scots had passed, and by which they would return, as the English hoped, and at sunset they crossed over; the round and slippery stones, which the river rolls up and down, much incommoding their horses. But they were also troubled with another inconvenience: for few or none of them had any iron tools to cut down wood with; so that after they had marched twenty-eight miles, they were fain to lie on their arms all night on the bare ground, holding the bridles of their horses in one hand; for they had neither tents, having brought none with them, nor huts, nor so much as stakes to tie their cattle to. Early in the morning, as soon as it was light, there fell such heavy showers of rain, that even small brooks were hardly passable by man or horse; and besides, they were informed by some countrymen, whom they took, that the neighbouring country was so barren and desolate, that no provision was to be had nearer than Newcastle and Carlisle; one twenty-four, and the other thirty miles distant. They sent their draught-horses and servants thither; and, in the mean time, made use of their swords to cut down stakes to secure their cattle with; and some shrubs and small trees to build huts, with the leaves

of which they fed the horses, and so that night they were compelled to fast themselves.

Three days after, those who were sent to the towns, returned with a small quantity of provisions ; and some suttlers also came, bringing with them bread and wine for sale ; and though it was neither much nor good ; yet, such as it was, the soldiers were ready to fall out who should have it first. Having thus passed seven days in great want, and being also much molested with continual showers, so that the furniture of their horses was wet, the backs of the creatures were all ulcerated, and they themselves stood many of them armed, day and night, in their damp clothes ; neither could they make any fire, because the wood was either green, or rendered unfit for burning by the rain : on the eighth day they resolved to repass the Tyne at a more commodious ford, seven miles above the place where they were ; but there also the river was swollen by the floods, so that they were much incommoded, and some were drowned in the passage. As soon as the army had passed to the other side, a great reward was proposed to him who should bring the first certain tidings of the position of the Scots. The two next days, their march lying through places depopulated and ruined by the late fires, they had forage enough for their horses, but little provision for themselves. On the fourth day, one out of fifteen young men, who were sent as scouts to discover where the Scots lay, returned with the intelligence that their army was about three miles off ; and that, for eight days past they had been as uncertain what had become of the English, as the others had been in regard to them. This he affirmed for truth, as having been taken prisoner by the Scots, and freed without ransom, upon condition that he would go and tell his king, that they would wait for his coming in that place ; and were as willing to fight as he could be.

On receiving this message, the king commanded the army to halt that the men and horses might take some refreshment, and be ready for a decisive battle ; and thus, in three brigades he marched slowly towards the enemy. As soon as they came in sight of each other, the Scots had so divided their men into three battalions upon a hill, that the rocks and precipices belonging to it secured them on the right and left, from whence they might hurl down stones upon the heads of the enemy, if they endeavoured to come up to them. In the valley beneath ran a torrent so rapid, and full of large round stones, that a passage across was extremely difficult, and a retreat afterwards, certain destruction. The English, perceiving that they could not come at the enemy, without great disadvantage, pitched their tents ; and sent a herald at arms to the Scots, challenging them to come down into the campaign country, and fight fairly for glory and dominion in an open plain. The Scots answered, that they would fight for nobody's pleasure but their own ; that they entered the country to retaliate the wrongs they had received ; that if they had done any thing to offend the English, they had free liberty to take their own revenge ; but, as for themselves, they resolved to abide there, as long as suited their convenience ; and that if their enemy attacked them, it should be at their peril. The next three days, their camps being near, and parties placed at the fords, some light skirmishes passed betwixt them. The fourth day, as soon as it was light, the watch brought word, that the Scots had quitted the hill on which they were before : whereupon scouts were sent out to bring certain news, and to follow them in their retreat. These men brought word, that the Scots had pitched their tents on another hill by the same river, much more convenient for them than the first, where they had a wood which secured their passage every way. The English, who hoped that they should have been able to starve the Scots, because they avoided fighting in a foreign land ; being frustrated in their expectation, pursued them, and pitched their tents on an opposite hill. After remaining there some days, it was observed, that they grew more negligent than formerly in their night-watches ; either because they undervalued the Scots, on account of the smallness of their number, or imagined they were meditating an escape. Douglas availed himself of this opportunity to attempt something effectual ; and therefore crossing the river with two hundred chosen horse, he entered the enemy's camp, in a part which he perceived to be slenderly guarded. Here he had almost

penetrated into the king's tent, but after cutting two of the cords, the alarm being taken, he retreated, slaying three hundred of the English, and bringing off his own men. After this, no memorable action happened, except that the English, taking warning by their loss, placed more careful watches in convenient places for the future. At last a Scot, whom they had taken prisoner, informed them of a proclamation having been made in their camp, that at the third watch all should be ready to follow Douglas wheresoever he should lead them. This relation struck such a terror into the English, that, dividing their army into three battalions, at a moderate distance from each other, they remained all that night in arms; while their servants held the horses, bridled, saddled, and ready prepared for whatever should happen in their camp. They also placed strong guards at all the fords of the river: but, towards break of day, two trumpeters of the Scots were brought to the king, and told him, that their army was commanded to return home, and that if the English intended to revenge the loss they had sustained, they must follow them. Upon this a council of war was called, wherein it was thought more advisable to march back with the army at present, than to follow such straggling pillagers, to the immense fatigue both of horses and men; considering also, that they had lost more in this expedition, by famine and sickness, than commonly fall in a pitched battle. When their retreat was resolved upon, many of the English, either in hopes of booty left behind by the Scots in their hasty retreat, or else wishing to know something of the enemy's affairs, went into their camp, where they found about five hundred deer, and especially stags, already killed, of which sort, not only monarchs, but even many private persons, kept numbers. They also found great budgets, made of raw skins, in which they boiled their meat, and about ten thousand high shoes, of the same raw materials. Moreover, there were two Englishmen, with their legs broken, but who were yet alive. All these things being evidences of great patience in bearing hardship and poverty, strengthened the counsel of those who had advised the return of the army.

This year Walter Stuart and queen Elizabeth died, one the son-in-law, the other the wife, of the king. Further, the castles of Alnwick and Norham were besieged by the Scots; but though they had no success, they drove away quantities of cattle out of Northumberland. In March, ambassadors came from England, to treat for a perpetual peace, and accordingly a truce was made for three years. On the 24th of June, in the next year, which was 1328, the English held a parliament at Northampton, where the different estates agreed to a peace with the Scots upon these terms:—"That the king of England should renounce all claim which he or his ancestors had set up to the crown of Scotland; which kingdom he should leave as free as it was at the death of Alexander III.; and that it should be bound to no foreign service or dominion; that, on the other hand, the Scots were to surrender up all the lands they held in England as feudatories; that Cumberland and Northumberland, as far as Stanmore, should be the boundaries of the two nations; that David, the son of Robert, should take to wife Joan, the sister of Henry; that the English should faithfully return all pacts, bonds, and writings, or any other monuments, which testified the subjection of the Scots, into their hands, and disannul them for the future: that the Scots, for the damage which they had lately done the English king, and for the lands which his father and grandfather had given to their favourites in Scotland, should pay him thirty thousand marks in silver."

Both kings had sufficient reasons for consenting so easily to these conditions. The English monarch, having wasted his treasure, and been put to an ignominious retreat, had lessened himself in the eyes of his own subjects, as well as of his enemies, to such a degree, that he was afraid lest some domestic sedition might arise, and that a warlike enemy, elated by his late success, should come upon him suddenly, and endanger his kingdom. Robert, again, broken with old age, fatigue, and diseases, having a little before fallen into a leprosy, and being long exercised with the events of both fortunes, good and bad, resolved, if he could, to enjoy some ease; and not only so, but to provide for the tranquillity of his heirs, especially as they were infirm and of tender age. Therefore, having made peace abroad, he turned himself wholly to settle affairs at home. After magnificently celebrating the

nuptials of his son, and perceiving that the end of his life was near at hand, he went almost in the habit of a private man. For some years before this, however, all the great affairs of state were managed by Thomas Randolph and James Douglas; while Bruce lived in a small house at Cardross, a place divided from Dumbarton by the river Leven, where he secluded himself from all company, unless when some case of particular necessity demanded his presence. Thither he called some of his friends a little before his death, and made his will. He confirmed those as his heirs who were so declared by the convention of estates. First, David his son, being eight years old; next, his grandson Robert, by his daughter, he commended to the nobles, and especially to Thomas Randolph, his sister's son, and James Douglas. Afterwards, he settled his household affairs, exhorting all his domestics to maintain concord and unanimity amongst themselves, and to preserve their allegiance to their king; assuring them, that if they did this, they would be unconquerable by any foreign power. Moreover, he is reported to have added three commands; or, if you please, counsels; first, "that they should never make any one man lord of the Western Islands;" next, "that they should never fight the English with all their force at one time;" and, thirdly, "that they should never make with them a very long league." In explanation of his first advice, he discoursed much concerning the number, extent, and power of the islands, and of the multitude, fierceness, and hardness of their inhabitants, who, with ships, such as they were, yet not inconvenient for those coasts, when contending with men unskilled in maritime affairs, would do great mischief to others, while they received little damage themselves; and therefore, he advised, that governors should yearly be sent thither, to administer justice among them, by officers, who, however, ought not to continue long in their places. His second advice concerning the English, was grounded upon this, that they, as inhabiting a better country, exceeded the Scots in men and money, and all other warlike preparations; by reason of which advantages, they were more accustomed to their ease, and not so patient of labour or difficulty. On the other hand, the Scots being bred in a harder soil, were, by their frugality and continual exercise, of a more healthy constitution of body; and, by the very manner of their education, rendered more capable of enduring military toil, and therefore were fitter for sudden and occasional assaults, so to weaken and weary out their enemy by degrees, than to venture all at once in a pitched battle. His third advice was grounded upon this principle, that if the Scots should have a long peace with the English, and had no other enemy to exercise their arms upon, they would grow lazy, luxurious, and so easily become slothful, voluptuous, effeminate, and imbecile. As for the English, though they had peace with the Scots, yet France was near them, which kept their arms in use: if, then, those who were skilful in warlike affairs should cope with the Scots, thus grown unskilful and sluggish, they might promise to themselves an assured victory. Moreover, he commended to James Douglas the performance of the vow which he had made to go into Syria, and undertake the sacred cause in the holy war, against the common enemy of Christianity. And because he could not himself, either on account of the troubles at home, or else through the infirmity of age and disease, fulfil the vow himself, he earnestly desired that Douglas would carry his heart, after his decease, to Jerusalem, that it might be there interred. Douglas looking upon this as an honourable employment, and an eminent testimony of the royal favour towards him, made preparations for his voyage, and, the next year after the king's death, set out with a brave and fine company of young noblemen. But on his arrival in Spain, hearing that the king of Arragon was engaged in a fierce war against the same enemy with whom he was going to fight in Syria; and thinking that it signified little in what place he assisted the cause of Christianity, he there landed his men, and joined the Spaniards. After many fortunate encounters, which made him despise the enemy as weak and recreant, he thought of attempting something against them with his own men alone, and so rushing unadvisedly on the army of the Saracens, was drawn by them into an ambush, where he and most of his followers perished. His chief friends who fell with him, were William Sinclair and Robert Logan. This happened in 1330, the next year after the death of the king.

To be brief, Robert Bruce was undoubtedly, in every respect, a great man, and not easily paralleled for virtue and courage, by any since the most heroic times; for as he was very valiant in war, so he was most just and temperate in peace; and though unexpectedly, after fortune was satiated, or rather wearied with his miseries, a continued course of victory rendered him remarkably illustrious; yet in my opinion, he seems to have been much more glorious in his adversities, than his successes. For what a great spirit was that which was neither broken, nor even weakened, by so many calamities as rushed upon him all at once! Whose constancy would it not have tried, to have his wife a prisoner, his four valiant brothers cruelly put to death, and his friends at the same time crushed with every kind of misfortune; so that they who escaped with their lives were exiled, and lost all their estates? As for himself, he was not only deprived of a large patrimony, but of a kingdom also, by the most powerful sovereign of those times, and one who had the greatest presence of mind both in deliberation and action. Though surrounded with all these evils at once, and even brought into extreme exigence, yet he never despaired of recovering the kingdom; nor did he ever do or say any thing which was unbecoming a royal mind. He did not act like Cato the younger, and Marcus Brutus, who laid violent hands on themselves; neither like Marius, who, incensed by his sufferings, let loose the reins of hatred and passion against his enemies. On the contrary, when he had recovered his ancient state and kingdom, he so carried it to those who had put him to great hardship and trouble, that he seemed rather to consider himself as their king, than that he had ever been their enemy. And even a little before his death, though a terrible distemper increased the troubles of his old age, yet had he so much self-possession, as to confirm the present state of the kingdom, and consult the peace and benefit of posterity. On these accounts, therefore, when he died, all men bewailed him, as being deprived not only of a just king, but of a loving father. He departed this life the 9th of July, in the year of Christ 1329, and the 24th of his reign.

BOOK IX.

THE nobles of Scotland having performed the funeral obsequies for the late monarch, as soon as they could conveniently, summoned a convention of the estates for the election of a regent, when the inclinations of the public soon pitched upon Thomas Randolph, earl of Murray; and the rather, because, even in the late reign, he had for some years directed the public affairs: and the king at his death recommended him to the people, by his last will and testament.

DAVID II. *the ninety-eighth King, began his Reign A. D. 1330.*

THE coronation of the king was deferred till November the 24th of the following year; that so, by the permission of the pope, he might be anointed, and the new ceremony appear with greater pomp and splendour than usual amongst the Scots. When the regent was chosen, the first thing he did, was to ratify the peace made with the English; after which he applied himself to settle peace at home, and suppress public robberies. In order to this, he kept a strong guard about him, which was ready on all occasions; so that when news was brought him as he was going to Wigton, a town in Galloway, that there was a powerful gang of thieves that infested the highways, and robbed travellers in that country, he sent out his troop against them while he was in progress, who took every man of them, whom he caused to be put to death. He was so inexorable against murderers, that he caused a person to be apprehended, who had lately returned from Rome, where he had obtained the papal bull of pardon for his offence, and thereupon thought himself secure; the regent however, told him, "that the pope might pardon the guilt of the soul, but that the punishment of the body belonged to the king."

To prevent robberies, which were too frequently committed, owing to the remaining contagion of the wars, he made a law, "That the countrymen should leave their iron tools and plough-tackle in the field: neither should they shut their houses or stalls at night; and that if any thing was stolen, the loss was to be repaired by the sheriff of the county, who was to be reimbursed by the king; while the king was to be satisfied out of the estates of the robbers, when they were taken. There was a countryman, who either through excessive covetousness, or judging that caution to be vain and frivolous, hid his ploughshares in the field, and came to the sheriff to demand satisfaction, on the plea that they were stolen; the sheriff paid him presently, but inquiring farther into the matter, and finding that he was the author of the theft himself, caused him to be hanged, and his goods to be forfeited. He restrained players and musicians from wandering up and down the country, under severe penalties. If a person assaulted either a traveller, or a public officer in the discharge of his office, he made it lawful for any one to kill him; so that when thirty assailants were slain by the companions of a public minister at a village called Halidon, he pronounced the fact just, and indemnified the actors. This domestic severity made him as formidable to villains at home, as his valour did to his enemies abroad. And therefore the English, who, upon king Robert's death, watched all occasions to revenge themselves, perceiving that they could attempt nothing by open force as long as Randolph was living, turned their thoughts to secret fraud and stratagem.

The speediest way to be rid of their enemy, seemed to be by poison; nor was there wanting a fit wretch to undertake the deed. This was a certain monk of that class, who are brought up in idleness, and, for want of masters to teach them better, too often pervert a good genius to wicked arts and practices. There were two professions joined in this man, monkery and physic: the first seemed proper to gain him admittance; the second qualified him to perpetrate his villany. Hereupon he came into Scotland, giving out every where, that as he had skill in all other parts of physic, so particularly in curing the stone; by which means he obtained an easy access to the regent, and being employed to relieve him, mixed a slow-working poison with his medicines; and then taking a few days' provisions with him, returned again into England, under the pretext of obtaining more drugs for his purpose. There he made a solemn asseveration before king Edward, that Randolph would die by such a day. In hopes of this, Edward levied a great army, and marching to the borders, found there a considerable body of Scots ready to receive him, not far from his camp; upon which, he sent a trumpeter to them on pretence of demanding a reparation for damages, but in reality to ascertain who commanded the forces. Randolph, finding his disease increase, and that the monk did not return at the time appointed, suspected all things for the worse; yet, dissembling his grief as much as he could, he sat in a chair before his tent royally apparelled, and gave a reply in person to the demands of the herald at arms, as if he had been in perfect health. The messenger, at his return, acquainted the king with what he had seen and heard: upon which the monk was punished as an impostor; and Edward marched back with his army, leaving only a guard on the borders to prevent incursions. As Randolph was hindered from advancing by the violence of his disease, he returned home, disbanded his army, and, at Musselburgh, about four miles from Edinburgh, departed this life on the 20th of July, in the year of our Lord 1331, having been regent two years after the death of king Robert. He was a man no way inferior to any of our Scottish kings in valour, and skill in military affairs, and far superior to them in the arts of peace. He left two sons behind him, Thomas and John, who were both worthy of so great a father.

Randolph, guardian of the kingdom, as he was called, being dead, Duncan, earl of Mar, was chosen in his place, on the 2d of August, the king being then ten years old: and on that very day a sad message was brought to court, that on the 31st of July preceeding, Edward Baliol was seen in the Fiith of Forth, with a numerous fleet. To make all things more plain concerning his coming, I must go a little back. When king Robert died, there was one Laurence

Twine, an Englishman, of the number of those who, having received lands in Scotland, as a reward of their military service, dwelt there. This man, who was of a good family, but of a very wicked life, conceiving hopes of greater liberty, on the death of one king, and the immature age of another, gave himself up most licentiously to unlawful pleasures; so that being often taken in adultery, and admonished by the judge of the ecclesiastical court, yet not desisting, he was at last excommunicated by the official, as they call him, of the bishop of Glasgow. Upon this, as if he had received a great injustice, he interrupted the judge in his progress to Ayr, and kept him a prisoner, till, by the payment of a sum of money, he gave him absolution. Twine being informed that James Douglas was extremely incensed against him for this fact, and sought to have him punished, fled, to avoid his power, into France, and there addressed himself to Edward Baliol, son of John, who had been formerly king of Scotland, informing him of the state of affairs in that country, and withal advising him not to omit so fair an opportunity of recovering his father's crown. "For," said he, "their king is now but a child, and hath more enemies than friends about him, ready to revenge the wrongs done them by his father." He added, "that the parents of some were slain in a public convention at Perth, others were banished, and lost their estates; many were punished with the loss of part of their domains; besides which, several of English extraction, who were deprived of the possessions given them by his father, would, no doubt, be his companions in the expedition; nay, he said there were men enough of both kingdoms needy and criminal, who, either for hope of gain, or to avoid the punishment of the laws, or desirous of change and innovation, wanted nothing but a leader to begin a disturbance. Moreover, he observed, the death of James Douglas who was killed in Spain, and the sickness of Randolph, rendering him unfit for the government, there was not a man besides, to whom the giddy and divided multitude would so soon submit as to him."

Baliol knowing that what he had spoken was for the most part true, and hearing that Edward, king of England was about to send great forces into Scotland, was easily persuaded by the crafty knave, though of himself he was desirous enough of empire and glory, to get what ships he could together, and so bear a part in that expedition. But before the coming of Baliol into England, Edward had disbanded his army; notwithstanding which, the exiled Scots, and those English who had been dispossessed of their lands in that kingdom, flocked to his standard, by which means he made up no inconsiderable army. Some say, that he had but six hundred men when he undertook this great enterprise; which however seems not very probable. I rather think their opinion is more agreeable to truth, who say, that the English assisted him with six thousand foot. And they were all more encouraged, whilst they were making their preparations for this expedition, when they heard that Randolph was dead; which event they considered as a good omen of their future success. With this fleet Baliol came to Kinghorn, and there landed his forces on the 1st day of August. The Scottish troops were commanded by David Cumin, formerly Earl of Athol, and by Moubray and Beaumont; and the forces of the English by Talbot. On the news of the arrival of this fleet, Alexander Seton, a nobleman, who happened to be in those parts at that time, strove to oppose them, thinking that, upon their disorderly landing, some opportunity of service might be offered; but as few of the country people came in to him, he and most of his men were cut off. Baliol allowed his soldiers a few days to refresh themselves after their troublesome voyage; and then marching directly towards Perth, pitched his tents by the water-mills, not far from the water of Earn. The regent was beyond, and Patrick Dunbar on this side the river, each of them with great forces, their camps being five miles distant one from another. Baliol, though, upon the coming in of many to him on the report of his good success, made up an army of above 10,000 men; yet, fearing to be crushed between two powerful enemies, thought it best to attack them severally. Accordingly, he resolved to begin with Mar the regent; because it was likely that he, being most remote, would be less vigilant, and more liable to be taken by surprise. He got Andrew Murray, of Tullibardine, to be his guide; who, not caring to join

himself openly with the English, in the night fastened and stuck up a pole or stake in the river, where it was fordable, to shew Baliol's men the way over. Then, being covered by the woods which grew on the other side the river, they came near the enemy before they were aware; especially as it was understood that they kept but a thin watch and slender guard, and passed the night without the least apprehension of a foe. Availing themselves of this negligence, they marched by the camp in great silence, thinking to make an assault on the farthest part of it, where it was supposed they should find them wholly secure. But it happened, that, in the very quarter where they presumed the greatest negligence was, Thomas Randolph earl of Murray, Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, Murdo earl of Monteith, and Alexander Fraser, kept guard. These men, getting a strong company of their friends together, received the first charge and onset of the enemy very valiantly upon the edge of a ditch, which had been made by the falling of the rain. In the mean time, a great noise and tumult arose in the camp, each one hastening to his arms, and rushing into the battle; but so rashly, disorderly, and without their colours, that they broke the ranks of their own men, who were enduring the brunt of the assailants; thus the last pushing on the first, fell both miserably into the ditch, where many were killed by the enemy, but more, both of horse and men, were pressed to death by the fall; and the most part were so weakened, that they had hardly strength enough left either to fight or fly. There fell of the Scots three thousand; and several of those who escaped fled towards Perth, but being few, and generally without arms or guides, they were easily taken by the English, as well as the town itself.

The next day, Dunbar, hearing of the overthrow of the other army, and of the capture of Perth; but being informed, at the same time, of the small number of the English forces, marched directly towards the town, with intent to besiege it, and destroy the enemy whilst they were yet destitute of all things; but on debating the matter with his chief officers, each excused himself, and so they departed without effecting any thing. Baliol, having achieved such great things in so short a time, and beyond his expectation, began to consider how to gain over the rest of the Scots, by favour or force. Here also he was very successful, and, in a short time, such a vast concourse of people gathered about him, that he thought it a proper opportunity to declare himself king. This design was the more feasible, inasmuch as the greatest part of the slaughter had fallen upon the families adjoining to Perth. There were killed in the field, besides the regent, Robert Keith, with a great number of his tenants and relations; and there also fell eighty of the family of the Lindsays, amongst whom was Alexander their chief. The name of the Hays would, likewise, have been quite extinct by this battle, had not William, the head of the house, left his wife pregnant. Thomas Randolph, Robert Bruce, and Murdo earl of Monteith, William Sinclair bishop of the Caledonians, and Duncan Maeduff, earl of Fife, were taken prisoners; who, being in such a desperate condition, were forced to take an oath of allegiance to the victor.

EDWARD BALIOL, *the ninety-ninth King, began his reign A. D. 1332.*

Baliol, taking advantage of his present fortune, repaired to the neighbouring abbey of Scone, and there entered upon the kingdom, on the 25th of August, in the year of our Lord 1332. Though by this wound the power of David Bruce was much weakened in Scotland; yet his friends were not broken in their spirits by this calamity, but took care to secure him from the dangers of war, as he was not fit to undertake the government. For this reason they sent him and his wife to the friend of his father, Philip king of France, to be there out of danger. In the mean time, they prepared themselves for all events, being resolved either to die honourably, or restore their country to its former state. For this purpose, they, in the first place, set up Andrew Murray, a person of illustrious quality, son of the sister of Robert Bruce, as regent, in the place of Duncan; then they sent messengers throughout the kingdom, partly to confirm and fix their old friends, and partly to spur up the more remiss to the resolution of revenging their wrongs. The first who took arms, as being excited by their grief for the loss of their parents and relations at Duplin, were Robert Keith, and James and Simon Fraser,

who, about the middle of September, invested Perth; which siege, though it lasted longer than they expected, ended, at the expiration of three months, in the surrender of the place. Macduff, earl of Fife, who held the town for Baliol, was sent prisoner, with his wife and children, to Kildrummy, a castle in Mar; and Andrew Murray, of Tullibardine, who discovered the ford over the river Earn to the English, was put to death. The Black Book of Paisley says, that the walls of the town were demolished; which seems more probable to me, than that it should be made a garrison, as others relate; especially since there were then very few men faithful or brave enough for such a trust.

At this time Baliol was in Annandale, very busy in receiving the homage of the nobility, who were so much surprised and astonished at the sudden change of things, that even Alexander Bruce, lord of Carrick and Galloway, despairing of retrieving his kinsman David's affairs, came in and joined the conqueror. After this success, Baliol despised his enemy, and became negligent; of which, when the regent heard by his spies, he sent round Archibald Douglas, brother of James who was killed in Spain, informing his friends that if there were any opportunity for action, he should lay hold of it. Accordingly, taking with him William Douglas, earl of Lithsdale, John Randolph, the son of Thomas, and Simon Fraser, with a thousand horse, he came to Moffat; where having sent out scouts to see that the coast was clear, he marched in the night, and fell upon the camp of the new king so suddenly, that the army was put into a fright and consternation; while Baliol himself, roused from his sleep, was fain to get upon a horse, half naked, neither bridled nor saddled, and so fled away. Many of his intimate friends were killed; and Alexander Bruce was taken prisoner, but obtained his pardon by the means of his kinsman, John Randolph. Henry Baliol gained great credit on this occasion, by his valour from both parties; for, in the flight and confusion, he defended his men, upon whom the pursuers pressed closely; wounded a great many, and killed some of his enemies, and was afterwards slain himself, fighting bravely to the last. There fell, also, the chief of the English faction, John Moubray, Walter Cumin, and Richard Kirk. This action was fought on the 25th of December, in the year 1332.

The party of Bruce were somewhat raised by these successes, so that they came in great numbers to Andrew Murray, the regent, to consult what was to be done. They made no doubt but that Baliol sought the kingdom, not for himself, but for the English, by whom he was guided and influenced in every thing. For this reason they reckoned the king of England their enemy; and accordingly prepared all things necessary for war, with great diligence, as against a very powerful foe. They strongly fortified the garrison of Berwick, because they believed the English would attack that place first. They made Alexander Seton, a very worthy knight, governor of the town, and to Patrick Dunbar they gave the command of the castle, with the adjoining precincts. William Douglas, earl of Lithsdale, whose valour and prudence entitled him to high praise in those times, was sent into Annandale, to defend the western coasts; while Andrew Murray advanced to Roxburgh, where Baliol kept himself. Thus their several governments being distributed at home, John Randolph was sent into France to wait upon David, and make an address to king Philip, informing him of the state of Scotland, and desiring of him some aid against the common enemy. Murray, when he came to Roxburgh, had a sharp encounter with Baliol, at a bridge without the town; but in pressing too eagerly after the English, who were retreating over the bridge into the place, he was separated from his own men and taken prisoner; by which means he lost a victory, after having nearly secured it.

At the same time, in another part of the country, William Douglas of Lithsdale, in a battle with the English, was wounded and made prisoner; which disaster so troubled his men, that they were put to flight. This inconstancy of fortune divided Scotland again into two factions, according as love, hatred, hope, fear, or private interest, inclined men. The king of England presuming that these dissensions gave him a fit opportunity to seize upon Scotland, received Baliol under his protection, he being too weak to support himself by his own strength. But, first, he exacted an oath of obedience from him; and thus, regardless of his bond of affinity with Bruce, having no respect to the

sanctity of leagues, or the religion of an oath, so that he might satisfy his boundless ambition, he declared war against the Scots, who were at that time destitute of a king, and at variance amongst themselves. To give a colourable plea of justice to this hostility, he sent ambassadors to demand Berwick, which town his father and grandfather had held many years; and he presently followed up his requisition with an army. The Scots replied to the English king, "That Berwick always belonged to their country, till his grandfather, Edward, injuriously seized it; and that, at length, when Robert Bruce, their last king, recovered the rest of Scotland, he took that town from the late king Edward, and reduced it to its ancient rightful possessors and form of government; and that not long ago, Edward himself, by the advice of his parliament, had renounced all right, which he or his ancestors might pretend to have over Scotland in general, or to any of its towns and places in particular. From that time, they were not conscious to themselves that they had done any thing against the league which had been solemnly sworn to, and confirmed by the alliance of a marriage; why, therefore, within the compass of a few years, were they twice assaulted by secret fraud and open war? These things being so, they desired the ambassadors to incline the mind of their king to equity, and that he would not watch his opportunity to injure and wrong a young king in his absence, who was both innocent, and also his own sister's husband: as for themselves, they would refuse no conditions of peace, provided they were honourable; but if Edward threatened them with an unjust war, then, according to the tutelage of the king committed to them, they were resolved rather to die a noble death, than consent to a peace prejudicial to themselves or the kingdom." Such was the answer of the council of Scotland.

The king of England, however, sought not peace, but conquest; and therefore, having increased his army, which was already large, with foreign troops, he besieged Berwick by sea and land, omitting nothing to facilitate the capture; for, having a vast number of forces, he gave the enemy no rest either by night or day; nor were the besieged backward on their side, for they sallied out upon the English every day with boldness and intrepidity. They also threw fire into their ships which lay in the river, and burnt many of them. In these skirmishes, William Seton, the governor's natural son, was lost, much lamented by all, on account of his singular valour; for, whilst he endeavoured to leap into an English ship, his own being driven too far off by the waves, he fell into the sea, and was drowned. Another son of Alexander, but legitimate, in too great eagerness, proceeded so far in a sally, that he was taken by the English. The siege, which began the 13th of April, had now lasted three months; and the garrison, besides their toil and continual watchings, became straitened for want of provisions; so that the town, unable longer to hold out, made an agreement with the English, that, unless relieved by the 30th of July, it should be surrendered up; for performance of which, Thomas Seton, the eldest son of the governor, was given as a hostage.

Whilst these things were transacting at Berwick, the Scots called an assembly to consult about their affairs; and, since the regent was prisoner at Roxburgh, that they might not be without a leader, they chose Archibald Douglas as captain-general; besides which they also voted, that he should have an army to march into England, that, by ravaging the neighbouring counties, he might draw off the king of England from the siege. Douglas, according to this order, marched towards England; but hearing of the agreement which Alexander Seton had made, he changed his mind; and advanced, though against the advice of his wisest officers, directly against the English, with whom, on the eve of St. Mary Magdalene, he came in sight, and was seen both by friends and enemies. The king of England, though the day was not come wherein it was agreed that the town should be surrendered, yet, when he saw the Scottish forces so near, sent a herald into the town, to acquaint the governor, that unless he presently surrendered up his garrison, he would put his son Thomas to death. The governor alleged, that the day appointed for the surrender was not yet come, and that he had given his faith to stay till the time allowed by their agreement was expired; but all was in vain. Hereupon love, pity, fear, and duty towards his country, variously exercised

his paternal and afflicted soul; while the English, to drive the terror more home, set up a gallows in a place easily visible to the besieged, whither the king caused the governor's two sons, one a hostage, and the other a prisoner of war, to be brought forth to execution. At this miserable spectacle the governor was in the most dreadful perplexity imaginable; but amidst the fluctuation of his mind, his wife, the mother of the young men, who was a woman of masculine spirit, came to him, and put him in mind of the fidelity which he owed to his king, the love due to his country, and the dignity of his noble family. Upon all these grounds she endeavoured to settle his wavering mind, saying, "If these children are put to death, you have others remaining alive; and, besides, we are neither of us so old but we may have more. If they escape death now, it will not be long, till by some sudden casualty, or else through age, they must yield to fate; but if any blot of infamy should attach to the family of the Setons, it would remain to all posterity, and be an indelible blemish even to their innocent offspring." She farther told him, "That she had often heard those men much commended, by the discourses of the wise, who had given up themselves and their children as a sacrifice for the salvation of their country; but that if he should deliver the town committed to his charge, he would betray his trust, and be never more certain of the lives of his children either; for how could he hope that a tyrant, who violated his faith now, would stand to his word for the future; and therefore she entreated him not to prefer an uncertainty, and even though it could be obtained, a momentary advantage, to a certain and perpetual ignominy." By this discourse she somewhat settled his mind; and, that he might not be shocked by so dismal a spectacle, she took him to another place, from whence the tragedy could not possibly be seen. The English king, after inflicting the threatened judgment, which was far from being agreeable to some of his own people, removed his camp to Halidon Hill, near Berwick, and there waited the approach of the enemy.

Douglas, who before would not hearken to the advice of his grave counselors, in respect to the plundering of the English counties, and endeavouring to raise the siege, was now inflamed with implacable rage; and withal presuming, that if, after the perpetration of so horrible a wickedness, almost before his eyes, he should retreat without a battle, it might be said that he was afraid of his adversary, therefore, resolved to fight at any rate, and so marched directly towards the enemy. When he had stood a good while in battle-array, and the English kept their ground, refusing to come down into the plain, he placed all the Scots below them on the side of the same hill. This rash project had a suitable event; for as, with great difficulty, they were mounting the acclivity, the enemy with their darts, and by rolling down stones, wounded them terribly before they came to personal combat; and when they got up to the summit, rushed upon them in such close bodies, that they tumbled them headlong down the steep precipices. There fell that day about ten, but some say fourteen, thousand of the Scots; and almost all those of the superior order, who had escaped in the unhappy battle of Duplin, were lost in this. The chief of them, whose names are recorded, were the general, Archibald himself, James, John, and Alan Stewart, uncles to Robert the Second, who reigned next after the line of Bruce; Hugh, Kenneth, and Alexander Bruce, who were the several and respective earls of Ross, Sutherland, and Carrick; Andrew, John, and Simon, three brothers of the Frasers. This overthrow of the Scots happened on St. Mary Magdalene's day, in the year 1333.

After this fight, all relief being despaired of, Alexander Seton surrendered the town of Berwick to the English, and Patrick Dunbar the castle, upon condition that they should march out with all their goods. But both of them were forced to swear fealty to the English; and Patrick Dunbar was further required to rebuild the castle of Dunbar at his own charge, having demolished it that it might not be a receptacle to the English. Edward having staid there a few days, committed the town with the management of the war to the care of Baliol, while he retired himself into his own kingdom, leaving Edward Talbot in Scotland, a man of great quality and prudence, with a few English forces, to assist Baliol in reducing the rest of the country; which, indeed,

seemed no great matter to accomplish, since almost all the nobility were now extinct; and, of the few that remained, some came in to the conqueror, and others retired either into desert, or else fortified places. The garrisons which remained faithful to David were very few; as on this side the Forth, an island in a loch, whence the river Down flows, but scarcely large enough to bear a moderate castle; and Dumbarton beyond the Forth, a castle situated in Loch Leven; and also Kildrummy and Urquhart.

The next year ambassadors came from the pope, and Philip king of France, to end the disputes between the kings of Britain. The English were so elevated with the prosperous course of their affairs, that their monarch would not so much as admit the envoys into his presence; for he thought that the hearts of the Scots were now so depressed, and their strength so broken, that for the future they neither durst venture, nor were able, to rebel. But this great tranquillity was soon changed into a most dreadful war, and that too upon a very slight occasion, where it was least expected, even a difference amongst the English themselves at Perth. John Moubray had lands given to his ancestors in Scotland, by Edward I.; and, after losing them in the various changes of the times, he recovered them again when Edward Baliol became king. He dying without male issue, Alexander, their uncle, commenced a suit against his nieces, the daughters of Moubray, for the lands. The claims of the young women were defended by Henry Beaumont, who had married one of them; and Richard Talbot, and David Cumin, earl of Athol, both of the English faction. Baliol took part with Alexander, and adjudged the lands to him; which so offended his adversaries, that they openly complained of the injustice of the decree; and seeing that their complaints availed nothing, they left the court, and went every one to his own home. Talbot, on setting out for England, was apprehended, and carried to Dumbarton; but Beaumont garrisoned Dundarg, a strong castle of Buchan, and took possession not only of the lands which were in controversy, but also of all the neighbouring country. Cumin went into Athol, where he fortified some convenient places, and prepared to defend himself by force, in case of his being attacked. Baliol now became so much alarmed by this conspiracy of such potent persons, that he altered his decree, and gave the estates in question to Beaumont; at the same time reconciling Cumin, by assigning to him many fertile lands, which belonged to Robert Stuart, the next king. Alexander being concerned at this injurious affront, associated with Andrew Murray, regent of the Scots, who had lately obtained his liberation from the English by paying a large ransom. These things took place at different periods, yet I have put them together, that the order of the narrative might not be interrupted.

In the mean time, Baliol, in another part of the country, attacked all the forts about Renfrew: some of which he took, others he battered down and demolished. Having settled matters there according to his mind, he sailed over to the island of Bute, and there fortified the castle of Rothsay, of which he made Alan Lisle governor, whom he had before constituted chief justice. He made diligent search after Robert Stuart, grandchild of Robert Bruce by his daughter, to put him to death; but he, with the assistance of William Heriot and John Gilbert, was conveyed over in a small boat to the continent on the other side, where horses stood ready for him, which carried him to Dumbarton, to Malcolm Fleming, the governor of that castle. Baliol having disposed things in Bute, at his return took Dunoon, a castle seated in Cowal, on the adjacent continent; whereupon the nobility of the vicinity were struck with such terror, that they almost all submitted to him. Marching from thence the next spring, he bent all his efforts against the castle of Loch Leven; but the work going on too slowly, he left John Stirling, a powerful knight of his party, to conduct the siege, with whom he joined Michael Arnot, David Wemyss, and Richard Melvin, with part of his army. They built a fort over against the castle, where the passage was narrowest, and having tried all ways to subdue it by force, without being able to accomplish their object, on account of the vigorous resistance made by Alan Vipont and James Lambin, inhabitants of St. Andrew's, at last they endeavoured to drown it, by stopping up the current of the river; for the Leven goes out from the lake or loch by a narrow inlet, and an open rock. This place they endeavoured to stop up

by making a wall, or bank, of stones and heaps of earth piled one upon another; but the work proceeded very slowly, because, as the heat incommoded the labourers, so the brooks which flowed into the lake were then almost dry; and the water being spread abroad, increased but moderately. By this means the siege was lengthened out to the month of July, when there was a holiday kept in remembrance of St. Margaret, formerly queen of Scotland; on which day there used to be a great concourse of merchants at Dunfermline, where the body of that saint is reported to have been buried. Thither went John Stirling with a great part of his men; some for trading, and some for religion, leaving the camp and wall but slenderly guarded, because they thought themselves perfectly secure from the enemy; knowing that none of the opposite party were in the neighbourhood, except the few who were shut up in the castle. But the besieged being made acquainted with the absence of Stirling, and the weakness of his camp, as soon as the evening came, floated the battering engines which they had before prepared to pierce the wall; and whilst the watch was asleep, made many holes in it in several places.

The water having gained some small passages, widened the orifices by degrees, and at last broke forth with such a violence, that it tumbled down all that was before it; overflowing the plains, and carrying away tents, huts, men half asleep, and horses, with a terrible noise into the sea. Those who were in the vessels, by running with a great shout upon the affrighted soldiers, added new terror to the rest; so that upon such a double surprise, every man thought of nothing but how to save himself. Thus shifting, they fled in different directions, and left all to the enemy. Alan, at his leisure, carried into the castle not only the spoils of their camp, but the provisions also, which had been prepared for a long siege. In another sally which the garrison made against the guards who were at Kinross, they had equal success; the enemy being routed and taken, and the siege raised.

About the same time that these things were transacting in Fife, the English entered Scotland in great force, both by sea and land. But when the ships came into the Forth, their admiral struck upon the rocks, and the rest were in great distress; so that they returned home with greater loss than booty. The land-forces, however, penetrated as far as Glasgow, where Edward called a council of his own faction, and finding that there was neither general nor army on foot of the contrary party, he thought his presence no longer necessary; so that he returned into England, taking Baliol with him, whom he somewhat distrusted, leaving David Cumin, earl of Athol, to command in Scotland. He first of all seized upon the large estates of all the Stuarts, which contained Bute, Arran, the lands of Renfrew, and a great part of Kyle and Cunningham; he also confirmed Alan Lisle in the office of chief justice of Bute, which post some call sheriff, others seneschal; and he enjoined the neighbouring countries to obey him. Then he marched himself into another part of the country, where he reduced the counties of Buchan and Murray; and though he was now grown almost beyond the rate of a private man, yet he issued all his proclamations and public edicts in the name of the two kings, Edward and Baliol.

At this time there was not one person in Scotland that durst acknowledge the sovereign title of Bruce, except a few idle boys who would sometimes do so out of mere sport and pastime. Notwithstanding this, Robert Stuart, who then lay private in Dumbarton, judging that something might be attempted in the absence of Cumin, made the Campbells, a powerful family in Argyle, acquainted with his project. Colin, the chief of them, accordingly met him, with about four thousand men, at Dunoon, a castle in Cowal, which he soon surprised. Upon this rumour, the islanders of Bute, who were divided from it only by a narrow sea, rose, and hastened to join their old masters. Alan Lisle having collected what force he could to prevent their march, these poor people, who for the most part were unarmed, and had assembled rather in a fit of passion than through any judicious counsel, being struck with a sudden terror, ran to the next hill, where they took shelter amidst a great number of stones, which they converted into weapons, and threw down like showers of hailstones upon their enemies. As their numbers were few, the others treated them with contempt, and pushed forward to dislodge them, but met with such a rude

reception, that they were glad to retreat without coming into close combat. As they retired, the islanders pressed upon them so furiously, that the most valiant of their enemies, with Alan Lisle himself, were killed, and John Gilbert, governor of the castle of Bute, was taken prisoner; so that the victors armed many of their own men with the spoils of the slain. This extraordinary, and not unbloody, conquest was followed by the surrender of the castle of Bute. When the noise of these things was spread abroad, Thomas Bruce, earl of Carrick, with his neighbours and allies, out of Kyle and Cunningham; as also William Carruther of Annandale, who always had withstood the government of the English, with his friends and kinsmen, came from their retreat, and joined Stuart. John Randolph, earl of Murray, returning at this time from France, gave some hopes of foreign assistance; whereupon, being encouraged to greater enterprises, they collected an army, with the aid of Godfrey Ross, sheriff of Ayr, and in a short time drew all Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham to their side. The people of Renfrew, likewise, came in of their own accord to associate with their old masters, the Stuarts: while the vassals of Andrew Murray, following their example, drew the rest of Clydesdale to the same cause. Their confidence being increased by such a happy beginning, that there might be some form of an executive government among themselves, they called together the chief of their party, and constituted two regents, namely, Robert Stuart, who, though a young man, had, in lesser expeditions, given signal marks of his love to his country; and John Randolph, a person worthy of his father and brother, who were both eminent patriots. Randolph being sent with a strong party into the northern countries, there flocked in to him all those who were weary of the heavy yoke of the English; insomuch that David Cumin, being amazed at the instability and change of men's minds, fled into Lochaber, followed by Randolph, who drove him into a corner, where, being in great want of provisions, he was forced to yield. Upon his swearing fealty to Bruce, however, he was dismissed by the conqueror, who gave so much credit to his promises, that, at his departure, he made him his deputy; nor was he wanting in a show of zeal for the cause which he now espoused. In the mean time, Randolph, returning into Lothian, joined his old friend William Douglas, who being released, and lately come out of England, sufficiently revenged his long imprisonment by a great slaughter of his enemies. Andrew Murray, who had been taken prisoner at Roxburgh, likewise returned; so that, having officers enough, the regent called an assembly at Perth, to be held on the first day of April; where, however, though abundance of the nobility met together, they were not able to effect any thing, owing to the great feud betwixt William Douglas and David Cumin. The alleged cause of this contention was, that Cumin had been the means of preventing the earlier liberation of Douglas by the English. Stuart favoured Cumin, but almost all the rest stood up for Douglas. Cumin maintained, that he came with a more than ordinary train to the assembly, on account of this difference; and, indeed, he brought so many of his friends and tenants along with him, that he became formidable to all the rest; and besides his disposition, which was restless and mutable, his great capacity, and the report of the coming of the English, with whom every one knew that Athol would join, increased their suspicions of him. Not long after, Edward actually invaded Scotland with great forces, both by sea and land, bringing Baliol along with him; and while his fleet, consisting of one hundred and sixty sail, entered the Forth, he marched himself by land, spoiling the country as he went along, till he came to Perth, where he waited for Cumin. In the mean time, Randolph went to John, the chief of the Western isles; but not being able to draw him to his party, he was content, in so troublesome a posture of affairs, to make a truce with him for some months; after this, returning to Robert, the other regent, he found him dangerously sick; so that, in this critical period, all the burden seemed to be cast upon his shoulders. Under these circumstances, he durst not fight the English in a set battle, but divided his force, in order to harass them by parties. Hearing, also, that a strong body of Flemings, from Gueldres, was coming on the march to join the English in Scotland, he waited for their arrival on the borders; where also Patrick, earl of March, and William Douglas, of Liddesdale, met him, together with Alexander Ramsay, one of the most

experienced soldiers of that age. All these waited for the foreign troops in the fields near Edinburgh; and, as soon as they came in sight of each other, the action began immediately; but after a short conflict, the foreigners were overcome, and fled to the next hill, where there was an old ruinous castle; so that the next day, having no provision, they surrendered themselves, on condition of having their lives spared. Randolph, out of respect to Philip of Valois, who was their singular good friend, as was then said, did not only freely release them, but accommodated them with provisions for their march; and even undertook to be their convoy; but, on the way, he was taken by the English party in an ambuscade, and so brought to the king, who was then besieging Perth with a powerful army.

At the same time, David Cumin, who guided all his counsels according to the inclinations of fortune, being glad of the distress of his enemy, came to the king of England, and promised that, in a very short time, he would drive all the adherents of Bruce out of the kingdom; and, in truth, he was active enough in performing his promise. For Perth being surrendered, and its walls demolished, the king prepared to return to England, because the supplies for his army came in but slowly; all the Scots, upon notice of his coming, having driven their cattle to the mountains; while they conveyed their other provisions to remote places of strength, or utterly spoiled them. Nor did the fleet, on which the king most relied for bread to support his army, render him much relief. For as soon as it arrived in the Forth, and had destroyed a monastery of religion in the isle of Inchcolm, while riding at anchor in the open sea, it became much distressed by a tempestuous storm, so that a few of the ships only could get to Inchkeith, a desolate island near adjoining, the rest being driven off by the winds. As soon as they could recover themselves, they imputed the cause of the tempest to St. Columba, because they had, through avarice, cruelly destroyed his monastery: on which account, whatever plunder they had gained, they carried it thither as an expiation of their offence; neither was any memorable act performed by that fleet the whole year.

Though these causes combined to make the king of England think of his return, he was principally impelled to hasten it by his inclination to a war with France. Accordingly, he marched back his army, taking Baliol with him, but leaving Cumin behind, as agent, to put an end to the Scottish troubles, which were now considered as drawing to a close. Cumin, to ingratiate himself with both kings, and revenge himself on his enemy, was exceedingly cruel in his proceedings; which severity of his was the more resented, as he had so very lately and easily himself obtained his pardon, when he was reduced to the lowest ebb. There were scarcely above three of all the Scottish nobility, whom either promises could entice, or dangers compel, to submit to the English yoke; namely, Patrick, earl of March, Andrew Murray, and William Douglas. These chiefs, joining their forces, marched to Kilblane forest, against Cumin, who was besieging Kildrummy castle; and with him they had a sharp conflict. Cumin was more in number, and had almost surrounded his enemies, but the coming in of John Craig, governor of the castle, with three hundred fresh men, decided the business, and gave, to the party of Bruce, a complete victory. The most valiant of Cumin's army were killed, either in the action or pursuit; many saved themselves in a neighbouring castle, called Cameron, belonging to Robert Menzies; but, as there were not provisions for so great a number, and the place was small, the next day it surrendered, and the defendants, upon their submission, confirmed by an oath, were pardoned. There fell in this battle, besides the general himself, Robert Brady and Walter Cumin, two of his intimate friends; while Thomas, his brother, being taken prisoner, was the next day beheaded.

Upon this victory, Randolph being a prisoner, and Stuart sick, the name, as well as the power of regent was conferred on Andrew Murray, by military consent. For, when letters came from the king of France, concerning a truce, the nobles of the party of Bruce being met to receive them, unanimously agreed to restore that former honour to Murray, of which his calamitous misfortunes had deprived him. He, after the truce for a few months had expired, laid siege to the castle of Lochindores, which was held by the wife of David Cumin. That lady, foreseeing what would happen, implored succour of the

English, who shortly after landed some forces in Murray, and raised the siege. They also pushed as far as Elgin, a town situated by the river Lossie, wasting the country as they went with fire and sword. In their progress to Perth, they burnt Aberdeen, and garrisoned the castles throughout Merse, Dunnottar, Kineff, and Lauriston. They also compelled the six adjoining monasteries to repair the walls of Perth, which were demolished, and then, committing the affairs of Scotland to Edward Baliol, who was now returned, they went back to England. On their departure, and the low condition of the Scots, Henry Beaumont thought it a fit opportunity for him to rise and revenge the death of his son-in-law, the earl of Athol; and accordingly he slew, without distinction, and in a cruel manner, all that he could take, who had been in the fight of Kilblane. Andrew Murray closely besieged him in Dundarg, and, having forced him to surrender, upon taking his oath that he would return no more into Scotland in a hostile manner, dismissed him safely. Then, by a continued course of victory, he took all the strong fortresses on the farther side of the Forth, except the castle of Cupar, and the town of Perth, and, after expelling the garrisons, wholly demolished them. He next entered England, where he obtained great booty, and thus somewhat relieved the spirits of his soldiers, who had suffered much through want in their own country. For as Scotland had been harassed that year by the ravages of war, and wasted by the daily incursions of both parties, the fields lay untilled, and there was such a famine, that the English were forced to quit the strong castle of Cupar for want of provisions. A Scottish seaman, who had been ill-treated by them, being employed to transport the garrison by night to Lothian, debarked them upon a bank of sand, which was bare when the tide was out. Thinking it had been the main land, they went a little way, and then met the sea again, which made them call out for the vessel to return, but in vain, and every man perished.

The next year, or 1337, the English besieged the castle of Dunbar, which was defended by Agnes, wife of the earl of March, commonly surnamed the Black, a woman of masculine spirit. The siege, which was conducted by the earls of Salisbury and Arundel, lasted longer than was expected, so that two supplies were sent into Scotland to relieve Baliol; the one convoyed by Montfort, and the other by Richard Talbot. Lawrence Preston overtook Montfort, killed him in battle, and routed his army; but he died himself soon after, of the wounds he received; which caused his soldiers to avenge the loss of their general on the unhappy captives, whom they inhumanly put to death. Talbot was also taken prisoner by William Keith, and his army routed; notwithstanding which, the operations against Dunbar were still continued, and, as all access by sea was cut off by the English, the besieged were driven to so great a want of provision, that the place must have surrendered, had not Alexander Ramsay, by a seasonable and bold attempt, relieved it. In the dead of the night, he sailed by the watch, which, in Genoese galleys, kept the sea-coast, and came up to the castle, where he landed forty men, with a great quantity of provisions. Having effected this, he joined part of the garrison with his own men, and came so suddenly in the dark upon the English guard, that he made a great slaughter amongst them; for they little expected a sally from an enemy, whom they looked upon as almost conquered. After achieving this exploit, he, the next night, returned back as securely as he came. Thus, at the end of six months, the siege of Dunbar was raised; Edward recalling his forces for the prosecution of the French war, after they had greatly fatigued themselves, and tried every means to become masters of the place.

Andrew Murray, seeing that his country was now almost wholly freed from invaders, attempted to reduce Stirling and Edinburgh, but was obliged to depart from both without taking either; however, he subdued all Lothian, and brought it under the king's authority. In the mean time, to give his wearied mind a little relaxation, he went to see his lands and possessions beyond the mountains, where he died; and was buried at Rosemark, much lamented and respected by all good men; for, during the two years and a half that he sat at the helm of affairs, he performed such great actions, as might seem sufficient for the whole life of one of the greatest generals in the world.

After him, Stuart was made regent till the return of David out of France;

and though but a young man, he gained, that year, the advantage over the English in many light skirmishes. These encounters were conducted by William Douglas, who ran great hazard of his life, and was often wounded; yet he drove the English out of Teviotdale: besides which, he took the castle of Hermitage in Liddesdale, and after surprising a great store of provision belonging to the enemy at Melrose, he fortified that place. He had such a sharp and obstinate combat with Barclay, that the latter, with but three in his company, escaped with difficulty under cover of the night. He also overthrew the forces of John Stirling in a bloody attack, yet shortly after he had a narrow chance of being taken by him; but recovering himself at the close of a fierce engagement, he put Stirling to flight, slew thirty of his companions, and took forty others prisoners. He so pressed upon William Abernethy, by whom he had been defeated five times in one day, that before night he slew all his men, and brought him away prisoner. He was equally successful in conquering Laurence Vaux, who was a very powerful enemy. At length, he went over to king David in France, to acquaint him with the state of Scottish affairs. The next year, which was 1339, Stuart, hoping to pursue his good fortune, levied an army, and, dividing it into four parts, endeavoured to reduce Perth; but the English defended it so valiantly, that he was wounded, and forced to retreat. After the place had been invested three months, and the besiegers almost despaired of success, Douglas came to their assistance, bringing with him five pirate ships that he had hired, and in which were some soldiers, and engines of war. Part of the men were landed, but the rest were sent in their ships, to secure the mouth of the river Tay. Douglas himself went to recover the castle of Cupar; which, after being deserted by the English, was seized by the Scots, and William Bullock, an English priest, who was also treasurer, made governor. Douglas agreed with him, that he should have lands in Scotland, if he would come over to his party; which he was the more easily persuaded to do, because he could expect no aid from England, and did not much confide in the Scots who were in garrison with him. This man proved afterwards very brave, faithful, and of great use to the Scots.

The siege of Perth had now lasted four months, and would have continued much longer, had not the earl of Ross drained the water out of the trench, by mines and subterraneous passages; which enabled the assailants to approach the very walls, and drive the garrison from their works, by the missiles that were thrown principally from the engines. The English, therefore, were forced to surrender upon terms, and to march out, with their baggage, whither they pleased. Soon after this, Stirling also submitted on the same conditions; and Maurice Murray, the son of Andrew, was made governor of the castle. Baliol was so dispirited by this sudden change of affairs, that he left Galloway, where he usually resided, and went to England. Some time after, the castle of Edinburgh was taken, not by force, but stratagem. Walter Curry, a merchant, who then happened to have a vessel laden with provisions in the bay or frith of the river Tay, at Dundee, was sent for by William Douglas into the Forth; where he and Bullock agreed, that Curry should assume the character of an Englishman, and carry two bottles of his best wine, with other presents, to the governor of the castle; desiring his leave to sell the rest of his provisions in the castle; as also to inform him, that if he or the garrison stood in any need of his service, he would gratify them, as far as he was able. Upon this, the governor commanded him to bring in some hogsheds of wine, with a quantity of biscuits, promising him free admittance whenever he came. Curry, accordingly, pretending great fear of the Scots, who often made incursions into the neighbouring parts, said that he should come at a very early hour the next morning.

In the course of the night, Douglas took with him twelve chosen men, all clothed in the habiliments of mainers, under which they hid their arms, and thus carried provisions into the castle. The rest of their men they placed in ambush as near as might be, commanding them to wait for the signal. Douglas and Simon Fraser went before, and commanded the other eleven to follow at a moderate distance. When they were admitted through the portal, which was made of beams before the entrance of the castle, they observed that the keys of the doors hung on the arm of the sentinel, whom they there-

fore despatched, then opened the gate; and, as they had before agreed, gave the signal to their companions, by blowing a horn. This sound, while it quickened the advance of those who were in ambush, alarmed the guards; the one understanding that their friends, and the other that their enemies, were got into the castle. Both parties made all the haste they could; the Scots cast down their burdens in the passage of the gate, lest the doors might be shut and keep out their friends, who could march but slowly up so steep an ascent. Here a sharp conflict ensued, with loss on both sides; but at last the soldiers of the garrison were all killed, except the governor and six others.

It was this year, or, as some say, the former, that Alexander Ramsay, the most experienced captain of all the Scots, made his expedition into England. Men had so great an opinion of his skill in military affairs, that every one was accounted but a raw soldier who had not been disciplined by him; and therefore all the young people were eager to join his corps, as the only school where the art of war was to be learned. After making several successful expeditions into the enemy's country, though with only a small force, and finding now that their affairs were declining in Scotland, he was emboldened to attempt greater things; and, accordingly, gathering together a noble army of his tenants and friends, he ravaged all Northumberland. Upon his retreat, the English collected the whole of their troops from the country and garrisons, and followed him with a great army. Thus pressed, it was difficult to determine what course for Alexander to adopt. He could not avoid fighting; and yet perceived that his soldiers were somewhat dejected, by reason of the multitude of the enemy. In these circumstances, he sent off the plunder before, then, placing his foot in ambush, commanded the horsemen to straggle about, as if they were flying; and, when they had passed the place where their comrades lay concealed, to rally again at the sound of the trumpet. The English, imagining that the horse had fled in good earnest, pursued them in the same disorderly manner; and, when the signal was given for the Scots to rally, in a moment they turned back upon them, while the foot as suddenly issued out of ambush; which struck such a consternation and terror into the enemy, that they retreated faster than they had before pursued; so that many of them were killed, a great number taken, and the booty was carried home safe. Amongst the prisoners was the governor of Roxburgh, who had drawn out almost all his garrison; so that Alexander, knowing the town was in a defenceless state, attacked and easily took it at the first onset. He next seized the lower part of the castle, on which the remainder of the garrison fled into a strong tower in the town; but, being vigorously assailed, and having no hopes of relief, they surrendered. Some say that the earl of Salisbury was there captured, and exchanged for John Randolph; but most writers, whom I am rather inclined to follow, affirm, that this nobleman was taken prisoner in France, by the troops of that country. Randolph next went into Annandale, where he recovered his castle, which was seized by Lochmaben, from the English. After this, the three governors of the borders, Alexander Ramsay of the east, William Douglas of the middle, and Randolph of the west, drove the English beyond their old bounds, which they possessed in the reign of Alexander III. and left them no footing at all in Scotland, except Berwick. Some say, in which the Black Book of Paisley agrees, that Roxburgh was taken in the night by Ramsay, who set ladders to the walls while the watch was asleep, on the 30th day of March, in the year 1342.

The same year, on the 2d of July, David Bruce and his wife arrived at Inverbervie, nine years after his departure. His coming was the more acceptable, because the affairs of Scotland were then at a low ebb. For Edward having made a truce for three years with Philip, king of France, at Tournay, and so being freed from his French war, determined to invade Scotland with all his force. He had then in his army forty thousand foot, and six thousand horse; besides which, he fitted out a gallant navy of ships to carry provisions for his land-forces, that there might be no want. They set sail in the month of November, but met with so fierce a tempest, that, after much distress at sea, they were cast upon the Belgic and German shores, and so were of no use to him in the present war. In the mean while, Edward, with his troops, remained about Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in great want of provisions;

and, while there, ambassadors came to him from the Scots, desiring a pacification for four months, which they obtained, upon condition, "That, if David came not to them before the first day of June, they should all become subjects to the king of England." But David, hearing of the preparations of the English, had set sail before the arrival of the ambassadors.

Amongst those who flocked in to congratulate the monarch on his return, as many did from all parts of the kingdom, there came Alexander Ramsay, who, being eminent both for the glorious actions of his former life, but especially for his late conquests, was received with great marks of favour, and had the government of Roxburgh bestowed on him, with the sheriffwick of all Teviotdale. This advancement, however, gave great offence to William Douglas, particularly because he had expelled the English from nearly the whole of Teviotdale, and had, for some years, though without the king's express authority, presided over the public assembly there. On these accounts, and relying upon his services towards his country, the nobility of his birth, and the power of his family, he trusted that no man would have been his competitor for that office. Wherefore, being wholly bent on revenge, he at present dissembled his resentment; but, three months afterwards, meeting his rival holding an assembly in the church of Hawick, he suddenly attacked and wounded him, besides which, he killed three of his followers, who endeavoured to rescue him, and then set him upon a horse, and carried him to the castle of Hermitage, where he starved him to death.

About the same time, William Bullock, a man of singular loyalty to the king, was put to the same kind of death by David Barclay. These two savage and cruel deeds caused great disturbances throughout the kingdom, and rent it into several parties. The patience of the king was, in consequence of these things, sorely tried; for he was yet but young, and not accustomed to men of a rough and warlike disposition. He, however, endeavoured all that he could to bring Douglas to punishment: but was prevented by the numerous friends which that chief had gained, on account of the great services he had done for the liberty of his country. Among these was Robert Stuart, the son of the king's sister, through whose powerful interest Douglas obtained a pardon, which, indeed, the magnificent, yet true, report of his glorious exploits, much facilitated, together with the present condition of the time, when, as there was but an uncertain peace abroad, and many seditions at home, military men were to be respected, and had in honour. Upon this account, Douglas was not only pardoned, but even preferred to the government of Roxburgh and of Teviotdale; a clemency, which, perhaps, in the present circumstances of things, might be useful, but certainly was of very ill example for the future.

David, having thus settled matters at home the best he could, declared war against England, though most of the nobility dissuaded him from the expedition, on account of the great scarcity of provisions. However, he raised a good army, of which he made John Randolph general, accompanying it himself in disguise, that his regal title might not be known. This army, having wasted Northumberland for about two months, returned home with great booty. Within a few days after, he made another inroad into the enemy's country, but without disguise, and openly professed himself both king and general. The English, being inferior in strength, would not venture a pitched battle whilst their king was absent in France, but attacked their enemies with the horse only, and so kept them from plundering much, by obliging them to keep close in their march. Five of the chief nobility, whom David had lately raised to that honour, straggling too far from their men, were taken prisoners, and their followers killed or put to flight. Upon this, David, to waste no more time there in vain, returned home, with all his army. After this, he made a third expedition, with what force he could privately levy, in order to fall upon the enemy unawares; but, entering England in a stormy autumn, the small brooks were so swollen with great showers, that they made all the country impassable, and hindered the carriage of provision, so that he was forced to return home; however, that he might not seem to have taken so much pains to no purpose, he demolished a few castles.

Not long after this, ambassadors were interchanged repeatedly between the two countries, in order to obtain a truce for two years, which the Scots consented

to, on the condition that their ally, Philip, king of France, should give his assent, it being one article in the treaty between the Scots and the French, that neither of them should make truce or peace with the English, without the other's consent. Thus, for the space of two years, Scotland remained quiet. About the fourth year after David's return, the French were overcome in a great battle, and Calais was besieged by the English; in consequence of which, Philip urged the Scots, by his ambassadors, to invade England, for the purpose of drawing off some of the force which pressed upon his dominions. Hereupon, an army was summoned to meet at Perth; to which place they came in great numbers; but there, David, earl of Ross, lying in wait for Reginald, lord of the Isles, his old enemy, fell upon him in the night, and slew him, with seven noblemen in his company. This murder greatly weakened the army; for the relations and tenants of both parties, as well as their neighbours, fearing a civil war between two such potent families, returned to their respective homes. This made William Douglas of Lithsdale earnestly request the king to desist from his present expedition, and endeavour to allay these domestic feuds. His counsel was rejected, and the king, whose friendship to Philip overcame his love to his country, marched forward into England, destroying all as he went with fire and sword. In sixteen days he came into the county of Durham, where the English, partly levied by Percy, and partly sent back from the siege of Calais, made a formidable body, and shewed themselves to the enemy in order of battle, sooner than the Scots could have imagined. David, who feared nothing less than the coming of the enemy, upon this, sent out William Douglas to forage in the neighbouring country, and then gave the signal of battle to his soldiers. Douglas fell unawares amongst his enemies, and, having lost five hundred of his best men, was put to flight, and returned in great confusion to the camp. The end of this battle was as unhappy as the beginning, for the fight being sharply begun, John Randolph's party was routed at the first onset, and the commander himself was killed. The main body, in which the king stood, sustained an attack from two brigades of the English; one that had already been victorious, and another that was entire, and had not yet charged. In this action, almost all the Scottish nobility were lost, as being resolved to die with their king, who was himself taken prisoner by John Copland, but not till he had wrested the arrows out of the assailant's hand, and struck out two of his teeth with his fist, though he himself was cruelly wounded with two darts. The third wing, commanded by Robert Stuart and Patrick Dunbar, perceiving the slaughter of their comrades, effected their own retreat with little loss. The nobility were so destroyed in this battle, that, immediately after it, Roxburgh, Hemitage, and many other castles, were surrendered to the English. The Scots were also compelled to quit their claim to all the lands they held in England, and also to March, Teviotdale, Lithsdale, and Lauderdale; while the bounds and borders of the English were enlarged to Cockburnspath, as it is called, and to Soatrahill.

Balliol, not content with having recovered the possessions of his ancestors in Galloway, marched over Annandale and Lithsdale, and all the country lying near the Clyde, destroying every thing with fire and sword. He, also, by the assistance of Percy of England, made the like havoc in Lothian; nor could there be a sufficient army raised against them in Scotland for some years. As an addition to this misery, there happened also a terrible plague, which swept away almost the third part of the people. And yet, in such an afflicted state of things, men did not abstain from domestic broils. David Barclay, a noble knight, who had before slain Bullock, was at this time present, and assisting in the murder of John Douglas, at Dalkeith. William Douglas, of Lithsdale, who had been taken prisoner by the English at the battle of Durham, and was not yet released, caused him to be cut to pieces by his tenants; however, after he himself was released, and returned into Scotland, he did not long survive him; for, as he was hunting in the wood of Ettrick, he was killed by another William Douglas, who was the son of Archibald, and lately come from France, to revenge the murder of Alexander Ramsay. Nor did the clans of the ancient Scots, who were, to the full, as restless and impatient as the rest, abstain from injuring one another at this period.

In the midst of these calamities, which pressed on every side, William Douglas collected a band of his vassals and tenants, and recovered Douglas, the patrimony of his ancestors, after driving the English out of it; and, upon this little success, men's minds being more inclined to him, he reduced a great part of Teviotdale. In the mean time John, king of France, heir to his father Philip, both in his kingdom and in his wars, fearing lest the Scots, being broken by so many misfortunes, should quite sink under so puissant an enemy, sent Eugenius Garenter to them, with forty gallant cavaliers in his train, to desire of them to make no peace with England without his consent. He brought with him 40,000 French crowns, to raise soldiers; and, by large promises, gained over the nobility to his opinion. These men received the money, and divided it among themselves, but levied no troops, only carrying on a predatory war by light incursions, as they were wont to do. When the English heard of this, they laid Lothian almost desolate, which before had been cruelly harassed. To revenge this wrong, Patrick Dunbar and William Douglas gathered a good body together as privately as they could, and placed themselves in ambush; but sent out William Ramsay of Dalhousie, a noted and gallant soldier, with part of the army, to burn Norham, a populous town on the banks of the Tweed. When Ramsay had accomplished this object, the English were drawn on to the ambuscade, where some were surprised and killed, and the remainder, not being able to resist the superiority of numbers, surrendered themselves. This success heartened the Scots to such a degree, that, the same generals uniting their forces together, Thomas Stuart, earl of Angus, resolved to attack Berwick; and, to do it secretly, he procured vessels, ladders, and other implements used in scaling the walls of towns, wherever he could get them. He then acquainted Patrick Dunbar with his coming, who met him at the hour appointed, and the two made up to the walls with as little noise as they could. Though the centinels discovered them, they were soon repulsed by the Scots, who became masters of the town, but not without loss on their side. The castle was still kept by the English, and, though attempted, could not be taken.

When the king of England heard how matters went in Scotland, he mustered a powerful army, and hastened thither by quick marches. The Scots hearing of his coming, and not being provided with materials for a long siege, plundered and burnt the town, and so returned home. Edward employed all kinds of workmen and artificers, to repair what the flames had consumed; and, in the mean while, took up his own quarters at Roxburgh. Thither Baliol came, and surrendered up to him the kingdom of Scotland, desiring him earnestly not to forget the injuries offered him by the inhabitants. Edward, as it were in compliance with his desires, invaded Lothian by land and sea, and made a further devastation of what the former visitation had left. He determined in this expedition so to quell all the Scots, that they should never recover strength to rebel again; but his purpose was disappointed by a most terrible tempest, which so dispersed, shattered, and tore the vessels laden with provisions, that very few of them ever met again in one port; so that he was forced to return home for want of supplies; after venting his spleen upon Edinburgh, Haddington, and other towns of Lothian. Edward and his army having departed, Douglas drove the English out of Galloway; Roger Kirkcubrick, out of Nithsdale; and John Stuart, son of the regent, out of Annandale; and thus those three counties were recovered by the Scots.

About the same time, John king of France was overthrown by the English in a great battle, in Poitou, and he himself taken prisoner. Edward having two sovereigns his captives at once, passed the winter joyously amidst the congratulations of his friends; and the Scots thinking that his mind, being sated with glory, might be more inclined to equity, sent ambassadors to treat about the release of their king. Bruce, that the Scots might have easy access to him, was sent to Berwick; but, as they could not agree about the conditions, he was carried back to London. Not long after, the pope's legates were sent over, who took great pains to make peace between the English and French; and they also did the same for Scotland, upon the promise, as our writers say, of the payment of a hundred (but Froissart says five hundred) thousand marks of sterling money to the English, part of which was to be laid

down immediately, and the rest by instalments. To make up this sum, the pope gave up the tenths of all benefices for three years; and in the mean time a truce was made, and many young nobles were given up for hostages, who almost all died in England of the plague.

Hereupon David returned the eleventh year after he was taken prisoner. The first thing he did was to punish those who had been the most forward to fly in the battle of Durham. From Patrick Dunbar he took away a great part of his lands; he cut off all hopes of succeeding him from Robert Stuart, the son of his eldest sister; and substituted Alexander, son of the earl of Sutherland, by his second sister, obliging the nobility to swear fealty to him. This young man's father also distributed large and fertile lands amongst the nobles, to engage them more firmly to his son. But, Alexander dying soon after, David was reconciled to Robert Stuart; and in a full assembly of the estates, he was, by a general suffrage, named heir-presumptive of the crown. But this was not done till some years afterwards.

The king passed the next five years in appeasing the discords at home, in which time there happened two great calamities. One was local, and therefore affected comparatively only a few. There was so great an inundation, owing to incessant great rains, that Lothian appeared to be an entire flood, and the force of the water was such, that it carried away bridges, water-mills, country-houses, with their owners and cattle, into the sea; it also rooted up trees, and almost quite destroyed the towns which stood near the banks of rivers. This misery was seconded by the more terrible visitation of pestilence, which destroyed many persons of all ranks and ages.

In the year 1363, the state of things grew calmer, and then, in the assembly of the estates, the king propounded to the lords of the articles, "That the king of England, or else his son, might be sent for into Scotland, to succeed him in the kingdom, if he should chance to die." This he did, either being quite wearied of war, or thinking that it would be for the good of both kingdoms, or, as others imagine, because of the oath which the English had obliged him to take. Let this be as it will, his speech was so unacceptable and offensive to all present, that before each vote could be taken in order, the whole assembly confusedly cried out against it as an odious proposition; and they who inveighed the most on the occasion, fearing the royal displeasure, actually meditated a revolt. But the king perceiving their thoughts, abated his anger, and received them into favour. When he had quieted all things elsewhere, the islanders continued still in arms, and not only committed outrages upon one another, but made havock in the adjacent countries. The king tried all practicable means to bring them to a mutual concord; but finding his efforts fruitless, his next design was to suborn some crafty fellows, to foment and heighten their dissensions; that so, when the fiercest of them had destroyed one another, the rest might become more tractable and pliant. Having performed these exploits, both at home and abroad, the king departed this life in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 7th of May, in the 47th year of his age, about the 39th of his reign, and in that of our Lord 1370.

He was certainly a man eminent in every kind of virtue; but especially in justice and clemency; and though he had been exercised with good and bad events alternately, yet still his fortune seemed rather to fail him than his industry.

ROBERT II. *the hundredth King, began his reign A. D. 1370.*

After the decease of David, the nobles met at Linlithgow, to congratulate Robert on his accession, he having been the declared successor of his uncle; but here the ambition of William Douglas almost threw things into sedition and uproar, by demanding the kingdom as his hereditary right, because he was descended from Baliol and the Cumins. But finding that his suit was unacceptable to them all, and especially to his most intimate friends, the two brothers, George and John Dunbar, one the earl of March, and the other of Murray, as also to Robert Erskine, governor of the three well-fortified castles of Dumbarton, Stirling, and Edinburgh, he desisted, and promised to obey Robert as his rightful monarch; and the king, to oblige him in a more strict bond of friendship, espoused his daughter to the son of earl William.

This year, the truce, which had been made for fourteen years, was broken by the English. There was a great fair usually kept on the eleventh of August, to which place vast numbers of both nations, even from the remotest parts, were accustomed to resort. Thither came the inhabitants of March, and it happened, that one of George Dunbar's intimate friends was killed. George, according to the law which was observed among the borderers, sent heralds to demand the murderers to be given up to him, or else, that due punishment should be inflicted upon them. Finding, however, that his application was disregarded, through favour to the parties, he dissembled the affront, and, against the next day appointed for the fair, secretly prepared a band of men, who, setting upon the town unexpectedly, slew all the young people, burnt the houses, and returned home with a great booty. The English, to revenge this injury, with like cruelty ravaged all the lands of John Gordon, a noble knight. In consequence of this, by way of retaliation, Gordon, not long after, entered England, and carried away a great store both of men and cattle; but, as he was returning home, John Lilburn met him with a force much superior; when a terrible fight began between them, and though victory seemed a long time to flutter over both parties with doubtful wings, at last it inclined to the Scots. The commander of the English forces was taken prisoner, with many of his associates and dependants.

Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, a man of great spirit, being then lord warden, or governor, of the eastern marches or borders, resenting this injury done to his countrymen, immediately collected a body of above seven thousand men, and encamped at a village called Duns, remarkable for being the birth-place of John Scotus, surnamed *Subtilis*, rather than for any thing else. There the countrymen and shepherds assembled together, having no other arms but the rattles with which they used to frighten the deer and cattle that feed there at large without any keeper; and by night placed themselves on some elevated parts of the Lammermuir hills, near to the village of Duns. The form of the rattle is this: on the top of a long spear, or pole, they fasten some ribs of wood, bent into a semicircle; over which they stretch a skin after the same form as the lanterns, which the common people of Paris call *salots*, are made; in this skin they put small but hard stones, which, when well shaken, make such a rattling noise, as drives away the beasts and cattle from the corn. With these instruments they made a mighty noise on the hills hanging over Duns; at which the English horses were so alighted, that they broke the head-stalls they were tied to, and ran up and down the fields, where they were taken by the countrymen; and in the whole army there was such a tumultuous bustle, that they cried out, To arms, thinking the enemy had been at their heels. Thus they passed the night without sleep; but, in the morning, perceiving their mistake, and having lost many of their baggage-horses, as well as those for service, they retreated six miles, which is the distance of that place from England, on foot, like men routed and flying, leaving their stores behind them.

The same day that Percy retired from Duns, Thomas Musgrave, governor of Berwick, came out of his garrison, with some troops, to join him. John Gordon, having intelligence of his march, laid an ambush for him, into which he fell; and imagining his enemy to be more numerous than he was, began to fly, but was taken, with his party, in the pursuit, and brought back. In the western borders, also, John Johnston gained both honour and booty; for he so harassed the enemy in the neighbourhood, by petty, but frequent, incursions, that he did them as much mischief as a considerable army could have done.

Thus all things succeeded prosperously with Robert, for the first two years of his reign; but in his third year, Euphemia, daughter of Hugh, earl of Ross, died. The king had three children by her; Walter, afterwards made earl of Strathearn; David, earl of Athol; and Euphemia, whom James Douglas married, as I have already said. Robert, not so much in impatience of the unmarried state, as for the love of the children which he previously had by Elizabeth More, now made her his wife. This woman, who was exceedingly beautiful, was the daughter of Adam More, a noble knight. The king fell in love with her when he was young, and had three sons and two daughters by

her, after which he gave her in marriage to one Gifard, a nobleman in Lothian. It happened that Euphemia the queen, and Gifard, the husband of Elizabeth, both died about the same time; upon which the king, either induced by his old familiarity with her, or else (as many writers report) to render legitimate the children he had by her, married her, and presently advanced her sons to riches and honour. John, the eldest, was made earl of Carrick; Robert earl of Monteith, and Alexander earl of Buchan, to which Badenoch was adjoined. Not satisfied with this munificence, he prevailed upon the assembly of estates, which met at Scone, to set aside the children of Euphemia, and to observe the order of age, in making his son king after him; which procedure, in after times, almost proved the utter ruin of that numerous family.

During the next two years, there was neither certain peace nor open war, but light incursions, or rather plunderings, on both sides. In the mean while, Edward III. died, and Richard II. his grandchild by his son Edward, born at Bourdeaux, succeeded him, being then eleven years of age; at which time ambassadors were sent by Charles V. king of France, into Scotland. The cause of this mission was, to renew the ancient league with Robert, and to desire him to invade England with an army, and so take off the stress of the war from France. Whilst the envoys were treating with the assembly, Alexander Ramsay, as the English writers report, went, accompanied by forty young men, in the middle of the night, and when the sentinels were asleep, took the castle of Berwick; where all that were in it were either killed or made prisoners. The townsmen, amazed at this sudden surprise, sent for Percy, who came and laid siege to the castle with 10,000 men.

When the news of this action was brought to the assembly of the estates at Scone, Archibald Douglas, being concerned for the danger his kinsman was in, took with him a flying body of five hundred horse only, and hastened thither; but all passages to the besieged were cut off and stopped, so that he was forced to return again, without performing any thing; and the castle, after a valiant defence for some days, was at last taken by storm, all that were therein being put to the sword, except Alexander alone. Thus say the English; but our writers, on the contrary, relate, that the castle was taken by the help of six country-people of March, who, not being able to keep it, were obliged to desert it. Not long after the meeting at Scone, William, the first earl of Douglas, gathered an army of 20,000 men, and, entering England, came suddenly to a town called Penrith, on a fair-day, which he took, plundered, and burnt, and then securely marched his army back again laden with much spoil and booty; but, withal, he brought the pestilence home with him, which was greater than any that had ever been known before, for it raged over all Scotland for the space of two years.

The English, by way of retaliation, passed over the Solway, and entered Scotland, to the number of fifteen thousand men, commanded by the fierce Talbot, who made a terrible havock and devastation far and near. As his army was returning back laden with spoil, he pitched his tents in a narrow valley, not far from the borders of England. In this straitened place, whilst they thought themselves secure, about five hundred Scots came upon them in the night, when unprovided, and most of them without their arms; and at the first onset killed all who were in their way; so that the tumult and fear increasing, they were entirely put to flight; many were killed upon the spot, two hundred and fifty were taken prisoners, and a great number, in such a sudden consternation, flying to the river, were drowned; the rest left their prey behind them, and got home the nearest way they could.

In the mean time, the English carried on a furious war, both by sea and land, against the French; but as part of their forces were sent into Portugal, it was resolved by the parliament, that John, duke of Lancaster, the king's uncle, should be sent ambassador into Scotland, to treat about a peace; in order that, being engaged in so many contentions, they might have quiet on that side at least which lay most exposed and open. The Scots, being made acquainted with his coming by a herald, appointed William earl of Douglas, and John Dunbar earl of Murray, to treat with him; and, accordingly, a truce was concluded for three years. But whilst they were negotiating about a peace there, a dreadful civil war broke out in England. The first author of it

is said to have been one John Ball, a priest; who, perceiving that the lower orders of the people were enraged, because poll-money of fourpence a head was laid on them, first of all secretly, and in private confessions, discourses, and meetings, inflamed the minds of the commons against the nobility; but perceiving that his doctrine was very acceptable, he spoke out more openly. Besides this new occasion of sedition, there was also another of older date, namely, that the greatest part of the commons were made little better than slaves to the lords. Therefore many mechanics and labourers joined the priest, and others also, who, in property or credit, had nothing to lose; insomuch that they raised such a great tumult and combustion, that the whole frame of the government seemed to be in a very perilous state. These things were known at the meeting of the ambassadors; yet both of them dissembled the matter till they had treated, and concluded what they came about. Then Douglas told John of Lancaster that he knew, from the beginning, in what state the affairs of England stood; but that the Scots were so far from laying hold of the opportunity, either to make war, or hinder a good peace, that they offered him, even then, to protect him securely there, till the tumults of England should be appeased; or that, if he would return, to allow him five hundred horse for his convoy. Lancaster gave them great thanks, yet he hoped, at present, that he had no need to accept of either of the conditions. But, as he was returning home, the governor of Berwick shut him out of the town, so that he, upon the public faith already given, returned into Scotland, and there kept himself, till the sedition of the commons was quelled in England. When the truce of three years was ended, in the month of January, 1384, Archibald Douglas of Galloway, with the assistance of William earl of Douglas, and George earl of March, laid siege to the castle of Lochmaben, situated near a lake of the same name, and from whence daily inroads were made upon the neighbouring country. The governor of the fortress being struck with this sudden surprise, agreed with the enemy, that unless relieved in eight days, he would surrender the castle. Whereupon, after the Scots had endured great hardship, by reason of the winter-storms, and continual showers, the castle was surrendered according to covenant, on the ninth day after summons, which was the 4th of February. The people who lived near Roxburgh, fearing lest their castle might be also taken, obtained one Grastock, a noble and wealthy man, who was celebrated as a warrior, for their governor. On his appointment, he sent in great provisions, and resolved also to deposit all his household goods in the castle, for security. But while thus employed, Dunbar, being informed by his spies of the day of his march, and the way he was to go, laid ambuscades in convenient places, and so suddenly attacked a long confused train, made up of soldiers, waggons, and a promiscuous multitude, that, without any fighting, he took the booty, together with the owner of it, and presently retreated. The English, in revenge of their loss, and to prevent future incursions by a decisive blow, sent Lancaster into Scotland with great forces, both by sea and land. Lancaster himself came through March and Lothian, as far as Edinburgh; while his fleet was sent to lay waste the maritime parts of Fife.

The soldiers were desirous of burning down Edinburgh; but the general, remembering that, but a few years before, he had been kindly and hospitably entertained there, when he was excluded by his own people, absolutely forbade them. But his sea-forces shewed not the same civility; for, entering into the Isle of Inchcolm, they plundered a monastery of monks, and burnt it; using the like cruelty in all places where they landed, till Nicholas and Thomas Erskine, Alexander Lindsay, and William Cunningham, met them, slew many, took some, and forced the rest to fly, in great trepidation, to their ships. Besides the loss received by their hasty flight, they suffered forty of their own men, hanging upon one of their own ship's cables, after the rope was cut, to be drowned before their eyes. Lancaster had scarcely set out on his return home, when William Douglas pursued him closely, partly sacking, partly demolishing, all the castles which the English held in Scotland after the battle of Durham. He reduced all Teviotdale, except Roxburgh, to the government of the Scots; and restrained robberies, which the licentiousness of the wars had multiplied and encouraged; but he did not long outlive

these noble actions, dying soon after of a fever, in the castle of Douglas; succeeded by his son William, a young man every way worthy of so great and virtuous a father.

In the mean time, a truce for twelve months was made between the French, English, and Scots, near Boulogne; but the French, who were bound to give the Scots notice of it, neglecting so to do, the English nobility bordering upon Scotland, thinking they had a fit opportunity to give their enemy some notable and unexpected overthrow, without leaving them any time for revenge, before the treaty was published, gathered ten thousand horse, and six thousand archers, and entering the kingdom, under the command of the earls of Northumberland and Nottingham, made a terrible havock of the country, especially on the lands belonging to the families of Douglas and Lindsay. The Scots, who, upon the rumour of a truce, had laid aside all thoughts of war, were exceedingly offended, as well at their own negligence, as at the perfidiousness of the enemy, and therefore resolved upon revenge as soon as they could. In the mean time, the noise of the English invasion of Scotland alarmed the French, and reminded them of their having omitted to fulfil the condition of the league, in giving notice of the truce. To make some atonement for this oversight, they now evinced a forward zeal, and sent an embassy to London, where, at the very time that the English were plundering Scotland, they were detained with sumptuous entertainments, till the invaders had returned from their excursion: and then the ambassadors were dismissed, and came into Scotland, where they declared their message, as they were commanded. Whereupon, almost all the nobility, especially those who had felt the loss sustained by the late inroad, murmured, and cried out, that this foul dealing of the English was not to be endured. The king in vain endeavoured to pacify them, for he was willing to observe the truce; but they, by long debate, delayed the matter, till their friends had privately levied near fifteen thousand horse; and then, on a day appointed, Douglas, Lindsay, and Dunbar, went privately from court, and joining their countrymen, invaded England with a powerful army. After wasting Northumberland as far as Newcastle, in their passage through the lands of the earl of Nottingham and the Mowbrays, they destroyed, by fire and sword, all that they could not carry away. Having achieved this exploit, they returned home with a great booty, as well as many prisoners, and presently caused the armistice to be proclaimed.

About the end of the truce, in the year 1385, John de Vienne, admiral of the French navy, was sent over by the king of France, with about two thousand auxiliaries, of whom one hundred were cuirassiers, armed cap-a-pee, and two hundred archers, who threw darts out of what are now called cross-bows; the rest were infantry of a promiscuous description. They brought with them pay for six months, besides many gifts and presents; and, amongst the rest, four hundred suits of complete armour, to be divided among the bravest men. Having first waited on the king, he and James Douglas entered Northumberland, where they demolished three castles, and would have proceeded farther, but for the rains which fell in the autumn, and forced them to return. In addition to this, a report reached them, that Richard II. of England was coming against them, which hastened their retreat. His anger was more inflamed now against the Scots than ever; because they had not only made a dreadful war upon his kingdom themselves, but had procured the aid of foreigners at a critical point of time, when the French designed also to land a vast army in England. Upon this he assembled a very powerful army, consisting, as the English writers say, of 60,000 foot, and 8000 horse; with which he resolved to humble the Scots to such a degree, that they should not, for many years, be able to levy any considerable force. Besides this, he raised a great body of troops, who were to carry supplies into the Forth, where he intended to make his descent, and which part of Scotland he knew had been exhausted for many years by continual wars; so that, if any provisions were now left there, the inhabitants would convey them away into the neighbourhood, or remote places. As to the French, he felt secure in regard to them, for he knew that they would not put to sea in a stormy winter. With these forces he entered Scotland, sparing no place, either

sacred or profane; nor age or degrees of men, if they were capable of bearing arms. In the mean time, admiral Vienne, being more observant of his king's commands to him when he parted from him, than of the present posture of affairs in Scotland, was earnest with Douglas to hazard a battle. The other answered him, that the Scots forbore to engage, not out of any disaffection to the French, but from a conviction of their own weakness; and, thereupon, took him up into a high place, from whence he might safely have a view of the enemy. Vienne, then, perceiving the long train of the English in their march, soon altered his opinion; and they both concluded, that, in the present circumstances, the best and only way for them to incommode the enemy, was to collect all the force they could, and invade England.

Accordingly, taking a circuitous rout, to be as far as possible from the English army, they entered Cumberland, and made a great havock, both there and in the neighbouring counties. The English, as the winter was now at hand, and the country of Lothian was devastated by the war, did not dare to go far from their ships, lest provisions should fail them, and therefore they began to consult about their return. Some were of opinion, that it would be best to follow the Scots in the rear, and, in their march back, compel them to fight, whether they would or not. But those who knew the roads better, through which they were to pass, replied, on the other hand, that there would be great difficulty in proceeding over the marshes and mountains, and sometimes through narrow defiles, where generally was such a scarcity of every thing, that a very few light-armed men could hardly carry provisions enough with them for their subsistence even for a few days. It was further observed, that, after overcoming these obstacles, they would find the next country into which they should come naturally sterile, and wasted by the war. They added, likewise, that if all these inconveniences should be overcome, yet they had to do with an active and versatile enemy, whom it would be more difficult to find, and bring to a battle, than to defeat; and that, if they should discover him, he would not be compelled to fight, except in places to his own advantage. In illustration of this, they said that Edward the Third, king Richard's grandfather, had experience of this, to the great detriment of his own, and little inconvenience of the Scottish army. Upon hearing this, and considering the miseries they might suffer in an enemy's country, in a cold winter, while, in the mean time, their wives, children, and all that was dear to them, were comfortless at home, they changed their minds, and marched directly back the same way they came. Thus both armies had free scope and time for plundering the country of their respective enemy; and each returned again without meeting a foe or fighting a battle.

The Scots, well knowing that the English could not attempt another expedition till the next summer, resolved to attack Roxburgh, a neighbouring town, together with the garrison there, which very much annoyed the adjacent country. On coming thither, however, a dissension arose between the Scots and the French respecting the town, even before it was taken; for the French alleged that, seeing by their great experience in wars at home, they were more skilled in the art of taking fortresses than the Scots; and, further, that they had expended much money in this contest; it was therefore just, that the place, when taken, should be their's, and remain under the jurisdiction of France. On the contrary, the Scots urged, that it was very unjust that auxiliaries should reap the reward and profit of the whole contest; adding besides, that the expense stated as incurred by them, had been laid out rather for themselves than the Scots, it being in order to distract and divide the forces of England, and so to avert part of the war from France; and that if the friendly offices on both sides were put in the balance, the Scots might, with more equity, lay the charge of the whole upon the French, than the latter demand any remuneration for their assistance, especially one that was without a parallel in history or the memory of man, as nothing like it had ever been demanded, or given by allies one to another. But the unreasonableness of the demand appeared further in this, that the Scots might have remained still in peace, without being injured by the English; and so might have been spectators only of the wars betwixt two potent kings; while the French, on the other hand, could not have obtained the same quiet, without yielding up a good part of their country.

Neither could the Scots see of what use the town would be to the French if they had it, except only as a bridge; that so the arbitrement of war or peace might be at their disposal. They added, that if such was their object, it would have been more for the profit and credit of the people of Scotland, to have continued at peace without the town, than, on a trivial occasion, to give up themselves to a voluntary service; but that if, by so unjust a requisition, the French thought to excuse their return home, which they, some time before, attempted, there was no need at all of such a plea; for as they freely came, so they had liberty, always at their pleasure, freely to depart; neither was it advisable in the Scots to stay them, in regard they might easily foresee their service would be but small, if they were detained against their will.

In consequence of this difference, they departed from Roxburgh without attacking it; and as there had been grievous complaints on both sides before; so, if the dispute had continued, open enmity seemed likely to arise. The original of the dissension arose from the different usages of the two nations in the management of war. The Scots and English pay honestly for what they obtain where they quarter, and behave amongst their countrymen as modestly and regularly in war as in peace. But the French act quite otherwise; making every thing their own wherever they march, as if they had public permission to rob and spoil; so that, having been accustomed to this kind of life, they fancy they may lawfully do the same every where, because they have always practised it before. On this account, quarrels, and sometimes blows, had often happened between the Scots and French; the latter endeavouring to exercise their wonted rapacity, and the other not readily submitting to such servility; so that when one snatched what did not belong to him, the other laboured to defend his own. After this disgust and alienation of spirit at Roxburgh, the French commissaries used greater licentiousness than ever in gathering provisions, because they intended shortly to depart; and the countrymen, indignant at being robbed by a few men, and those too strangers, frequently took away the baggage and horses of the foreigners, whose officers and straggling soldiers, when sent out to forage, were often wounded, and sometimes killed. When complaints were brought to the council, the peasants answered with one consent, "That they were plundered, and worse treated by the French, who called themselves their friends, than by the English, who were their professed enemies; on which account it was their resolution not to let them depart the land, till they had made them recompense for their losses." Such was the infuriated firmness of the country people, neither could their resentment be softened down even by the influence of the family of Douglas, though they were the most popular men of that age. Hereupon the French army was sent back, but their commander was detained till full recompense was made for the wrongs which had been committed. The French set sail on the first of November, and the Scots, either tired with the military toil of the preceding year, or satiated with the spoils of so many prosperous expeditions, remained quiet all the winter. But the next spring William Douglas, the son of Archibald, earl of Galloway, crossed over into Ireland, by way of revenge for the frequent descents of the Irish upon the coasts of Scotland, and also to restrain them for the future.

This William was a young man of the greatest qualifications, both in mind and body, amongst all the Scots. He was tall, and of proportionate strength; and his stature was accompanied with an uncommon graceful dignity of presence. His success in war recommended him very much, for he had often, with a small number, attacked a superior body of his enemies, and come off conqueror; neither was he ever employed in any expedition, without giving manifest proofs of his valour. These excellencies, which, in some, are matter of envy, yet in him, by reason of his affability, complaisance, and courteous modesty, were acceptable to all. On account of his virtues, though the king knew him to be illegitimate, he gave him for a wife his daughter Ægidia, who was a woman of the greatest beauty in those times, and one that had been courted by many of the young nobility of the court. With her, Douglas received Nithsdale, the next country to Galloway, as a dowry.

He landed his men at Carlingford, a rich town in Ireland, and the suddenness of the invasion struck such terror into the inhabitants, that they presently

sent out to him to treat about a surrender. Douglas entertained them courteously, and, in the mean time, thinking himself secure of the place, sent out Robert Stuart, laird of Durrisdair, with two hundred soldiers, to bring provisions to his ships. The townsmen having gained some time for consultation, sent for aid from Dundalk, and having received a reinforcement of five hundred horse, with this addition they divided themselves into two bodies, and so marched out against the enemy, thinking, because they were so much increased in number, they should presently put them all to the sword, and so become masters of the ships. But both bodies were routed, the town taken, plundered, and burnt; and fifteen ships which lay in the harbour, were laden with the spoils of the city. Douglas, on his return home, landed on the Isle of Man by the way, which he also ravaged, and so arrived at Loch Ryan, that divides part of Galloway from Carrick. Here he received intelligence that his father was gone on an expedition against England, whereupon he hastened after him as fast as he could. This enterprise was undertaken chiefly upon this ground: Richard, king of England, having entered Scotland the year before, and spared nothing, either sacred or profane, at his return home encountered a domestic sedition, by which the state of his whole kingdom was changed. To heal this mischief, he transferred the government of the counties, and the management of inferior concerns, as is common in such cases, from one set of persons to another; by which means the fire of hatred was not so much quenched as covered in the ashes, and likely soon after to break out again. Scotland, on the contrary, enjoyed a great, but yet uncertain tranquillity; for it was full of young soldiers, fit for war, and as fruitful and well stored with good officers, as ever it had been. The nobility, therefore, being anxious for a rupture, in all their assemblies and meetings, maintained that so good an opportunity to be revenged on the English for their old injuries ought not to be neglected, and that the latter would never have omitted it in regard to Scotland, had the affairs there been in the like confusion.

But as king Robert was a man of pacific disposition, and, by reason of his age, averse to war, nor seemed to be sufficiently concerned at the public injuries; and, as his eldest son John was naturally slow, and lame from the kick of a horse, so that he was not well able to endure the hardships of a camp; therefore the nobles made their application to Robert, the next son, earl of Fife, to whom they complained of the deplorable state of the public; and they all presently concluded, that the wrong lately received was to be revenged, and therein every one promised his cheerful assistance. Upon this, it was agreed that a levy of soldiers should be made against the 5th of August, but so secretly, that neither of the two kings, of the Scots or English, should be made acquainted with it.

But the English were quickly informed by their spies, of the time and place of meeting; so that they resolved to prevent the enemy with the like secret management. The lords required their dependants, without fixing any particular day or place of meeting, to be in readiness to assemble round their standard at a moment's call. Matters being thus resolved on, when they heard that the Scots, to the number of 30,000, or, as Froissart has it, of 40,000, were assembled in Teviotdale, not far from the borders, they resolved, that, since they were not able to encounter such a superiority, they would act on the defensive. In the mean time, to conceal their intent the better, every man was to stay at his own home, till it should appear upon what part of the country the threatened storm would fall; and then, according to the enemy's motion, they were to guide their course, and, as the Scots had done the autumn before in regard to England, so now they agreed to enter Scotland another way, and repay loss for loss.

In the mean time, the English sent a spy to inform themselves fully of the state of their enemies, who were now near them; for they counted it highly necessary to their affairs, to know not only the design, but even the expressions, resolutions, and motions of their opponents. He that was sent, differed nothing in speech, habit, or armour, from the rest, and so was easily taken for a Scotchman. Having, under this disguise, informed himself of every thing which he desired to know, he was going to a tree where he had

tied his horse, to fetch him, and so be off; but, finding that somebody had stolen and carried him away before, he was forced, in his boots, spurs, and riding dress, to take his journey on foot. Hereupon, being observed, the truth began to be suspected; and when he was gone a great way, some horsemen were sent after him, to bring him back as a deserter. On coming up to him, they demanded who and what he was, and why he went from his colours in that manner; but as he was not able to give them a satisfactory answer, they brought him back to the chief officers of the army, to whom, for fear of greater punishment, he discovered all the designs of the English. When the Scots heard this, they changed the order of their designs, and divided their army, so that the greatest part of it should march towards Carlisle, commanded by the king's two sons, the earls of Fife and Strathearn, to whom were joined Archibald Douglas of Galloway, and the earls of Mar and Sutherland. The other part was to enter Northumberland, under the command of James Douglas, and the two brothers, George and John Dunbar; the one earl of Murray, and the other earl of March. Their party consisted of 300 horse and 2000 foot, besides servants and attendants on the cavalry; for, in Scotland, every trooper had at least one servant, who, being lightly armed, could run almost as fast as a horse, and when occasion offered, encounter an enemy.

When their forces were thus divided, they who marched towards Cumberland and Carlisle, carried all before them by their numbers, without meeting any enemy whatever. But Douglas, in the ravages which he committed on the other side, had not the same good fortune. Having so ordered the course of his expedition, as to take great and yet secret marches, he passed the Tyne, to penetrate beyond Durham, before he gave his army leave to spoil and plunder. This he did with such privacy and speed, that the English would not have known where their enemies were, except by the smoke of the fires they made. Percy the elder, the greatest man in Northumberland and the adjacent counties for wealth and power, when the news was brought to him, sent two of his sons, Henry and Ralph, very active young men, on to Newcastle, commanding the rest to follow them thither. His intent in this was, to intercept the Scots in their return home; but they, having spoiled the wealthy county of Durham, hastened back with a great prey, and repassed the Tyne about three miles above Newcastle. There the commanders, being hobly descended in their own country, and desirous of glory, and besides, elevated with their present success, thought it an inglorious thing to strike terror only into rustics and plebeians, without doing the same to cities. Thus animated by ambition, they marched to Newcastle, and threatening to besiege it, endeavoured, by contumelies and reproachful words, to draw out the enemy.

When they had staid there two days, and some light skirmishes, with various success, had passed between them, there was one combat, which, towards the last evening, excited the fixed attention of all the spectators. This was a duel between the two generals; who, being in a manner equally matched, in regard to birth, power, age, and courage, had a mind to encounter each other in the sight of both armies. Hereupon, a challenge was sent, and the two, James Douglas and Henry Percy, entered the lists, running at one another with their spears. Percy was unborsed at the first encounter, and Douglas took his spear; but could not touch his person, because the English came in to his assistance. He shook the spear, and cried out aloud, so as to be easily heard, that he would carry that as a trophy into Scotland. The combat being ended, the Scots kept diligent watch, because they were near a place well peopled, and full of enemies. The day after, they retired towards their own country, but very slowly, on account of their heavy booty. While their prey moved leisurely on, they attacked a neighbouring castle, belonging to the enemy, took and demolished it, and from thence marched to Otterburn, about eight miles distant from Newcastle. There they took counsel concerning the rest of their march. The major part were for proceeding towards Carlisle, to meet the other army, and so not to fight singly, as was at first agreed, but to wait the conjunction of the two forces. But Douglas had a mind to stay two or three days there, that he might make an effectual confu-

tation of the vaunts of Percy, who had boasted that they should never carry his lance into Scotland. In the mean time, that they might not be idle, they resolved to attack the neighbouring castle. This determination, though by many it was deemed far from being prudent, yet, for the sake of Douglas, they all submitted to it. Accordingly, they fortified their camp for the present occasion, which on one side was sufficiently guarded by marshes, and then proceeded to besiege the castle. Percy, being of a fierce nature, and impatient to blot out the disgrace he had received, would have followed them presently upon their retreat, with the forces which he had about him; but the more considerate part detained him, being apprehensive of an ambush; for they did not think it probable that a small number of Scots would appear before so strong a town, unless they had more forces near at hand, and concealed in some secret place. That day and the next they employed in making inquiries; when, finding that there was no danger from the greater army, as being far distant from the party of Douglas, Percy immediately, with 10,000 fighting men, put himself upon the march, without staying for the bishop of Durham, who, that very night, was expected with some forces; for he thought he had strength enough to overcome his enemies, who were not half so numerous. When the English came in sight, some of the Scots were at supper; and others, fatigued by the labour they had endured in the siege of the castle, were composing themselves to rest. At this moment the word of alarm was given, "To your arms!" and while one party were busy in arming themselves, the major part of the foot, and many of the horsemen's servants, making use of the slender fortification they had, endured the brunt of the English assault. But the cavalry had a great advantage, for having expected an assault, and disputed among themselves how they should entertain the enemy when attacked, they saw that a neighbouring hill would be of great use to them. This, therefore, they encompassed, and whilst the English were forcing the passage into the camp, they fell upon their left flank and made a great slaughter, but a greater noise. The English, having men enough, brought up their reserves, and quickly made good their ranks again; but that disorder did this good to the Scots, that the fight, in the front of the camp, being ill-managed, gave them the liberty of drawing out and ranging their army in order of battle.

Whilst these things were transacting, the night drew on, but it was a short one, as is common in July, particularly in the northern countries, and the weather also proved fine; so that the moon shining all night, it was as bright as day. The fight was maintained gallantly, as between two noble champions, who were more solicitous for their honour than their lives. Percy endeavoured to redeem his credit, and Douglas to maintain his by a new achievement; so that there was as much eagerness on the one side as on the other; and though their numbers were unequal, the combat continued till late at night. The moon then beginning to be clouded, so that friend could not be discerned from foe, they rested a while to take a little breath; but as soon as the light burst forth from the clouds, the English pressed hard upon the Scots, and made them give ground, by which means the standard of Douglas had like to have been lost. In this crisis, the two Hepburns, Patrick the father, and Patrick the son, from the one wing, and Douglas from the other, brake through the ranks of their own soldiers, and penetrated to the front, where the main danger lay; and there renewed so fierce an assault, that many wounds were given and received; but in the end they brought back their men to their former ground, from whence they had been driven. Neither was Douglas content with this advantage; but, with his two friends and followers, Robert Hart, and Simon Glendinning, his kinsman, he rushed in amongst the thickest of his enemies, and being of a stout spirit, as well as of great strength, he made a prodigious slaughter wherever he came. His friends strove earnestly to come up to him; but, before they could do so, he was mortally wounded in three places, and lay upon the ground. Hart was stretched out by his side, having many wounds about him; but the priest who had accompanied Douglas in all his dangers, when he fainted, defended his body from injury. In this condition his kinsmen, John Lindsay, and the two Sinclairs, John and Walter, finding him, asked him, "How he did?" "Very well," said he; for I do not die like a sluggard upon my bed, but as almost

all my ancestors have done; and I have three last requests to make to you: first, that you will conceal my death, both from friends and foes. Secondly, that you will not suffer my standard to be beaten down. Thirdly, that you will avenge my death. Let me hope for the performance of these things, and I shall bear the rest more contentedly." Whereupon they, in the first place, covered his body with a cloak, that it might not be known, and then set up his standard, crying out, according to custom, "A Douglas! a Douglas!" At this shout, the pressure was so great, and they ran upon the English with such alacrity and courage, as to drive them far from the place of battle; for at the name of Douglas, not only the common soldiers, but John, earl of Murray, ran thither, fearful that things were there in great danger. He had before this routed that part of the enemy's army which stood against him, and taken prisoner the younger Percy, who was much wounded, and sent him into the camp to have his wounds dressed. The conflict, therefore, not being so severe in other parts of the army, those who hastened to the standard of Douglas soon routed the English, who were fatigued by their toil in the day, and their action in the night. Towards the close of the battle, Henry Percy, their general, was taken prisoner. When he was lost, the rest betook themselves to a confused flight. There were slain of the English, in that battle, 1840, about 1000 were wounded, and 1040 were taken prisoners. Of the Scots, there were 100 slain, and 200 were taken prisoners, owing to their pursuing the flying enemy so far that they fell into the hands of superior numbers. James Lindsay, perceiving Matthew Redman, governor of Berwick, to be one of the fugitives, and judging that, by the goodness of his armour, he was one of the principal commanders, he rode presently after him. Redman having fled three miles, and finding his horse grow weary, dismounted, thinking to escape by running. Lindsay did the same, and at last, after a pretty long skirmish betwixt them, the Englishman, not being so good at the kind of weapon which they used, yielded himself to his antagonist, who sent him home, after having taken his oath that he would return in twenty days. This was then the courtesy of the neighbouring nations towards their prisoners, and which to this day is punctually observed amongst the borderers. And if a man do not return at the day appointed, this is his punishment: in the meetings which are made for reparation of mutual damages, he that complains how he was deceived, holds up the shape of a hand or glove on a long spear, to be seen of all. This is counted the highest brand of infamy upon any man; so that he who hath thus violated his faith, becomes thereby detestable to his own friends and relations to such a degree, that no man of any quality will eat, drink, or converse with him, or even so much as harbour him in his house. Lindsay having dismissed his prisoner on those terms, perceived a great body of men before him, and marched up to them, without apprehending that they were enemies, till he was so near that he could not retreat, and so was taken prisoner. These were the forces of the bishop of Durham, who came too late to Newcastle to overtake Percy, and not thinking that he would engage till the next day, made a halt there to refresh his men, after which he renewed his march. But he had not gone far from the town, before those that ran away informed him of the loss of the day. Whereupon he returned to the town, and advised with his friends about following the Scots. The resolution was, that by sun-rise they should all be in arms; and consequently, in the morning, there were 10,000 horse, besides a promiscuous multitude of foot from all the adjacent places. These encouraged the bishop to march the nearest way to the enemy, and to give them battle; alleging, that they were so wearied out with the fight of yesterday, and that so many were wounded, while the rest were secure by reason of their late victory, that he might obtain an easy conquest over them. When Douglas was gone, the earl of Murray, upon whom the eyes of all were fixed, being apprized by his scouts of the coming of the bishop, consulted with his chief commanders about the prisoners. To kill them in cold blood, after having given them quarter, seemed cruel; and to save alive a number of enemies, almost equal with their own, was accounted dangerous. The resolution was, that they should all swear not to stir during the battle; and that, even though their friends might come to release them, they should continue passive, and submit themselves as prisoners. Upon these terms,

they were left in the camp with a small guard, who were commanded to destroy the whole of them, if only one of them dared to stir.

This matter being settled, the Scots, elevated with courage by their former victory, marched out in full force; their rear fortified and secured by marshes, and, on the right and left, with trees which they had cut down. The word was given, that as soon as the enemy drew near, every man should blow his trumpet, made of a bullock's horn, suspended at his neck, and which would make such a mighty din, as was terrible of itself; but, being multiplied by the repercussion and echo of the neighbouring hills, made their force seem greater than indeed it really was. The English, who had marched very fast, and were about to fight amidst the dead bodies of their own men, being astonished at this horrible noise, and also at the alacrity of their enemies, who stood opposed to them in good order—and being also without a skilful general over so tumultuary a body, while the commander himself had no confidence in such troops,—presently turned their colours, and marched back as they came. In the mean time, Lindsay, who, as I have said, was taken prisoner, and left at Newcastle, being seen and known by Redman, was courteously treated, and set at liberty without ransom. The Scots having passed over this affair so easily, resolved to return home; but first they dismissed Ralph Percy, who, on account of his wounds, could not endure the motion of a horse, and sent him to Newcastle to be healed; upon his promise, that, as soon as he was able to ride, he would wait on the earl of Murray where he might please to appoint; and having given his pledge, according to the usual custom, he departed. Six hundred other prisoners followed his example, and were released on their parole upon the same terms. Many of the common soldiers, who were likely to be more burdensome than beneficial, were dismissed unconditionally. Of the nobler sort, Henry Percy, and almost four hundred more, were detained and carried into Scotland; and shortly after, upon payment of such a ransom as they set upon their own heads, were all set at liberty; so that, as Ennius says, in that age men did not huckster a war, but fought it out, as contending mainly for liberty and glory. Three days after this, the bodies of Douglas, and the other great commanders who fell, were carried to Melrose, and there interred with military pomp. When the intelligence of these transactions reached the other army, that was wasting Cumberland, it disturbed all their mirth; so that the joy conceived for their good success was turned into bitter mourning. The loss of Douglas so affected all the soldiers, that not only the army which followed him, but the other also, returned home in silence and sadness, as if, instead of being victors, they had been the vanquished. The public grief was farther increased, by the circumstance of his dying without children, in the flower of his age; and that he alone, almost, was deprived of the fruit of the victory which he had won. His estate came to Archibald, earl of Galloway, surnamed the Austere, who also was a brave cavalier in his day. This is that memorable battle of Otterburn, which was as remarkable for the magnanimity and hardness of the commanders and soldiers, and their modesty in victory, as for its various and changeable events; the conqueror, in the highest expectation of his glory, being taken off by death, so that he could not enjoy the fruit of his own labour; while the defeated general, though discomfited, and made a prisoner, yet outlived this battle many years, in dignity and splendour. The action was fought on the 21st of July, in the year 1388.

By this victory, the state of things became more composed and peaceable, both at home and abroad. But the king, feeling the infirmities of age, and understanding that he was reflected upon, because the late expedition was undertaken without him, called an assembly of the estates, and setting aside his eldest son John, who was of an indolent disposition, appointed Robert, earl of Fife, viceroy of the realm, with the title of governor; though formerly the bearers of that office were named guardians. While Henry Percy, who was eminent both for his quality and actions, continued prisoner in Scotland, the earl of March, commonly called earl marischal, a man fiercer in words than deeds, was officiating in his stead. This man, undervaluing the Scottish valour in the fight of Otterburn, and also severely blaming the cowardice of the English, incurred thereby the hatred of both nations. Robert, the new viceroy of Scotland, was so offended at his insolent boasting, that he thought

it a just cause to undertake an expedition against him. Accordingly, he entered the borders, and, with Archibald, earl of Douglas, marched directly toward the enemy, who, as was reported, waited for the Scots with a great army. On drawing near, Robert gave the enemy an opportunity to engage; which he declined, and then a trumpeter was sent to challenge him to fight in a plain field. But the marischal kept himself in his fastnesses and inaccessible places, nor would give any answer to the herald; so that Robert, after he had displayed his forces some hours to the foe, sent them forth to pillage in the neighbourhood; plundering those places particularly where the marischal was wont to reside. After this, he marched his troops back, laden with booty, without having had any conflict. This expedition, though entered into upon slight grounds, yet was very pleasing both to the English and the Scots, who both rejoiced to see the proud vanity of the man thus humbled; but he, as often as mention was made of it, alleged that he did it for the sake of his countrymen, as being unwilling to expose them to needless danger.

At this time a truce was made, and there were hopes of peace between France and England, by the mediation of the pope and the neighbouring princes, on this condition, that the allies of both should be comprehended expressly, namely, the Portuguese on the English side; and the Scots and Castilians on the French. King Robert, against the advice of his council, gave his single assent thereto, but upon no solid ground; for as he was unable to war, without consulting the estates, so neither could he engage in any firm truce, without their decree. The nobility, on this occasion, could not conceal the hidden resentment and disgust which they had conceived against the French, who had only done them this courtesy for an injurious purpose, by striking the weapons out of their hands, and taking away the fruit of a former victory, and any hopes they might have of new advantages. At last, though with much dispute and difficulty, the French ambassador gained his point, that the Scots should send envoys into France, to treat of the business, that so the near prospect of a peace might not be destroyed by their obstinacy. King Robert lived not long after, but departed this life at his castle of Dundonald, on the 19th of April, 1390. He lived 74 years, and reigned 19 years and 24 days. This monarch carried on his wars by his generals, and for the most part with good success. He was present in few battles himself, which some impute to his age, others to his cowardice; but all say, that he was a very good man, and equal in the arts of peace to the best of kings. He administered justice diligently and impartially to all men; and he severely punished robberies. In his actions he was constant; and in his engagements faithful. Though he came to the government in troublesome times, he settled things at home, appeased discord, governed with equity and justice; and obtained such conquests over his enemy, that he reduced all their castles except three.

After his death, tumults arose where they were least expected. Alexander, earl of Buchan, the youngest son of the late king, by Elizabeth More, fell into a mortal feud with the bishop of Murray, upon a light occasion; and when he could not come at him to kill him, he wreaked his fury upon the church of Elgin, which was then one of the fairest in all Scotland, and burnt it down to the ground. The same year William Douglas, earl of Nithsdale, who, as I have already said, obtained, for his valour, the daughter of the king, was slain at Dantzic on the Vistula, by some ruffians, who were hired to perpetrate the murder, by an Englishman named Clifford. For Douglas, when matters were settled at home, that he might not lie idle, set out for the holy war; and, in Prussia, gave such proof of his courage, that he was made admiral of the fleet, which was very great, magnificent, and well manned. But a quarrel arising between him and Clifford, grounded upon old emulations, because the one grudged the other due honour; Clifford sent a challenge to Douglas, to fight with him hand to hand. But the bravo, considering into what a hazardous adventure he had run himself by the challenge, before the set time came, caused Douglas to be murdered by assassins, whom he had hired for the purpose.

BOOK X.

ROBERT III. *the hundred and first King, began his reign A. D. 1390.*

ROBERT II. was succeeded by his eldest son on the 13th of August, in the year 1390. He was, till now, called John; but, by a decree of the estates, his name was altered to Robert; which change, whether occasioned by the misfortunes and calamities of two kings called John, one of France, the other of England, or for the eminent virtues and felicity of the two sovereigns of the name of Robert, both in peace and war, who lately reigned in Scotland, authors have not stated, and therefore I shall not take upon me to determine.

The merit of the third Robert consisted in his being rather free from vice, than for any illustrious virtues; so that though the title of king was given him, the management of all public affairs rested with his brother. At the beginning of his reign, there was peace abroad, because the truce for three years, made with the English, had been prolonged for four years more. A sedition, however, was begun at home by Duncan, or Dunach Stuart. He was the son of Alexander; earl of Buchan, the king's brother; a cruel father, and a still worse son; who, upon the death of his grandfather, imagining now that he had a fit opportunity for rapine, gathered a band of followers, and, descending into Angus, spoiled all, as if it had been an enemy's country. Walter Ogilvy, and Walter Leighton his brother, in endeavouring to oppose him, were killed, together with sixty of their people. Elated with this success, he distressed the country more grievously than ever; but hearing of the approach of the earl of Crawford, whom the king had sent to restrain their insolence, the nimblest of the robbers fled speedily, and concealed themselves in secret places; but of the rest, who were slower in their movements, some were slain, and others taken and put to death. Thus the wickedness of these restless and turbulent mortals being checked and hindered from spreading over the champaign countries, made them fall out amongst themselves at home; where, especially, two families of them exercised great cruelties upon one another. As they refused to terminate their differences by course of law, or to refer them to indifferent arbitrators; the king sent two lords to suppress them, Thomas, earl of Dunbar, and James Lindsay, who, by the death of his father, was become earl of Crawford. These commanders, considering that they were to engage with a fierce and resolute people, who not only despised pleasure, but even death itself; and that they were not likely to subdue them by force, without great loss of their own men; resolved to try what they could do by policy. Accordingly, they discoursed with the heads of the two clans separately, representing to them the danger that must eventually accrue to both by their mutual animosity; and that, though one family should succeed in extirpating the other, it could not be accomplished without great injury to the triumphant party. But, they added, that the contest would not end so, since the victors, while in a weakened state, would have to encounter the forces sent against them by the king, whose anger appeared now in despatching troops to destroy them both, even before they had disabled one another. The two earls then said, that, if they would hearken to those who were more desirous of their preservation than their ruin, they would shew them a way how they might be reconciled with honour, and to the king's satisfaction. On desiring to hear this condition, it was proposed, that thirty of each side should engage in combat before the king, armed only with their swords; that they who were conquered should have a pardon for all past offences, and the victors be distinguished with respect by the sovereign and his nobles. Both parties being well pleased with the terms, a day was fixed for the contest. At the time appointed, the heads of the families, with their friends, came to court, and part of a field on the north side of the town of Perth was severed from the rest by a deep trench, and appropriated for the fight, with galleries built all round for the spectators. Here a great multitude assembled together, and sat ready to

see the dispute; but the fight was delayed a short time, because out of the thirty on one side a single person had hid himself for fear, and the rest were not willing to engage without being equal in number to their adversaries. Not a man, however, could be found to supply the place of him who was absent; while of the other party, not one would turn out, or consent to be exempted from the battle, lest he should seem to be less valued or courageous than the others. After a little pause, a common saddler came forth, and offered to supply the place of him that was absent, provided, that if his side conquered, they should pay him down half a French crown of gold, and also provide for his maintenance afterwards as long as he lived. Thus, the number being again completed and equal, the fight began; and it was carried on with all the exertion of body and mind that old grudges, inflamed by new losses, could induce in men of such fierce dispositions, accustomed to blood and cruelty; especially seeing honour and estate were to be the portion of the conquerors, and death and ignominy to the conquered. The spectators were filled with as much horror as the combatants were with fury, from a natural repugnance to the sight of ghastly wounds and mutilated bodies; the carnage being such, that the fight, on account of its animosity, resembled the rage of wild beasts in the form of men. But all took notice that none carried himself more courageously than the mercenary and supernumerary hireling, to whose valour the victory was principally to be ascribed. Of the side to which he belonged, there were ten left alive, besides himself, but all of them grievously wounded. Of the opposite party there remained only one, who was not wounded at all; but as there were such odds, and finding that he should be forced singly to encounter with many, he threw himself into the adjacent river Tay, and his adversaries, not being able to follow him on account of their wounds, he escaped to the other side. By this means, the multitude of both factions, having lost their most forward leaders, gave over the trade of sedition for many years, and betook themselves to husbandry. This combat happened in the year 1396.

About two years afterwards, in an assembly of the states at Perth, the king made David, his son, earl of Rothesay, being eighteen years old, and Robert, his brother, long since earl of Monteith and Fife, dukes of Albany. This vain title of honour, which was then first instituted in Scotland, proved a great stimulus to ambition, but none at all to virtue; neither did it afterwards thrive with any who enjoyed it. The king would have bestowed the same distinction upon the earl of Douglas; but he, being a grave and solid person, peremptorily refused that nominal shadow of empty honour; and when any man told him that he should be a duke, he rebuked him sharply for it. Some say, that the name of governor, which had been given by his father to Robert, the king's brother, was this year confirmed by the monarch; as also that the family of the Lindsays had the earldom of Crawford added to their former honours. They are, however, not fully clear, whether the name of the first earl of that family was Thomas or David.

The year following, Richard II. king of England, was forced to resign the crown, and was succeeded by Henry the Fourth; at the beginning of whose reign, and before the truce was quite ended, new seeds of war were sown with the Scots. George Dunbar, earl of March, had betrothed his daughter Elizabeth to David, the king's son, and had already paid a good part of her dowry. Archibald, earl of Douglas, displeased that so powerful a man, and his rival, should be preferred before him, raised an objection to this union, on the ground that the consent of the estates had not been obtained; which no man ever remembered to have been done in any former marriage of the royal stock. The earl then offered the prince his daughter Mary, with a larger dowry; and by means of Robert, the king's brother, who bore the sway at court, he so managed it, that the overture was accepted, and the marriage consummated, by the decree of the estates. George, being much affected at this injury and reproach, sharply expostulated with the king about it; but seeing what was once done could not be recalled, he desired at least the repayment of the dowry. This just demand being denied, and perceiving that he was not likely to obtain any right, because the whole court were prepossessed in favour of his rival, he departed, upon very angry, and even threatening terms; and so, giving up the castle of Dunbar to Robert Maitland, his

sister's son, went to England. Robert presently yielded up the castle to a herald who was sent to demand it by the king, and Douglas was admitted into it with a garrison. Soon after George returned home, but being denied entrance into his own house, he took his wife, children, and some intimate friends, and returned to England. There, as he was a man powerful at home, and famous abroad, he formed an association with Percy, who was the mortal enemy of the name of Douglas. Being well beloved by the bordering Scots, of whom many were either his tenants, allies, or otherwise obliged to him, he made an inroad into the whole province of March, and carried off great plunder from the country, especially from the lands of the Douglas family. The king of Scots first proclaimed George a public enemy, next he confiscated all his estates; and afterwards he sent a herald to the king of England, to demand that he should be given up as a fugitive, according to the league made betwixt them, and also to complain of the violation of the truce. The English monarch gave a peremptory answer to his demands, that he had given the public faith to George for his protection, and that he would not break his royal word; as if a private engagement with a renegade was more religiously to be observed, than that which had been publicly confirmed by ambassadors and heralds; for the days of the truce made with Richard were not yet expired. In the mean time, Henry Percy the younger, called Hotspur, and George Dunbar, continued to infest the neighbouring lands of the Scots by their frequent incursions; till, elated by success, they entered Lothian with two thousand men, and made great havock about Haddington. They also laid siege to Hailes Castle, but without effect. On coming to Linton, a village situated on the river Tyne, in Lothian, they were so dismayed at the sudden approach of Douglas, that they left their booty, with all their baggage, behind them; and ran away in trepidation, without stopping till they came to Berwick. These things occurred about the beginning of February, in the year 1400.

The same year, upon the return of the herald, war was denounced against England; and then also Archibald Douglas, surnamed the Austerle, a man inferior to none of his ancestors in every kind of merit, fell sick and died, in a very bad time for his country, which had lately lost, by various misfortunes, a number of brave generals. He was succeeded by his son, of the same name. On the 13th of August, the king of England, with great forces, entered Scotland; and on coming to Haddington, staid there three days, after which he marched to Leith; where he rested as long, and then laid siege to the castle of Edinburgh. The governor led an army against the English, but so very slowly, that it easily appeared he was perfectly indifferent to the fate of the castle, though it contained prince David, the son of the king. By this time, indeed, his wicked ambition began to shew itself; for he undervalued his brother, as an effeminate person, and sought the destruction of his children as much as he could, that he might enjoy the kingdom himself; so that their loss he counted his gain. The king of England, on the contrary, performed the part of an enemy with great moderation, as if, under the appearance of war, he only sought for peace; for, after making a slight attack on the castle, he raised the siege, and returned home, without doing any considerable damage to the places through which he passed; insomuch that, in his marches both backward and forward, he gained the commendation of being a mild, clement, and moderate foe. He was courteous to those who surrendered themselves; neither did he offer violence to consecrated places; and he even rewarded those bountifully, who had formerly entertained his father. While these practices ingratiated him with the people, they rendered the governor more odious; for neither prosecuting the war with energy, nor endeavouring to make so easy and beneficent a king his friend. After the return of Henry to England, George Dunbar continued still to invade the borders, but the inroads were more frequent than considerable. To suppress him, there was more need of a diligent than numerous army, and therefore Douglas divided the forces of each county into small hands, with commanders over them; who, by turns, were to impede the enemy; or, if they saw occasion, bring him to an engagement. The command of the first party fell to the lot of Thomas Halyburton, lord of Dirlington, who took a great booty from the

enemy near Bamburgh. But Patrick Hepburn, who wandered farther abroad, with a greater force, had not the like success; for, trusting too much to the numbers of his men, and not being very cautious how he retreated with his prey, he was cut off by the English, and with him all the flower of the Lothian troops. Archibald Douglas, to revenge the death of his friend, with the consent of the governor gathered about ten thousand men, and was accompanied by a number of the nobles, among whom was Murdo, the governor's son. When they came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, they passed the river, and wasted the country with fire and sword; but being there encountered by Henry Percy the younger, and George Dunbar, in a pitched battle, they were overcome, and many of the nobles were slain; Douglas was taken prisoner, after losing one of his eyes; and there fell also into the enemy's hands, Murdo earl of Fife, Thomas earl of Murray, and George earl of Angus, with many other noble and illustrious persons; nor was the strength of Scotland ever so much weakened in any fight, for many years before, as it was in this battle, which was fought at Homeldon, a town in Northumberland, on the seventh of May, in the year 1401.

Percy, having obtained this signal victory, resolved to reduce all the country which lay betwixt Northumberland and the Forth under the English sceptre; and he thought it would be a work of no great difficulty to compass, in regard most of the nobility of those countries were either slain in the fight, or were his prisoners. To accomplish this resolution, he began with laying siege to Cocklaw, a castle in Teviotdale, the governor of which agreed, that unless the castle was relieved by the Scots in fifty days, he would capitulate. When these conditions were brought to the king and the governor, some were of opinion that the castle should be surrendered, as not being of consequence enough to hazard, for it, the strength of the kingdom a second time, which had been so dreadfully shaken and weakened in the late fight. This dejection of spirit proceeded not so much from any fear of the enemy, as from the perfidiousness of the governor, whose thoughts were intent upon gaining the kingdom. He, on the other hand, to avert all suspicion from himself, in high and confident words affirmed, that this abjectness and confession of public fear would inspirit the enemy more than the gaining of a battle. He added, that if any one thought the English would be content with taking one castle, they were much mistaken; for as fire is more increased by a light sprinkling of water, so the desire of the enemy, on the surrender of some places, would not be extinguished, but rather inflamed to the capture of more; and that, therefore, what was given up at first, would be only a step to a farther progress. "But, (said he,) if all of you refuse to march out for the relief of the castle, I will go alone; for, as long as I live, and am in health, I will never suffer such a mark of disgrace to be branded on the Scottish name." Upon this gallant speech of the governor, the rest, either abandoning or dissembling their suspicion, cried out, that they would follow him. But fortune decided the controversy, and averted the danger; for Percy was recalled to the civil war in England, and so the siege was raised without a combat.

Whilst these things were acting abroad against the enemy, matters went no better at home; for shortly after the death of Archibald Douglas the year before, there immediately followed the decease of the queen Annabella, and of Walter Trail, archbishop of St. Andrew's, which made all men's minds anticipate a great change of affairs. For while the splendour of military matters was kept up by Douglas, the ecclesiastical authority and appearance of ancient discipline was supported by Trail; and the dignity of the court by the queen, as soon became evident by what happened after her death. David, the king's son, was a young man of a fierce disposition, and inclined to wantonness and debauchery, which vices were now increased by paternal indulgence. Though the king had not authority enough to maintain the reverence due to him, yet, by the diligent admonition of those who were appointed to be the prince's tutors in his youth, and chiefly by the counsel and advice of his mother, the youthful heat of David had been hitherto somewhat restrained; but when she was dead, he, being freed from this curb, returned to his own manners and vicious courses; for, laying aside all shame and fear, he took away other men's wives by force, and maidens too, though ever so well

descended ; and those whom he could not seduce by fair means, he ravished. If any one, by remonstrance, or otherwise, endeavoured to check the youth in his evil courses, he was made to feel his vengeance. Many complaints being brought to his father of these enormities, he wrote to his brother, the governor, to keep him near his person, that he might have a strict eye over him, till he should give some hopes of amendment. The governor had now an opportunity put into his hands, to effect what he most desired, which was, to destroy his brother's issue; so that, meeting with David three miles from St. Andrew's, he carried him into the castle there, which he kept as a garrison, after the death of the archbishop. In a short time, he took him from thence, and conveyed him to his own castle of Falkland, where he shut him up close prisoner, with the intent of starving him to death. But the miserable fate which his uncle's cruelty had designed, was protracted for a few days by the compassion of two of the female sex ; one a young maid, whose father was governor of the castle and garrison. She gave him oat cakes, made so thin, that they could be folded together, as is usual in Scotland, and whenever she went into the little garden near the prison, she put them under a linen veil or hood, which she carelessly threw over her head, as if to keep off the sun, and thrust them into the prison to him through a small cranny, serving as a window. The other was a country nurse, who milked her own breast, and, by a little tube, conveyed it into his mouth. By this mean fare, which served rather to increase than assuage his hunger, his wretched life was lengthened out for a little while ; till, at length, by the vigilance of the guards, his benefactors were discovered and put to death ; the father being enraged at the conduct of his own daughter, whilst he endeavoured to manifest his fidelity to an unfaithful regent. The young man being thus left destitute of all human support, having, by force of hunger, gnawed and torn his own flesh, died at length more than a single death. His melancholy end, though commonly known to the rest of the world, was long concealed from his father, because no man durst venture to be the messenger of such sad tidings.

To return now to the affairs of England, as far as they are intermingled with our own. When Percy, with a great number of the nobility, conspired to make war upon their king, he offered Douglas, whom he retained prisoner after the battle of Homeldon, that if he would assist him with all his strength and ability against Henry, he would set him at liberty without ransom. Douglas, who was glad of an opportunity to annoy the English in any way, very readily embraced the proposal. Hereupon he gathered some of his friends and tenants about him, and prepared himself for the field, where he behaved himself as stoutly as he had pledged himself he would do to Percy. Without regarding the common soldiers, his observation was wholly intent upon the king ; but it happened that there were several officers clothed in royal attire, which was done on purpose by the English, either to deceive the enemy, if they should press hard upon the monarch, or else that the soldiers, in more places than one, might fancy that he was present to witness their courage or cowardice. Douglas taking notice of one of the persons who was thus arrayed in fine armour, rushed upon him with all his might, and unhorsed him ; and when he was relieved by those who were next, he did the same to a second, and a third, who were all attired as kings, insomuch, that, unmindful of his own danger, he became lost in astonishment from whence so many royal warriors should start up at once. This is related by Edward Hall, the English chronicler, as well as by some of our own historians. At length, after a terrible and bloody fight, fortune reversed the scene, and the king won the day. Douglas was sadly wounded, and taken amongst the prisoners ; and when many would have put him to death, the king saved him, and did not only commend his fidelity to his friend, but also rewarded him for his valour ; and when his wounds were cured, after he had staid some months with him, on the payment of a great sum of money gave him his release.

In the mean time, the Scottish king heard of the dreadful manner in which his eldest son had perished by the cruelty of his unnatural uncle. The author of the murder was sufficiently pointed at by private whisperings, though no person could dare publicly to accuse a man of such power. Upon this, the king sent for his brother, and sharply expostulated with him concerning the

report. The other having already prepared his tale, charged different parties with the guilt of the young man's death, while he asserted boldly, that, as for himself and connexions, they were willing, whenever the king chose, to plead and maintain their innocence, in a due course of law; but that, as for the real murderers, some of them he had taken already, and the rest he would make diligent search after. Thus the matter being brought to examination, according to law, the perpetrator of the wickedness summoned a council, procured accusers, and he who was impleaded as guilty, was by them acquitted as guiltless of the crime. The king imprecated a most dreadful punishment from the God of heaven, on the man and his posterity who had committed the horrid wickedness; and then, oppressed with grief and bodily weakness, returned to Bute, whence he came, suspecting more than ever that his brother had actually committed the atrocious deed, though he was too powerful to be brought by him to justice and punishment for it. But he, like a strong dissembler, brought the accused authors of the wickedness out of prison, and put them to cruel deaths. It is true, they were persons of bad characters, but perfectly innocent of the particular fact for which they suffered.

In the mean time, the king consulted with his friends how he might preserve his youngest son James, for whose safety he was very solicitous, and whom he had left in the custody of Henry Wardlaw, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who was an honest man, and faithful to his trust. They gave it as their opinion, that, as he was not safe in any part of Scotland, it would be most prudent to send him over to Charles VI. king of France, the old ally and only friend of the nation; observing, that he could be educated no where more safely and honourably than in that country. The recent instance of David Bruce was strong in their minds, who, in dubious and troublesome times at home, had there, for some years, met with an honourable retreat and entertainment. Hereupon, a vessel was prepared, and he went on board at the Bass, which is a rock rather than an island. Henry Sinclair, earl of the Orkades, was sent with him as his guide or director. Whilst they were sailing along the shore, he landed near Flamborough-head, being either driven in by tempest, or with the design to refresh himself on shore, after having been very sea-sick. There, however, he was detained by the English, till they sent to their king, who commanded that he should be brought up to court; so that neither the security of the truce, which was made a little before, for eight years, nor the supplicating letters of his father, could prevail for his delivery, and he was kept as a lawful prisoner. His father, at his departure, had sent letters by him to the king of England, in case he should be necessitated to land there, wherein he made an affecting complaint, both of his own, and also of the common fortune of all mankind. But, though the English monarch was not ignorant of the inconstancy of human affairs, yet the old grudge against the Scottish nation more prevailed with him, than either the respect due to the youth's innocent age, the tears of his afflicted father, the dignity of the royal title, or the faith of treaties. On referring the matter to his council, how he should treat the son of the king of Scots, who had arrived in his dominions, those who had any regard to equity, and were weary of war, inclined to the milder opinion, namely, that the royal youth, who had fled from the cruelty of his own countrymen, and was now their suppliant, should be hospitably entertained, and amicably treated; that so a fierce nation, unconquered by the contentions of many ages, might be won and brought over to reconciliation by courtesy. For this they thought the most solid and firm victory, not when liberty is taken by force, but when minds are united by the indissoluble bond of amity. Others were of a contrary opinion, that he might be lawfully detained as a prisoner, either because many of the nobility of Scotland had, in person, assisted Percy in the insurrection which he made against the king, or because his father had entertained and relieved the elder Percy, when he was banished, and condemned as a traitor in England.

This advice, as commonly the worst counsels do, prevailed, though all that were present at the consultation knew well enough, that those Scots who fought against the English king in the insurrection of Percy, had no commission from their sovereign, and that they were led to take the part they did,

simply out of private affection to Douglas, who was then in the power of Percy. They might also have remembered, what Henry himself had answered to the Scots, a few years before, when they demanded George Dunbar to be given up; notwithstanding which, they adhered to this last opinion, as commonly, in the courts of princes, a false pretence of advantage weighs down honest and righteous counsels. Yet in one thing Henry dealt nobly and royally with his captive, that he caused him to be educated in good learning and discipline. This calamity of the son was brought to the ears of his father while he was at supper, and so overwhelmed him with grief, that he was almost ready to give up the ghost in the hands of his servants who attended him, and carried him to his bedchamber, where he abstained from all food, and, at the end of three days, died of hunger and grief, at Rothsay, a town in the island of Bute, in the sixteenth year of his reign, on the 1st of April, and year of Christ 1406. He was buried in the abbey of Paisley. This Robert, for tallness of stature, and the beauty and comely proportion of his whole person, was inferior to very few of his contemporaries. His life was harmless, and there was no virtuous accomplishment, becoming a private person, wanting in him; so that it may be truly said of him, that he was a better man than a sovereign.

After his death, the government was settled, by the decree of all the estates, upon Robert his brother. He had many things in him worthy of the office and dignity, if, out of a blind ambition to rule, he had not pursued unjust courses to obtain the throne. He was valiant in war, prudent in counsel, just in judgment, liberal to the nobles, and tender in levying taxes on the commons. The same year, the elder Percy again entered into a conspiracy against the king of England, to revenge the deaths of his brother and two sons, who had been slain; but his design was discovered, many of his accomplices were taken and executed, and he himself, for fear, fled into Scotland, with the intention of proceeding from thence to Flanders and France, to procure auxiliaries, and renew the war. In the mean time, Henry, the son of the king of England, made great incursions into Scotland, both by land and sea. During his march homewards with a great booty, the castle of Jedburgh, which the enemy had kept ever since the fight at Durham, was taken and pillaged by the commons of Teviotdale, after which, by the governor's order, it was wholly demolished. George, earl of March, who had considerably injured his countrymen to the advantage of the English, being neither able to procure from them aid to recover his own, nor an honest maintenance amongst them, pacified the governor by his friends, and so returned home; yet he lost part of his patrimony, namely, his castles in Lochmaben and Annandale, which were given to Douglas, for the losses he had sustained; and thus all offences were forgiven on both sides, and he passed the rest of his life in great harmony with his neighbours, and in faithful subjection to his king.

The next year, Percy, after he had made a vain and fruitless tour over France and Flanders, returned into Scotland, to his old friend the earl of March; by whom he was courteously entertained, and accommodated according to his estate. There he, by private messengers, carried on a correspondence about returning into his own country; and, amongst the rest, he wrote to Ralph Rokesby, his ancient and faithful friend, as he thought, informing him that he did not want force, both of Scots and English, who were ready to assist him in recovering his ancient patrimony, provided Rokesby would join them with his assistance. This Ralph was at that time sheriff of Yorkshire, as they there call the officer who presides in chief over juridical assemblies. This man enticed Percy to him upon pretence of giving him aid, and then discovered the conspiracy to the king. Thus was he betrayed by his friend, and his head, being cut off, was sent to the king in London.

There was, also, about that time, a certain Englishman in Scotland, who called himself Richard the Second; but falsely, as I suppose; for when the elder Percy often and earnestly desired to speak with him, he could not by any persuasion be induced to comply, fearing, as may be guessed, lest his imposture might be detected by a man who so well knew the king. Notwithstanding this, he was for some years treated as one of royal blood; and that

he might live more securely, he feigned himself most averse from any desire of enjoying the kingdom. On his death, he was buried in the church of the Franciscan friars at Stirling; where the title of King of England was placed over his grave in the epitaph. Not long after, Fastcastle, a very strong fortress, as the name imports, in March, was taken from the English by Patrick, the son of George Dunbar, and Thomas Holden, the governor, who had infested all the neighbouring places of Lothian with continual robberies, was made prisoner. In Teviotdale, William Douglas, and Gavin Dunbar, youngest son of the earl of March, broke down the bridge of Roxburgh, and burnt the town; but they did not attempt the castle, because they were unprovided with every thing necessary for a siege. The next year, which was 1411, Donald, lord of the Western isles, claimed Ross as the next heir, which indeed he was; but finding he could not get his right from the governor, who had unjustly seized it, he raised a body of one thousand men, and made a descent on the main land. Soon after his descent, he easily seized on Ross, the whole country being willing to return to the subjection of their own just master. But the readiness with which the inhabitants submitted, gave him, whose mind was greedy of prey, encouragement to attempt greater matters. Accordingly, he passed over into Murray, and, as there was no force to defend the country, he reduced it to his obedience; and then proceeding farther in his depredations to Strathbogie, he threatened Aberdeen. Against this sudden and unexpected enemy the governor gathered forces; but because the greatness and near approach of the danger forbade waiting for slow-paced aid, Alexander earl of Marr, the son of Alexander, brother of the governor, with almost the whole of the nobility beyond the Tay, at a village called Harlaw, set themselves and their men in battle-array against Donald. The fight was cruel and bloody; for many nobles had then to contend valiantly, for their estates and glory, against the savage cruelty of the invader. At last the night parted them, when it may be rather said, that they were both weary with fighting, than that either party had the better; for the event of the conflict was so uncertain, that when both sides had reckoned their loss, each counted himself the conqueror. On this occasion there fell more noble personages of eminence, than had ever perished in one battle, with a foreign enemy, for many years before; and therefore the village, which was till then obscure, grew famous on account of it, even to posterity.

This year public schools began first to be opened at St. Andrew's, which was effected rather by the co-operation of learned men, who offered themselves as professors of learning, than produced by the allurements of either private or public endowments. For the next ten years, hardly any memorable thing passed betwixt the two nations; either because there was a truce made, upon which, however, authors are silent; or because Henry IV. dying on the 21st of March, and his son Henry V. presently succeeding him, who was, all the rest of his life, intent on the affairs of France, the English abstained from offering any injury to the Scots. And besides, the governor of Scotland did not dare to stir on his side, for fear the English should bring in the true heir of the crown, whom he knew many of the people would join, out of commiseration of his misfortunes. Therefore, what inroads were made at this time, were rather robberies than wars. Penrith, in England, was burnt by Archibald Douglas; and Dumfries, in Scotland, by the English. There was likewise an exchange of prisoners made; Murdo, the governor's son, taken at Homeldon fight, being delivered up for Percy, who, on the reduction of his grandfather's party in England, was brought into Scotland, and left with the governor; but upon the accession of the new king to the crown, he was restored to the dignity of his ancestors. He was not properly a prisoner by the law of arms; yet the unjust detention of James, son to the king of Scots, stopt the mouths of the English, that they could not justly complain of any injury in the case. As for Percy himself, he was so far from resenting it, that, as long as he lived, he acknowledged the civility and great friendship of the Scots to him, in all kinds of mutual service.

Moreover, the same year, an embassy came from the council of Constance, the head whereof was the abbot of Ponteniac; and another from Peter Lunc, who had seized on the papacy, and as obstinately kept it. He, by Henry

Harding, an English Franciscan, succeeded in bringing over the governor to his party, but the whole body of the priesthood was against him; for they having assented to the council of Constance, subscribed to the election of Martin V. In the mean time, the king of France, by means of a violent disease, became lunatic, and his distemper was increased by the monks, who pretended to cure him. By this means that nation was divided into two factions. The head of the one was the duke of Burgundy, who, having slain the king's brother, drew him to the English interest. The head of the other was the king's son, who, being disinherited by his father, was called by his enemies, in a jeer, the king of Berry; because he usually kept himself at Bourges in Berry, a town of the Bernois. He, being forsaken by a great part of his own countrymen, and destitute of foreign aid, in the year 1419, sent the earl of Vendosme as his ambassador to the Scots, to demand aid of them, according to the league betwixt the two nations. The assembly of the estates ordered him seven thousand men; and indeed, at that time, in regard the soldiers were increased by reason of the long peace with England, it was no hard matter to make up such a number of men, being only volunteers. John earl of Buchan, the son of the governor, was appointed general of the forces, and many eminent persons followed him; of whom Archibald earl of Wigton, the son of Archibald the second earl of Douglas, was by far the most eminent. On their arrival in France, they were sent by the dauphin, the eldest son of the king, into Touraine, a country abounding with all sorts of provision, and near to the enemy. The duke of Clarence, who then held the command in France, instead of his brother the king of England, made great havock in the country of Anjou, whose inhabitants retained their obedience to the French monarch; and it was supposed that he would have come as far as the town of Beaux. As this was two days before Easter, the Scots, thinking that the general would cease, according to custom, from any military action during that solemn time, and apply himself to religious duties,—or, as others say, presuming upon a truce of eight days, which had been made,—took less care of themselves than they were wont to do. The duke of Clarence being informed of this, either by Andrew Fregose, an Italian, or else by some Scottish foragers, who had been taken prisoners by his cavalry; and, having got a fair opportunity for action, as he imagined, rose up from dinner, and, with his cavalry only, marched towards the enemy; wearing himself, besides his other gallant furniture and armour, a royal diadem, set with many jewels, on his head. Some few French who were quartered nearest the enemy, in a village called Little Beaux, being terrified at his sudden approach, fled into the tower of an adjoining church. As he was assaulting these, the alarm was given to the rest of the army, and presently, in great dismay, they all cried out, "To your arms!" The earl of Buchan, while the rest were arraying themselves, sent out thirty archers to take possession of a bridge, which was the only passage over a neighbouring river. There a skirmish began, and Hugh Kennedy, who was quartered in a church hard by, came in to them, with one hundred men, who, in such a surprise, were only partly armed. This body, however, with their arrows, hindered the horse from passing over; whereupon Clarence, with the forwardest of his men, dismounted, and maintained the combat on foot; and, after a fierce charge, repelled the Scots, some of whom were wholly, and others only half, armed, from the bridge, and thus opened the passage for his troops. But, whilst the duke was remounting his horse, and his men were passing the narrow bridge a few at a time, the earl of Buchan was at hand, with two hundred horse; and now, both sides being very earnest to shew themselves, a sharp contest began with equal courage and hatred: for the Scots were glad that they had an opportunity to give the first proof of their valour, and so to refute the insults of the French, who were wont to despise them, as men given more to eating and drinking, than to fighting. The like reproach the French are wont to cast upon the Britons; the Spaniards on the French; and the Africans on the Spaniards. On the other side, the English took it in great disdain, that they should be attacked by such an implacable enemy, not only at home, but even beyond seas; they therefore fought stoutly, but none more fiercely than Clarence himself. As he was known by his armour, John Swinton ran at him, and, with his lance, grievously wounded

him in the face; and the earl of Buchan also smote him with a truncheon, and struck him from his horse. Upon this, the English, seeing their general fall, ran away, and many of them were slain in the pursuit, that lasted till night. This battle was fought on the eve of Easter, when the days are short in cold countries, a little after the vernal equinox. There fell of the English in this fight above two thousand, amongst whom were twenty-six persons of eminent rank. Many prisoners were also taken, who were persons of distinction in their own country; and especially some of the duke's relations. Few of the Scots or French, however, were lost, and those of no great note. This is the most common tradition concerning the death of Clarence; but the Pluscarty book states, though on vulgar authority, that he was slain by Alexander Maccasland, a knight of Lennox, who took off the diadem from his head, and sold it to John Stuart of Darnly, for one thousand angels of gold; and he again pawned it to Robert Houston, to whom he owed five thousand angels. The chief credit of this victory was ascribed to the Scots, neither could their greatest detractors deny it. Whereupon Charles the dauphin created the earl of Buchan lord high constable, which is the highest office in France, next to the king; and the rest of the commanders had also honours bestowed on them, according to their rank and valour.

Whilst these things were transacting in France in the year 1420, Robert, governor of Scotland, died on the 3d of September, fifteen years after the death of king Robert III. Murdo, who succeeded him in that place, was a man of so sluggish a disposition, as scarcely to be fit to govern his private family, much less the commonwealth. Owing, therefore, to his slothfulness, or excessive indulgence, he so spoiled his three children, that, in a short time, he brought both them and himself into great distress, and, at length, to utter ruin. This change of domestic affairs caused the earls of Buchan and Wigton, with many of their kindred, to return home from the continent. But when affairs were settled, the dauphin recalled the earl of Buchan, who, with his wife's father Archibald, his son James, and the flower of the Scottish soldiers, sailed to France, leaving the other son, the earl of Wigton, behind, on account of his severe illness. They landed with five thousand soldiers at Rochelle, and so came to the dauphin at Poictou, where they were joyfully received, and Douglas was made duke of Touraine.

When Henry, king of England, heard of the death of Clarence, he appointed John earl of Bedford, his other brother, to the command, and sent him into France with 4000 horse and 10,000 foot. He followed himself soon after, and took with him James king of Scotland in the expedition; thinking by that means either to insinuate himself with the people of that nation, who had lately fought against him, or else to render them objects of suspicion to the French; but he obtained neither of his ends, nor could he prevail with them; at the desire of their own king, so much as to return home, or to stand neuter, and be spectators only of the war; for when he addressed all the garrisons held by the Scots, they made him one general answer, that they could not acknowledge him for their king who was under the power of another man. Henry was so offended at their peremptoriness and constancy, that, on taking the town of Meaux by storm, he hung up twenty Scots who were found there, alleging that they bore arms against their own king. Soon after this, he and Charles VI. king of France, died within a short time of each other. About two years afterwards, the English prevailed in a battle at Verneuil, where fell, of the principal Scots, the earls of Buchan and Douglas, one the duke of Touraine, and the other master of the horse to the French king; also James Douglas, the son of the latter, Alexander Lindsay, Robert Stuart, and Thomas Swinton; and of common soldiers above two thousand. Within three years following, the auxiliary Scots received another great overthrow at Beaux, while carrying provisions to Orleans. They encountered the English by the way; and in the fight there were slain, on the part of the Scots, William Stuart, with his brother, and two eminent knights of the family of Douglas, whose descendants continue to enjoy two castles, and large possessions around them, in Scotland, namely, one the castle of Drumlanrick, and the other that of Lochleven in Fife. Thus have I briefly touched upon the actions of the Scots, performed in a few years in France, as external occurrences; but the

further detail of them is to be found in the French annals, and though they are not quite foreign from the affairs of Scotland, yet I should not have gone out of my way to mention them, if the calumny of some English writers had not compelled me to it. For they endeavour to undervalue and speak evil of what they dare not deny; and yet, even if histories did not relate these exploits, the munificence of the French kings, the decrees of the cities, and the honourable monuments at Orleans and Touraine, sufficiently declare them. What, then, can they here object? The Scots, say they, are too poor to maintain so great a force in a foreign country. I answer, first, that if their poverty be a fault, it is the fault of the soil, not of the men; neither would I have taken this for a reproach, if it did not appear by their writings, that the English intended it as such; and therefore I shall only answer them with this, that these poor and beggarly Scots, as they call them, have gained many great and famous victories over the opulent and wealthy English; and if they do not believe me in this point, let them consult their own histories; and if they suspend their belief of those records also, let us not be required to receive them for true in other things. But to return to the affairs of Scotland.

Murdo, as I have already observed, having succeeded to the place of his father, kept a very loose discipline in his own house; for his children, whose names were Walter, Alexander, and James, despised their inferiors, and consequently oppressed them with many injuries. They also infected the youth with those vices to which they were themselves addicted; and as their father neither corrected nor restrained them, at last he was punished himself, for giving them such a bad education. The old man set a high value on a certain bird which he had, of that kind of hawk called a falcon. Walter, his son, had often begged this bird, and being always denied, at last, upon a time, he caught it out of his father's hand, and wrung its neck. Upon this, his father said, "Because thou canst not find in thy heart to obey me, I will bring in another, that both thou and I too shall be forced to obey:" and, from that time forward, he bent his thoughts upon the restoration of his kinsman James. It happened that Walter had, a little time before this, affronted and injured the chief man of Argyle, named Colin Campbell, who, being made acquainted with the thoughts of Murdo, greatly approved his design, and assisted him in it; so that he assembled the estates at Perth, and a consultation being held concerning the recall of their king, they all, either out of favour to the true heir of the crown, or disgusted with the present state of affairs, willingly agreed to send an embassy to procure his release. Some nobles were accordingly chosen, and sent as ambassadors, who, coming into England, found the English more inclinable to it than they expected; for the duke of Gloucester, who, in the king's minority, administered the government, called the council together, and easily persuaded them to permit James, the son of the late king of Scotland, to return, at the desire of his subjects, into his own country. He urged the policy of this by the consideration, that, in his present condition, the king had it not in his power to recall, by his authority, the Scots out of France; neither could he form an alliance between his kingdom and England. The duke further thought to gain another advantage, and not only to bind him fast as a sure and constant personal friend, but to keep him under the power and influence of England, by marrying him to Joan, the daughter of the earl of Somerset, with whom James was greatly enamoured, and who was the most beautiful woman of her time. By her influence, the regent persuaded himself the league with France might be easily undermined; and that if the king was set at liberty, either he would be made a friend to England by that courtesy, or else, whilst revenging the wrongs his kindred had done him, he would entangle his country in a dismal intestine war; by which means, either the English would be made stronger by the addition of such a friend, or, if their Scottish enemies disagreed amongst themselves, they should be more disengaged, and readier for a foreign war. And indeed these were no rash considerations, if the English themselves, through their mercenary spirits, had not marred their own interests. For, seeing they demanded a greater sum of money for his redemption, than the Scots, in their present circumstances, could either promise, or were able to pay, a compromise was made, that the dowry of the wife should be retained for one half, and that the sons of some

noblemen should be given in hostage, for the payment of the other. James, being set at liberty upon these terms, returned home, after he had been eighteen years a prisoner, in the year of our Lord 1423.

Amidst the great concourse of people who flocked to see him, and congratulate his return, he was soon taken up with the complaints of those who grievously lamented the wrongs they had sustained since the death of his father the last king, partly by the negligence, and partly by the injuries, of the governors. Walter, the son of Murdo, Malcolm Fleming, and Thomas Boyd, were principally accused; and, to pacify the commons for the present, they were committed to several prisons, until the next convention of the estates, which was appointed to be on the 27th day of May; when Fleming and Boyd, upon making some compensation for damages, and paying heavy fines into the king's exchequer, were set at liberty.

JAMES I. the hundred and second King, began his reign A. D. 1424.

In the mean time, the king and queen were crowned on the 20th day of April; when he was placed in the chair of state by his cousin Murdo, though that office belonged to the earls of Fife. Soon after, many profitable statutes were enacted for the good of the public, but especially to restrain robberies; which, by the licentiousness of former times, had grown to such a height, that laws and magistrates were despised, as if all right lay in the power of arms. They next consulted how to raise the money for the payment of the king's ransom; but the public treasure being low, by reason of so many wars, and the domestic seditions which followed them, the governors having pardoned offenders, and bestowed rewards on good patriots, so that the royal revenue was mortgaged, and money taken up thereon, he could not pay it of his own, and was forced to crave aid of his subjects. The nobles, therefore, whose sons were left hostages, easily obtained that an act should pass for the purpose; but, in the payment of the impost, there was not so ready an obedience. For, upon a valuation of the moveables, a twentieth part was levied, which, in so great a scarcity of money, though every thing else was abundant and cheap, seemed intolerable to men who were not accustomed to taxes; and who also were more concerned at the precedent that might operate for the future, than on account of the present burden. Besides this, the higher sort were calumniated by the vulgar, as if they had laid too much of the weight of taxation upon the shoulders of the poor. But that which troubled the commons most, was the short time appointed for the payment of the levy, for it was enjoined to be brought in within fifteen days; and if any one proved a defaulter, his cattle were to be seized upon, either by the lord of the manor, or the sheriff of the county. And, if any one alleged his being in debt, or in arrears of rent to his landlord, the exception did not avail to abate his contribution. The evil was further increased by the severity and harshness of the collectors, who not only vexed the people, but, by false reckonings and charges, deducted a great part of the money which was collected for the public use. In addition to all this, the imposition seemed more intolerable, because the former governors had been very remiss and moderate in their levies and assessments, for the purpose of insinuating themselves into the love of the commons, and by that means keep them from desiring the restoration of their lawful king. For this cause it was, that when the assembly gave liberty to Robert, the king's uncle, to levy a tax, he, to ingratiate himself with the commonalty, refused to let it pass into an act; affirming, "that he had rather pay down so much money of his own, than that the people should be burdened on such an account." After the king had exacted the first payment, which came in very sparingly, and with the ill-will of the public, who complained that, besides the burdens of the wars, they had these new taxes imposed upon them, he forgave the rest.

In this assembly, Murdo, duke of Albany, with his son Walter and Alexander, Duncan, earl of Lenox, his wife's father, and Robert Graham, who, some years after, murdered the king, were taken and committed to prison; together with twenty-four more of the chief nobility. But the most of these were, in a little time after, set at liberty; Murdo only, with his son, and wife's father, being retained in custody. The same day that Murdo was taken, the king

seized his castle of Falkland in Fife, and that of Downe in Monteith, out of which his wife was carried to the castle of Tantallon, in Lothian. James, his youngest son, on hearing of the havoc that was making among his family, gathered a band of men, and burnt the town of Dumbarton, besides which he slew John Stuart, the king's uncle, surnamed Rufus, and then fled into Ireland, where he died shortly after. There also Finlaw, a Dominican, and bishop of Lismore, who fled with him, and was his counsellor in all his affairs, departed this life. The wife of Walter, with her two sons, Andrew and Alexander, and Arthur, a base-born son, withdrew likewise into Ireland, but, in the reign of James III. they returned again, and were restored to their lands with great honour. The same year, in an assembly of the estates at Stirling, Murdo, with his two sons, and wife's father, were brought out of prison, to be tried according to law; the proceedings being conducted after the custom of the country, which is thus: Some man eminent for wisdom and authority, is chosen president of the court, and he hath at least twelve assessors joined with him, who are to hear the crimes objected, and to pass sentence on the prisoner, or party accused, according to their oaths. These judges are usually of the same quality with the party accused, or at least of the next condition to him, as near as may be; but the prisoner hath power to except against his judges, when the number of twelve, and sometimes more, is completed; and when the crimes are weighed, the sentence is pronounced according to the majority of voices. In this case, judges being chosen according to custom, it is not material to mention their names, but certainly they were persons of repute, and some of them nearly related to the accused.

The prisoners were convicted of high-treason. The two young men were put to death the same day; their father and grandfather, by the mother's side, the day after, on a little rising hill over against the castle of Stirling. There goes a current report, though I do not find it mentioned in history, that the king sent to Isabella, wife of his cousin-german, the heads of the father, husband, and sons, to try whether so fierce a woman, through the impatience of grief, as sometimes happens, would not reveal the secrets of her mind; but, though she was much disturbed at the sudden spectacle, yet she made use of no intemperate language, and only answered, "That if the crimes objected were true, the king had done justly, and according to law."

The assembly being dissolved, John Montgomery and Humphrey Cunningham, being sent by the king for the purpose, reduced the castle in Marin island in Loch-Lomond, which was held in the name of James Stuart, the fugitive. Not long after this, John Stuart of Darnley, who, when the commanders of the Scots in France were destroyed in various ways, was made general of the horse amongst them, came over with the archbishop of Rheims, to renew the ancient league with him, and to contract a marriage between Lewis, the son of Charles VII. and Margaret, the daughter of James, both of whom were only children at that time. These matters being accomplished, the next year, which was 1426, all Scotland was subdued within Mount Gram-pius; so that the king became encouraged to proceed farther in his conquests. Accordingly, he first caused the castle of Inverness to be repaired, which is situated in a convenient place in the farthest part of Murray. Two years after, going thither to administer justice, and suppress robberies, he sent for the chiefs of all the families, especially those who were accustomed to make incursions with great troops, and collect plunder in the neighbouring countries, raising contributions upon them in time of peace, and forcing the poor people to supply them with victuals, while they themselves led an idle life. Some of these robbers had one thousand, some two thousand, and others more partisans under their command, by which means virtuous people were kept in subjection to them for fear of danger; and the bad, who found a sure refuge amongst them, were emboldened to commit all manner of wickedness. The king got most of these men into his power, some by threats, and others by promises; but he committed about forty of their principals to prison, and upon trial, two of the most villainous, namely, Alexander Macrory and John Macarthur, were hung; James Campbell was likewise put to death for the murder of John the islander, a man of some note in his country; the rest were confined apart in several prisons; some afterwards suffered death, and

act at liberty. Thus, as the heads of the faction were either slain or kept in custody, the king supposed that the common sort, being deprived of their leaders, would not stir; and therefore persuaded them, by kind and gentle words, to do what was just, and to place the hopes of their safety in nothing but the innocence of their lives. On the condition of their thus acting, he promised to honour and reward them; but, if not, they might be assured, that the punishment which had been inflicted upon others, would most certainly await themselves.

When matters were thus composed, the king had still with him Alexander the islander, one of the most potent persons in the state, next to the sovereign himself; for he commanded over all the Western Isles, besides which, he had an accession of the fertile county of Ross, through his mother, who was daughter to Walter Leslie, the late earl of that county. Alexander, having committed many cruel and flagitious acts, was in great fear of the king, whom yet he found very clement, by the mediation of his friends, insomuch that he was kindly invited to court, and graciously entertained there. Having obtained a pardon for what was past, great assurances of favour were held out to him, if he would inure himself to a more quiet and obedient carriage and deportment for the time to come; and so he was sent home. But he was so far from being grateful to the king for his pardon and subsequent liberty, that he thought he had great wrong done him, in having been kept some days in prison. Therefore, as soon as he was returned to his old comrades, he gathered a company of them together, who were accustomed to live upon spoil, and went to Inverness, in a seemingly peaceable manner. There, being hospitably entertained, he suffered his followers to pillage the town, after which he set fire to the houses, and then invested the castle; but, hearing that a force was coming against him, he was compelled to raise the siege, and march in great haste to Lochaber; where, on account of the advantage of the place, he resolved to risk the fortune of a battle, with the army which he had with him, consisting of ten thousand men, inured to war. But two tribes or clans, of those who followed him cheerfully for the sake of plunder, when they heard of the preparations made by the king against him, deserted, namely, the Catans and the Camerons, called vulgarly Clau-Chatian and Clan-Cameron.

Being thus deprived of part of his strength, and having no great confidence in the fidelity of the rest, he began to think of concealment, and so, dismissing his army, he retired, with some few, into the Western Islands; but, not deeming himself secure there, he consulted about escaping to Ireland. Presuming, however, that even there he could not be safe from the wrath of the king, he thought it best to fly to his last refuge, the royal mercy and clemency, which he had before so largely experienced. But here his thoughts were at a loss betwixt hope and fear, for when he considered what mischiefs he had done in his first revolt, and, after the king had graciously pardoned him, with what perfidiousness and cruelty he had again broke forth, and so cut off all expectation of farther indemnity; he was in great doubt and perplexity, whether he should commit himself, with his life and fortune, to the anger of his sovereign, that was so justly raised against him. In these circumstances, he resolved to take a middle course between flight and surrender, which was, to send agents to court, to beg pardon for his offences, and to incline the king's heart to lenity. For this service he chose peaceable and moderate men, who were not infected with the same evil of which he had himself been guilty; and, on that account, were not unacceptable to the king. Notwithstanding this, the only answer they could obtain from him was, that he would hear nothing till Alexander put himself into his hands, neither would he treat with him in his absence. Alexander cast up all the dangers that surrounded him, in his mind, and foreseeing that he could be safe nowhere from the royal indignation, resolved to choose a fit time and place, and so throw himself upon the mercy of the king, who he thought would count it a shame to injure or punish a humble supplicant. Accordingly, he came privately to Edinburgh, where the court then was, and, on Easter-day, when our Lord's resurrection is celebrated with great solemnity, he threw himself at the king's feet, having a linen cloak or plaid about him, with which he was rather

covered than clothed; and in a speech, composed to excite pity, yielded himself into his hands, and begged his life and estate. His habit, the place and time, and so great and sudden a change of fortune, much affected the persons then present. The queen and nobles, who were there, interceded with the king for him, and so far inclined and affected his mind, that they were commanded to stay till their devotions were ended. In the mean time, the king, having pondered every thing with himself, thought it not safe to dismiss so perfidious, potent, and factious a person, without any punishment; and yet, on the other hand, he was willing to gratify the queen; upon which, he resolved to keep him in safe custody; that, by this means, he might gain an opinion of clemency, and, at the same time, prevent Alexander from doing farther mischief; and withal terrify others by his example. Upon this he was sent prisoner to Tantallon-castle; while his mother, a fierce woman, who, it was thought, would have excited him to new attempts, was banished into the island of Luchcolm.

But though the licentiousness of Alexander was thus repressed, all things were far from being quiet in the northern countries; for the men of Caithness and Cameron, who, the year before, had deserted Alexander, fell out violently amongst themselves; and fought one another with such fury, that many of the former were slain, and the Cameronians were almost wholly destroyed. In the islands, likewise, where it was thought things would have been settled in consequence of Alexander's exile, new commotions were raised by Donald Balloch, his cousin-german, under the plea of revenging the wrong done to his kinsman. To quell this insurrection, Alexander and Alan Stuart, one the earl of Caithness, and the other of Marr, gathered some of their countrymen, and went into Lochaber to meet Donald, it being reported that he would make his descent there. While they were waiting, Donald, perceiving that they kept no order, and were without tents or guard, in the fourth watch, landed his men silently, and set upon them so unexpectedly, while half asleep, that he made a great slaughter amongst them. Alan, with almost all his brigade, perished there; but Alexander, with a few, saved his life by flight. Donald, elated with this success, so wasted all Lochaber with fire and sword, that no man dared to oppose him; but at length, hearing that the king was making towards him with a greater force, he packed up his plunder, which was very considerable, put it on shipboard, and returned into the islands. The king marched as far as Dunstaffnage after him, and when he saw the ruin and fearful devastation which had been made, it put him in an excess of rage, and he was about to pass over into the islands, but the chiefs of their families came with humble supplications to him, alleging, that the guilt was not general, because nothing had been acted by public counsel, but that all the fault lay at the door of Alexander, and of some indigent and lewd persons who took his part. The king answered, he would not admit of their excuse, unless they caused the authors of those wicked and pernicious practices to be delivered up to him to be punished. On their promise to do their endeavour for this, the king suffered some of them to depart in quest of the robbers; keeping the rest in the nature of hostages. Those who were dismissed, slew many of the thieves, and brought three hundred more to the king, who caused them to be all hanged; but Donald the chief fled, to avoid the same fate.

Though this punishment of the robbers made things a little more quiet in the islands and the neighbouring parts, for the present, yet the unruly disposition of some wicked and turbulent men would not suffer that calm to last long. The king, at the desire of his nobles, having released Duff and Murray, two commanders of the thieves in Angus, they turned their fury upon one another, meeting in equal numbers, for each of them maintained about fifteen hundred partisans, with the spoils of the people. They fought so obstinately, that there was scarcely one left on either side, to carry the news of the slaughter. Some say there were only twelve, others but nine, left alive; so that the king, who was equally angry with both, had few to try or punish.

And yet this calamity did not restrain one Macdonald from his wonted ferocity. He was a noted robber, born in Ross, whose wicked disposition was hardened by the impunity of the former times; so that he, in a manner, played the part of a tyrant a long time among his neighbours. Amongst the rest,

they say, he committed one fact superlatively cruel. A widow woman, who had been robbed by him, bemoaned her case in a most lamentable manner, and repeatedly cried out that she would complain to the king. "Wilt thou so?" says he; "then, that thou mayst the better perform thy journey, I will myself assist thee;" and so, calling a smith, he caused him to nail horse shoes to the soles of her feet; but not content with that act of cruelty, he added contumelious speeches, and in words of mockery and contempt, told her, she was now more fenced against the roughness of the ways. Thus shod, he shewed her as a laughing-stock to all those who passed along. The woman, being of a fierce and stern disposition, was rather enraged than terrified by his reproaches, and, as soon as she was able to go, went to the king, and laid before him the whole matter of fact. The king had heard the story before, from others; and having then the offender in prison, he told the woman to be of good cheer, for that she should speedily see the same punishment inflicted on the inventors of it. Accordingly, he caused Macdonald, and twelve of his accomplices, to be brought out of prison, and to have their feet shod with iron nails, and so carried three days about the city, with a crier going before them, declaring the cause of this new punishment. Then the captain was beheaded, and his twelve associates were hanged, all their bodies being set upon gibbets in the highways.

These new crimes, which the grant of a pardon, in the first instance, had not prevented, made the king more eager to find out Donald the islander; and, being informed that he lay concealed in the house of a nobleman in Ireland, he sent messengers to demand him for punishment. The nobleman fearing, that if he should send him away alive so far by land and sea, he might possibly make his escape, which would give his enemies room to assert that it was done by his connivance, caused him to be slain, and sent his head to the king by his own messenger. Open robberies being thus diligently suppressed, the king endeavoured to root out some secret crimes and evil, but covert, practices; to accomplish which great and good work, he made choice of eminent persons, much commended for their prudence and sanctity, giving them power to travel all over the kingdom, to investigate the wrongs of the people, and authorizing them, if there were any offences complained of, which ordinary judges, either for fear durst not, or for favour and affection would not, intermeddle with, to hear such cases, and determine them. He added also one to their number, whose business it was to correct and rectify weights and measures. This was the more necessary, since then not only every city, but almost every house, had a different kind of measure. In a parliament which he called, wholesome laws were enacted for this purpose; iron measures were set up in certain places; and an officer was sent to all markets and fairs, who was to regulate every measure according to the standard; and to inflict a heavy punishment on him who used any weight or measure that was not publicly stamped.

Whilst he was transacting these things for the public good, on the 14th of October, in the year 1430, his queen was brought to bed of twins, which occasioned a day of public rejoicing; and the king, to increase the popular delight, forgave the former offences of some noblemen, the chief of whom were Archibald Douglas and Gilbert Kennedy, who, because they had spoken too rashly and unadvisedly concerning the state and government of the realm, had been sent to prison; Douglas, in the castle of Lochleven, and Kennedy in the castle of Stirling. As a further testimony of his reconciliation to Douglas, he made him godfather at the baptism of his children, which is considered a distinction of great honour, and a token of intimate friendship. Besides this, he made his son one of the knights who were created, as so many witnesses of the public joy, on this occasion. The other parts of the nation being purged and amended, the king next turned his thoughts to the reforming of the church. But the priests could not be corrected by the civil magistrate; for the princes of Europe having been long engaged in mutual wars, the clerical order had, by little and little, withdrawn themselves from their obedience, and acknowledged no other authority than that of the pope of Rome; who indulged their vices, partly because he was a gainer by them, and partly because he might make kings the more subject to his pleasure, through the great power of the

ecclesiastics in their dominions. In this state the king resolved to remedy the evil the best and only way he was able; for, seeing it was not in his power to amend what was past, nor to eject unworthy men from the preferments of which they were in possession, he thought it would be best to provide for the future, by instituting and liberally endowing public schools of learning. These he justly believed would prove seminaries for all orders of men; since whatsoever is excellent or noble in any commonwealth, takes from thence its origin as a fountain. Thus he drew learned men to him by rewards, and was sometimes present at their disputations; and when he had any leisure from civil affairs, he delighted to hear the conferences of scholars; endeavouring, by that means, to eradicate the false opinion which many nobles had imbibed, that learning drew men off from action to sloth and idleness, and softened military spirits, either breaking, or at least weakening all their vigorous efforts; so that the study of letters was only fit for monks, who were immured as it were in a prison, and good for no other use. But, on the contrary, the monks, as they had degenerated from the simplicity and frugality of their ancestors, so they had turned themselves wholly from the culture of their minds to the care of their bodies. Learning was also as much neglected by the rest of the priesthood; particularly for this reason, that benefices were either bestowed on the most slothful and worthless characters in noblemen's families, who were unfit for other employments; or else they were seized by the fraud of the papal agents, so that a parsonage was nothing else but a reward for some piece of service, and that sometimes none of the best. But, further, there was another mischief, which added much to the corrupting of ecclesiastical discipline, and that was the order of begging friars. These mendicants, at the beginning, pretended greater sanctity of life than the other religious communities; and so easily imposed upon the people to hear them rather than their parish priests, who were commonly gluttons and dunces. Nay, these parish curates or priests, as they grew rich, scorned to do their own work themselves, but would hire the friars, as they called themselves, for a small annual stipend, to preach a few sermons once a year to the people; while, in the mean time, they withdrew themselves into cities, and there chanted out their idle songs, as it were, after a magical manner, not knowing what they said; and there was none of them that hardly ever turned an eye towards his own parish, but when his tithes were to be collected. By degrees they even gave over the office of singing, at certain hours, in cathedrals and churches; which, though it were but a light, was yet a daily service, and hired some poor young persons of their order as substitutes, to supply their places in saying mass and other prayers; and so, by muttering and mumbling out a certain portion of psalms, appointed for every day, they performed a kind of tragedy; sometimes answering each other in alternate verses; and at others, making a chorus between the acts, which closed with the image or representation of the death of Christ. As the friars, who were their hirelings, on the one side, did not dare to offend their masters, on whom their livelihood depended; neither yet, on the other, could they bear their insolence, joined with so much avarice; so that they pitched upon a middle way, that they might engage them to make a readier payment of their pensions. After they had bitterly inveighed against their lust and avarice before the people, who gave ear to their doctrine; and when they had raved enough in their sermons, to keep them in fear, and to conciliate the minds of the vulgar, yet considering that they were themselves in ecclesiastical orders, they told them, that whatever the abuses were, the priesthood was a sacred order, and that the temporal or civil magistrate had no power to punish those who enjoyed it, and who were only responsible to God, and his vicegerent the pope. And, as their avarice increased with their luxury, they thought they could not squeeze gain enough from the people, therefore the friars set up a new kind of imposition, holding forth in their sermons the merit of works. Hence also arose purgatory, and the cleansing of those souls whom the pope was pleased to detain there, by the sacrifice of the mass, by the sprinkling of holy water, by alms and pensions given or offered, by indulgences, pilgrimages, and worshipping of relics. The friars being exercised in this kind of barter and traffic, in a little time claimed all power to themselves, both over the living and the dead.

In this ill condition did James the First find the affairs of the church in Scotland; and therefore he thought it would be the most compendious way to restore the old discipline, by admitting good and learned men into ecclesiastical benefices. To increase the emulation therefore of young students, he informed the masters and governors of universities and schools, that, as he was himself hindered by the affairs of state from considering particular merit, they should therefore be careful to commend learned and virtuous young scholars to him, that he might gratify those with church preferments, who would prove useful to the people by their doctrine and example, and be thereby enabled to assist poorer candidates for the ministry with their substance; so that they might not be compelled, for want, to break off their studies and course of learning, and betake themselves to mechanic, sordid, or mercenary trades and employments. And, to encourage good men in a diligent application to learning, and to make the slothful sensible that the only way to preferment was by virtue, he distinguished students by their degrees, that so every one might know for what station he was qualified. And, indeed, had succeeding kings followed this course, we should not have fallen into these evil times, when the people cannot endure the vices of the priests, nor the priests the remedy of their vices. Neither was the king ignorant that the cause of the corruptions which defiled the church, was its exorbitant wealth; and, therefore, he did not approve the prodigality of former kings, in exhausting the royal treasury to enrich monasteries; so that he often said, though David was otherwise the best of kings, the profuse piety which was so much praised by many, was prejudicial to the kingdom; and yet he himself, as if he had been carried away by the rapid torrent of evil custom, could not withhold his hand from building a monastery for the Carthusians, near Perth; nor from endowing it with large revenues. One thing was very admirable in him, that, amidst the greatest cares for the welfare of the public, he thought the most inferior and private matters not unworthy of his royal notice, provided any benefit accrued to the public from them. For as Scotland had been exercised with continual wars from the death of Alexander III. for almost a century and a half together, during which long space of time, her cities had been often spoiled and burnt, and her youth being generally made soldiers, caused mechanical employments to be neglected, he invited traders of all sorts to come over from Flanders, proposing great rewards and immunities to them. By this means, he replenished with this sort of men those places which were before almost empty, because the nobility resided, according to ancient custom, in the country. Neither did he only, by this means, render the towns apparently more populous; but he likewise engaged a great number of idle and vagrant people to apply themselves to the works of industry and honest labour; so that, in a short time, those things were to be had cheap, and made at home, which used to be obtained from abroad at a great expense.

Yet, while he was thus strengthening all the weak parts of his kingdom by proper remedies, he gained the ill-will of his subjects to a great degree, for two causes. The one seemed light in appearance, yet it was that which is the beginning of almost all calamity to a people. For, when peace was universally settled, idleness, luxury, and the wanton lust of ruin, were its immediate ill consequences. Hence arose sumptuous feasting, drinking, entertainments by day and night, masquerades, and balls, the desire of foreign fashions, stateliness of houses, not for necessary use, but to please the eye; a corruption of manners, falsely called politeness, and in all things a general contempt of the country customs; so that nothing was accounted handsome or comely, but what was perfectly novel and uncommon. The ordinary people being unwilling that the fault of these innovations should lie with them, threw the blame on the English courtiers who followed the king; and yet they did not inveigh against such wanton and pleasurable courses more bitterly in their words, than they studiously practised them in their lives. But the king obviated this mischief as much as he could, both by wholesome laws, and also by his own good example; for he kept himself, in his apparel and living, within the bounds of the richer sort of private men; for if he saw any thing immoderate or extravagant in other persons, he shewed his displeasure by his countenance, and sometimes by his words. By this means, the

course of increasing luxury was somewhat restrained, rather than the new intemperance extinguished, and the old frugality restored. His other fault was talked of abroad by his enemies, and afterwards broke forth into a public mischief. Robert, the king's uncle, and Murdo, his cousin-german, while they enjoyed the regency of the kingdom, which was for many years, aspired to the throne; but, not knowing how to remove James out of the way, they did what was next to it,—so draw the affections of men to themselves, that the better sort might not miss a king very much, nor have any ardent desires after him; for they used such great moderation in the management of affairs, that their government would have seemed to men not only tolerable, but very desirable, had Walter, Murdo's son, carried it with the same popularity and moderation. For they so engaged the nobles to them, by their liberality and munificence, that some enjoyed the crown lands by connivance, others obtained them by an open grant, and, in favour of particular men, they cancelled proceedings and judgments in law, and restored some who had been banished, amongst whom was that remarkable and potent person, George Dunbar, earl of March, who, during his exile, had done much mischief to his country. Such were the arts which were made use of to gain over the nobility, and prevent them from recalling the king. They hoped also hereby, that in case the latter should die without issue, the crown would be secured to them without any competitors. On the other hand, they flattered themselves that, by these means, in the event of his returning from exile, their faction would be so powerful as to defend them against his resentment. But when the king did actually return, the old favour and respect borne to the uncle, seemed to be almost extinguished by the new injuries and flagitiousness of his son Walter; so that it plainly appeared nothing was more popular than justice. The people, therefore, were not only consenting, but also contributed their assistance to the execution of Murdo the father, and his two sons, as well as to the banishment of the third; so that the king's revenue was augmented by the confiscation of their estates, and also by the acquisition of those of John, earl of Buchan, who died without children, in France, and of Alexander, earl of Marr, who was illegitimate, and died at home without issue; concerning which last I shall speak a few words by way of digression.

His father was Alexander, the son of king Robert; and, in his youth, by the ill advice of some bad men, he became the leader of a band of thieves; but when he grew up to maturity, he so reformed his manners, that he seemed to be quite another person. His vices gradually decreasing, by the benefit of wholesome counsels, he so managed affairs both at home and abroad, that he left behind him a memory precious to posterity. For, at home, he quelled the insurrection of the islanders at Harlaw, making great slaughter of them, and thereby extinguished a dangerous war in the very beginning; and though he amassed great riches, and purchased many good estates, insomuch that he exceeded his neighbours, yet he did not addict himself to idleness or pleasure, but went with a considerable party of his countrymen into Flanders, where he followed Philip, duke of Burgundy, against the Luicklanders, or people of Liege; in which war he gained both wealth and honour. While abroad, he married a rich heiress, in whose right he became possessed of the Isle of Holland, in Batavia; but the people resisting the government of a stranger, he returned home, and provided a fleet with great cost, yet to no great purpose, because it was against men who were well provided with land and sea forces. At length he set upon their numerous fleet, returning from Dantzic, which he took and pillaged, slew the mariners, and burnt the ships, so that he repaid the enemy for the loss he had received from them, with great interest; nay, he so subdued the fierceness of their minds, that they desired a truce for one hundred years, and obtained it. He improved the breed of horses in Scotland, by bringing over some fine Hungarian mares, which race continued for many years after.

These rich earls, Buchan and Marr, thus dying without issue, their patrimonial inheritances descended of right to the king; who also alone enjoyed all the possessions of the three sons of king Robert the Second, by his last wife; but not without the murmuring of the nobility, who had been accustomed to large donations in such lapses, and who thought it hard the monarch

should take all, without sharing any part of it amongst them. Further, they conceived another, and more pressing cause of offence, in the revocation which the king had made of some grants made by Robert and Murdo, the last regents, as being illegal. Amongst the grants thus annulled, were two very remarkable ones. George Dunbar, who had been prosecuted as a public enemy, and was afterwards recalled by Robert, obtained the restoration of part of his estate. He was succeeded by his son George, to the joy of many, who were well pleased that such an ancient and noble family, which had so often deserved well of their country, were restored to their ancient dignity. But the king, who looked narrowly, and perhaps too sharply, after his revenue, was of opinion, that the power to restore confiscations, recall exiles, and give back the goods which, being forfeited for treason, were brought into the exchequer, was too great a power for one that was only the guardian of another man in the kingdom, and chosen merely to act as a tutor. Besides which, largesses, made in the minority of princes, were null and revocable by the old laws of Scotland, if not confirmed by the respective kings when they came of age. Therefore James, that he might reduce the people of March under his power without violence, as they were a martial people, and borderers upon England, detained George with him, and despatched letters to the governor of the castle of Dunbar, commanding him, on receipt of them, immediately to deliver it to William Douglas earl of Angus, and Alexander Hepburn of Hales, whom he had sent to take possession. George laid hold of this circumstance to complain that he was wrongfully dispossessed of his ancient patrimony, not for his own fault but that of another, and which too had been forgiven by the person who then enjoyed the supreme power. The sovereign, to pacify him, and to proclaim his clemency amongst the commonalty, bestowed Buchan upon him. This act of the king was variously spoken of, as every one's humour and disposition inclined him. But there was also another occurrence which contributed to hasten his catastrophe, the origin of which is to be traced still farther back.

I have already said, that king Robert had three sons by his concubine; and that he had also two by Euphemia his wife, Walter earl of Athol, and David earl of Strathearn. When the queen died, he married his former mistress, for the purpose of legitimatizing the children he had by her, and place them in the line of succession to the crown. Accordingly, at his death, he left the kingdom to the eldest of these sons; to the second he gave great wealth, with the regency; and the third he made earl of several counties. In this matter, though the children of the other wife thought themselves wronged, yet being younger, and not so powerful as the rest, they concealed their anger for the present; and besides, their influence was somewhat lessened by the death of the earl of Strathearn, who left only one daughter behind him, afterwards married to Patrick Graham, a young nobleman, of a very potent family in that age, by whom she had a son named Meliss. His parents did not live long, and the child, a few years after, while yet a stripling, was sent as a hostage into England, till all the money for the ransom of the king should be paid. Walter, earl of Athol, though in every respect too weak for the adverse party, never gave over the design which he harboured of cutting off his kindred, nor laid aside his hopes of recovering the kingdom; but, because he was inferior in strength, he craftily fomented their divisions and discords, and invidiously made use of their dangers to promote his own ends, so that, through his artifices, that large family was reduced to a few in number. Many were of opinion, that he gave the counsel to take off David, the son of king Robert; and that James would not have escaped him either, had he not passed a good part of his life in England, far from home; for he gave advice to the earl of Fife, that, seeing his brother was imbecile, he ought himself to seize the kingdom. When the king, after losing all his children, and discovering the iniquity of his brother, died of grief, there was then only the regent, with his family, that stood as a bar to his hopes. He was an active man, of great wealth, power, and authority; besides which, he was very popular, and had a numerous issue. These considerations in some measure retarded the prospects and embarrassed the designs of Walter; but, when Robert died a natural death, and his son John was slain in the battle of Verneuil, he resumed his former project

with greater earnestness than ever, and bent all his mind and endeavours to liberate James, and set him at variance with Murdo and his children. And, seeing they could not all of them stand safe together, he foresaw, that, in their dissensions and decline, his hope would be advanced one step higher to the kingdom. Thus, when James returned home to his country, Athol used every method in his power to hasten the destruction of Murdo, by suborning men fit for the turn, to forge crimes against him, while he himself sat as judge upon him and his sons. When they were cut off, there was only James left, and one little son, who was a child, not then above five years old. If James, therefore, could be despatched by the conspiracy of the nobles, Athol had no doubt but that himself, who was then the only remaining branch of the royal stock, would be advanced to the administration of the government. Though constantly taken up with these thoughts, Athol concealed his secret purposes, and made a great show of loyalty to the king, in helping to rid his kindred out of the way; for it was his cunning contrivance, that, by the ill offices of others, he might increase his own power, and diminish that of his enemies.

In the mean time, Meliss Graham, who, as I said before, had been delivered as a hostage to the English, was deprived of Strathearn; because the king, making a diligent inquiry into his revenue, found, that it was given to his grandfather by the mother's side, upon condition, that if the male line failed, it should return to the crown, as being a male fee, according to the phrase of the lawyers. This innocent man's loss, who was absent, and only a hostage, moved many to commiserate his case; but Robert, his guardian, took it so heinously, that it made him almost mad. For he, resenting the injury done to his kinsman more impatiently than others, ceased not to accuse the king openly of injustice; and being summoned to answer for it in law, neglected to appear, and, on that account, was banished the land. This made his fierce mind more bent upon revenge, being irritated by a new wrong; so that he secretly confederated with some, who, like himself, had their estates confiscated; others, who were indignant at the judgments passed, though justly, upon their friends; and others, again, who accused the king as a covetous man, because he was so intent upon his gain, that he had not rewarded them according to their expectations. Besides, it was lamented, that not only many noble families were brought to ruin, but that the wardships of young nobles, which were wont to be the rewards of valiant men, were now altogether in the hands of the king; so that all the wealth of the country was almost at the disposal of one person, while others might starve for misery and want, under a ruler who was so unjust and unequal in putting a value upon their labours.

Now, that for which they upbraided him concerning the wardships, was this. It is the custom in Scotland, England, and some parts of France, that young noblemen or gentlemen, when their parents die, shall remain under the care of those whose feudatories they are, till their arrival at the age of twenty-one years; and that, in the mean time, all the profits of their estates, except the charges necessary for their education, and the dowry given with their wives, should belong to their governors and guardians. Now, these tutelages, or, as they are commonly called, wardships, were wont to be sold to the next of kin, for a small sum of money; or sometimes well-deserving men were gratified with them; who either expected gain by the purchase, or a reward by the gift. But now they were much vexed that the king should take all to himself; neither did they conceal their spleen and displeasure. When the king heard of these murmurings and complaints, he excused what he did as the effect of necessity, because the public revenue had been so lessened by former kings and governors, that he could neither maintain his family in dignity, nor yet give any magnificent entertainment to ambassadors, without having recourse to these means. Besides, he alleged that this care of the king, in providing money by all just and honest ways, was not unprofitable to the nobility themselves; whose greatest injury it was, to have the royal exchequer low. In such circumstances, kings were wont to extort by force from the rich, what they could not do without; nay, sometimes they were forced to burden and oppress the commons too, by exacting from them the payment of taxes. The parsimony of the king, he said, was far less prejudicial to the public, by putting a restraint

upon immoderate donations, than his profuseness was wont to be, for then he was forced to seize on other men's estates, when his own was consumed. This answer satisfied all those who were moderate; but the violent, who rather sought after occasions of complaint, than any just plea for excesses, were more vehemently enraged by it.

Such was the state of Scotland, when ambassadors arrived from France, to fetch Margaret, the daughter of James, who had before been betrothed to Lewis, son of Charles VII. home to her husband. This embassy was followed by another from the English; who, seeing that the duke of Burgundy's friendship was alienated from them, that he meditated a breach, and that Paris, and other provinces abroad, were in a tumult, feared lest, when all the strength of their kingdom should be drawn out to the war, the Scots might invade them on the other side. On this account, they sent ambassadors into Scotland, to hinder the renovation of the league with France, and the consummation of the marriage, but chiefly to effect a perpetual alliance with those who were born in the same island, and used the same language. To prevail with the Scots to join them in a defensive and offensive bond of alliance, the English promised that their king would give up his claim to Berwick, Roxburgh, and other places and countries which were before in controversy betwixt the two nations.

James referred this overture to the assembly of estates, then sitting at Perth; where, after a long debate, the ecclesiastics were divided into two parties; but the nobles cried out, they knew the design of the English to be that of separating them from their old allies the French, in order that, when freed from other cares, they might renew the war with Scotland more effectually. They said that the liberal promises of the English aimed at no other end; but that, as for themselves, they would stand to their old league, and not violate the faith which they had given. The ambassadors, being thus renulsed, turned from persuasions to threats, and seeing the Scots refused to embrace their friendship, they declared war; telling them, that if their king sent over his betrothed daughter to France, for the purpose of marrying her to one who was their enemy, the English would hinder her passage if they could, and take the whole escort prisoners, having a fleet ready prepared with that view. This menace of the ambassadors, instead of terrifying James, inspired him so much, that he equipped a squadron, and shipped a great company of noblemen and ladies for his daughter's train, and then caused them to set sail sooner than he had determined, in order to prevent the designs of the English. Yet, notwithstanding all this precaution, it was rather to be attributed to God's providence, than to the care of men, that she fell not into the enemy's hands; for, on coming near the place where the English lay concealed, in expectation of her coming, upon a sudden a fleet of Hollanders appeared, laden with wine from Rochelle to Flanders. The English squadron, because the Burgundians were now reconciled to the French, and become their enemies, immediately made sail with all their might, and their ships being swift sailers, they presently came up with the trading vessels, who were heavy laden and unarmed, and as easily took them; but before they could bring them into port, the Spaniards set upon them unawares, recaptured the Flemings, and sent them safe home. Amidst such changeable fortune betwixt the three nations, the Scots landed at Rochelle, without meeting any enemy. Here they were met by many nobles of the French court, and brought to Tours, where the marriage was celebrated, to the great joy and mutual gratulations of both kingdoms.

Upon this occasion, the English writers, especially Edward Hall, and his copyist, Grafton, inveigh mightily against James, as ungrateful, perfidious, and forgetful of ancient courtesies, who, though nobly entertained by their countrymen for so many years, honoured with a royal marriage, a large dowry, and restored to liberty after a long imprisonment, disregarded all these obligations, and preferred the friendship of France to that of England. But the circumstances themselves easily refute these slanders. For, in the first place, the detention of him when he landed on their coast, being against the league, and also the law of nations, was a wrong instead of a courtesy: and next, as to their not putting him to death, but ransoming him for money; this was to

be attributed, not so much to their love or mercy towards him, as to their avarice; but allowing that there was any favour in it, yet what did it resemble but that of thieves, who would seem to give the life which they take not away? And, if he was obliged to the English on that account, it was a private, not a public, debt. As to their bestowing of an education upon him who was innocent, by reason of his age, a suppliant by fortune, and a king by descent, though most unrighteously detained, it bears indeed some show of humanity, which, if they had neglected, they might have been justly blamed. But indeed it would have been a commendable piece of kindness, if the injury going before, and the covetousness following after, had not marred it; unless it be said, that if you purposely wound a man, you may require him to give you thanks for his cure; and so a light compensation for a great loss, may be esteemed as a courtesy; or that because you have done a man half a good turn, you should be paid as for a whole one. He who takes care that his captive shall be educated in learning, either for his own pleasure, or that he may yield him a better price; though some advantage accrue hereby to the party instructed, yet the master doth not aim at the good of the slave, in his institution, but at his own. "But," say they, "the king honoured him with the marriage of his kinswoman, and thus the royal youth was as royally bestowed." But what if the affinity was as honourable to the father as to the son-in-law? He would else have married her to a private man; but now he made her a queen, and engrafted her by marriage into that family, on which some of the most famous of the English kings had often before bestowed their children, from whom so many princes had descended. "But," they add, "he gave a very large dowry with her." To whom, I pray, was it given, but to the English themselves, who took it away again in the ransom, thus making a show of it in words to the husband, and keeping it for their own use? So that the dowry was only mentioned, but not given; and spoken of too in such a manner, that they would have the young man, whom they had also grievously wronged, much indebted to them in carrying his wife away with him, without a dowry. But "they sent him home free," say they. Yes, as a pirate discharges his captive, when his ransom is paid. But how free, I pray? Even, if we may believe the English writers themselves, it was under the forced obligation of an oath, always to obey the sovereign of that country as his lord; and so to bring a kingdom, before his possession of it, into perpetual servitude, but which, if he had actually then enjoyed, he could not alienate; much less enslave it, previous to his own liberation. This would be, not to set one free, but to turn him loose with a longer chain, and that, not as a king, but as a steward only, or vicergerent of another man's kingdom. Such is that high stretch of liberality, of which, they say, James was unmindful. But let us suffer these unskilful writers, and forgetful of all moderation and modesty in their stories, to account profits received, as courtesies given; how great must we think that liberty of falsifying, or desire of evil-speaking, to be, which they use against the daughter of the same king? For when such men, otherwise impudent enough, had nothing to allege against her manners, they write, that she was unacceptable to her husband, because of her stinking breath. Now, on the contrary, Monstrelet, a contemporary writer of those days, affirms, that she was virtuous and beautiful; and he who wrote the Pluiscartine book, and who accompanied the queen both at sea and at her death, hath left it on record, that, as long as she lived, she was very dear to her father and mother-in-law, as well as to her husband, which appears by the epitaph, in French verses at Chalons, by the river Marne, where she died, which sound much to her praise: it was then published, and being afterwards translated into the Scottish language, is kept by most of our countrymen to this day. But leaving these men, who so calumniate the credit of others, and disregard their own, that they care little what is said by them, or thought of them, let us proceed with our history.

When the king, after being at the charge of equipping his fleet, levied an impost, the greatest part of the people plainly refused to pay a penny, and a few gave a small matter with such an ill will, that he commanded his collectors to desist, and to restore what they had already received. Notwithstanding this forbearance, he did not silence the clamours of the people; for

certain malcontents, who were exasperated at some private losses, incited every day seditious persons against him. At the same time, the English began to plunder Scotland, ravaging it both by land and sea, under the command of Percy earl of Northumberland. William Douglas, earl of Angus, was sent against him, with nearly an equal number of forces, being about four thousand on each side. Of the Scots there fell Alexander Johnstone, of Lothian, a person of quality, and of known valour. Some relate that two hundred, but others, that only forty, were slain of both armies, and that about fifteen hundred English were taken prisoners.

James, having been twice provoked by the English, first by their fleet, which lay in wait to intercept his daughter; and next, by the late invasion of his country, resolved to declare war against them. Accordingly, he raised as great an army as he could, and made a fierce assault on Roxburgh, expecting that in a short time it would surrender; but while engaged in the siege, the queen came posting to him in as long journeys as she was able to perform, to inform him of the disagreeable intelligence, that a dreadful plot was formed against his life; and that, unless he took special care, his destruction was unavoidable. The king being shocked at this sudden news, disbanded his army, and returned home; but his conduct greatly offended the populace, who reproached him openly, for listening to the voice of a woman; in abandoning a siege which had been carried on at a considerable expense, and that too at the moment when the place was on the point of being surrendered. After his return, he went to the convent of the Dominicans, near the walls of Perth, to make a private inquiry into the conspiracy; but his design was discovered by persons who watched all opportunities to execute their villany. One of the king's domestics, called by historians John, (but his surname is not mentioned,) revealed to his accomplices what was doing at court; which made them hasten the execution of the scheme, lest their secret cabals should be exposed, and proper means applied to frustrate them. Walter earl of Athol, the king's uncle, though the ringleader of the confederacy, in order to ward off all suspicion from himself, sent for his kinsman Robert Graham, of whom I have already spoken, as fit for the enterprise; for though rash in counsel, he bore an old grudge to the king, on account of his former imprisonment and banishment, and also because his brother's son, to whom he was guardian in expectancy, had Strathearn taken from him. Walter having associated with this man, Robert his grandson, an active youth, gave them instructions how to act, and, by way of encouragement, told them that when the murder was committed, he should be in supreme authority, and would provide for their safety. They freely promised to do their endeavour, and instantly hastened to perpetrate the fact, before the plot could be made known to the king. For this purpose, they privately gathered their company together, and knowing that there were but few attendants in the convent of Dominicans, they thought it would be easy to surprise and despatch him there with little noise. Accordingly, they persuaded John, his servant just mentioned, whom they had drawn over to their party, to be assistant to them. Agreeably to his promise, he brought the conspirators at midnight into the court, and having placed them privately near the king's bedchamber, shewed them the door, which they might easily break open, as he had taken away the bar. Some think, however, that they were received into the palace by Robert, the nephew of the earl of Athol.

In the mean time, whilst they lay concealed, being solicitous how to force open the door, which they thought would be their greatest obstacle, fortune had the work without their help; for Walter Stratton, who had a little before carried in wine, coming out, and perceiving men in arms, endeavoured to get in again, and cried out as loud as he could, "Traitors! traitors!" Whilst the conspirators were despatching him, a young lady of the family of Douglas, as most say, though others assert that she was a Lovel, shut the door, and not finding the bar, which was fraudulently laid aside by the servant, thrust her arm into the staple, instead of a bolt; but they quickly brake that, and so rushed in upon the king. The queen threw herself upon his body, to defend him; and spreading herself over him as he lay, could hardly be forced off, after she had received two wounds. When he was abandoned by all, they stabbed him in twenty-eight places, and some of them in his heart. Thus

came this excellent king to his end, and that a most cruel one, by the hands of assassins, and sincerely lamented by all good men. When his death was divulged by the noise and lamentation which was made, a great concourse of people came presently into the court, and there passed the rest of the night, making doleful complaints; but the parricides had made their escape in the dark. There every one spoke according to his disposition, either severely, in order to raise a greater odium against the murderers; or in lamentable accents, to increase the grief of their friends; every one dwelling on the good or ill fortune which the king had undergone; how, in his childhood, he was exposed to the treacheries of his uncle; and in endeavouring to escape him, was precipitated into the hands of the English; afterwards his father dying, the rest of his youth was spent in exile among his enemies: then fortune changed, and he had an unlooked-for restoration; how, after his return, in a few years the turbulent state of the kingdom was changed into a perfect calm; how at last, by a sudden change of affairs, he whom his enemies had spared abroad, was now slain by the treachery of his relations at home; and that too in the flower of his age, and in the midst of his labours to settle good laws and customs in his kingdom. Then they gave him his deserved praise for all the rich endowments of his body and mind; so completely was the envy and malice of men extinguished towards him now he was dead. In stature he was low, yet robust and strong; insomuch that he exceeded all his equals in exercises of agility and manhood; and as to his understanding, he was endued with such quickness and vigour of wit, that there was no art becoming a gentleman of which he was ignorant. He could speak, according to that age, Latin verses extempore; some of his poems, written in the English tongue, are yet extant, in which there appears great vivacity, though perhaps not so polite in point of learning. He was exceedingly well skilled in music, perhaps indeed more than was fit or expedient for a king; there being no instrument which he could not play upon so harmoniously, that he might have been compared with the best masters of the art in those days. But perhaps some may want to know what fruit he produced, alleging that these are only the flowers of study, more fit for ornament than use or business. Know, then, that after he had learned other parts of philosophy, he studied the regulation of kingdoms, and of the manners of men. His great and ripe abilities for civil government appeared in those acts performed by him, and in the laws which he made: by which he not only much benefited his own age, but all posterity. And his death declared, that there is nothing more popular than justice; for they who were wont to detract from his merit whilst alive, now he was dead, passionately revered his memory. The nobles, as soon as they heard he was murdered, came in of their own accord from their respective counties, and, a trial being regularly decreed, voluntarily sent out into all parts to apprehend the murderers, and bring them to justice. Many of them were taken; the principals were put to new and exquisite kinds of death; and the rest were hanged. The chief heads in perpetrating this villany were considered to be Walter earl of Athol, Robert his grandson, and their kinsman Robert Graham. The punishment of Walter, as the chief author and instigator of the whole plot, was continued for three days successively. On the first, he was put into a cart, containing a high crane, with ropes passing through pulleys; so that being hoisted up and as suddenly let fall, without touching the ground, he was racked with intolerable pains by the luxation of the joints. Then he was set in a pillory, that every one might see him, and a red-hot iron crown was set on his head, with this inscription, "The King of all Traitors." They say, the cause of this punishment was, that Walter had been sometimes told by female witches, for which the country of Athol was always infamous, that he should be crowned king in a mighty concourse of people. By this means therefore the prophecy was either fulfilled or eluded, as indeed such kinds of predictions commonly meet with no other accomplishment. The day after, he was bound upon a hurdle, and drawn at a horse's tail through the principal streets of Edinburgh. The third day he was laid along upon a plank in a conspicuous place, and his bowels being cut out, whilst he was alive, were cast into the fire, and burnt before his face; as also was his heart; then his head was taken off, and

exposed to public view, being set upon a pole in the highest place of the city. His body was divided into four quarters, which were sent to be hung up in the most public places of the principal cities of the kingdom. After him his grandson was brought forth to suffer; but, because of his age, they would not put him to so much pain; besides, he was not the author, but only an accomplice in the wickedness of another man, and that too his grandfather; so he was only hanged and quartered. But Robert Graham, who perpetrated the villany with his own hand, was carried in a cart through the city, his right hand being nailed to the gallows, that was set up in the cart. Then came the executioners, who continually ran red-hot iron spikes into his thighs, shoulders, and those parts of his body which were most remote from the vitals, after which he was quartered as the other. After this manner was the death of James revenged. It is true, the murder was a barbarous one, but it was visited by torments so cruel, that they seem to exceed the bounds of humanity; for such extreme kinds of punishment do not so much restrain the minds of the vulgar, by the fear of severity, as enrage them to do or endure any thing; neither do they so much deter wicked men from committing such barbarous actions, as lessen their terror by often beholding them; especially if the spirits of the criminals are so hardened, that they flinch not at the sufferings; for among the ignorant populace, a stubborn confidence is sometimes praised as a firm and steady constancy. James departed this life on the 20th of February, in the year 1437, when he had reigned thirteen years, and lived forty-four. So great diligence was used in avenging his death, that within forty days all the conspirators were taken and executed. He left one son behind him, the younger of two twins, half of whose face, so various are the operations of nature, was perfect scarlet.

BOOK XI.

JAMES II. *the Hundred-and-third King, began to reign A. D. 1437.*

AFTER the punishment of the parricides, James, the only son of the deceased king, and as yet scarcely entered into the seventh year of his age, began his reign on the 27th day of March, in the abbey of Holyroodhouse at Edinburgh. The king being incapable of the government, there was a great dispute among the nobles, who should be elected viceroy or regent. Archibald earl of Douglas exceeded all the Scots at that time in wealth and power; but Alexander Livingston, and William Crichton, both of knightly families, bore the best character in point of authority, and in the fame which they had gained, for their prudence in the administration of affairs during the late reign. The nobility were generally inclined to give these two their votes, because they were jealous of the power of Douglas, which was great enough to make even monarchs themselves uneasy. Accordingly, Alexander Livingston was made regent, and William Crichton chancellor, which office he had borne under the former king. The nobility had scarcely quitted the place of assembly, when presently factions arose; for while the chancellor kept close to the king in the castle of Edinburgh, and the regent with the queen at Stirling, Douglas, indignant that he was passed over in the last assembly, and not knowing which party he hated most, was well pleased to see all things in disorder; so that, rather by his connivance than consent, the men of Annandale, who were always accustomed to robbery and rapine, infested all the neighbouring districts, ransacked them, and carried off the plunder, as it they had been in an enemy's country. When complaint of these things was made to the governors, they sent letters to Douglas to suppress them, knowing that the people of Annandale were under his control and power; but these not prevailing, they wrote others in a sharper style, to put him in mind of his duty. He was so far however from punishing past offences, that he rather encouraged the offenders, by screening them from punishment: for he issued a command, that they should neither obey the king's officers, if summoned by them into the courts of justice, nor perform any other act of service. He

alleged that this exemption was a privilege granted to him as a regale or royalty by former kings; and that if any one should go about to infringe it, he would do so at the cost of his life.

The regent and chancellor lamented this state of things, which they could not rectify; so that the gangrene spread farther and farther, till it soon infected all those parts of Scotland which lay within the Forth. Besides, they also disagreed between themselves, insomuch that proclamations were publicly made in market towns and villages, by Alexander, ordering that no man should pay obedience to the chancellor; while the chancellor issued his decrees that none should obey Alexander; and if any person addressed himself to either of them, to complain of wrongs, he was certain, at his return, to meet with severe treatment from the men of the contrary faction. Matters were sometimes carried with so high a hand, that the complainant had his house set on fire, by which means he was completely ruined. While both parties went beyond the length of hostile fury, in their mutual butcheries of one another, men of integrity, who joined neither faction, not knowing well what to do, kept close at home, privately bewailing the deplorable state of their country. Thus, in the endeavours of each side to strengthen their particular interest, the public was neglected, and stood as it were in the midst, forsaken and abandoned by both.

The queen, who was with the regent at Stirling, in order to increase her adherents, performed an attempt that was at once both bold and energetic: for she undertook a journey to Edinburgh, under pretence of visiting her son, and so was admitted into the castle by the chancellor; where she was courteously entertained, and, after some compliments had passed, her discourse turned to a lamentation of the present state of the kingdom. She made a long oration, about the numerous mischiefs that flowed from this public discord, as from a fountain of ills; and signified, that, for her part, she had ever endeavoured to compose all differences so, as, if they could not attain to a perfect tranquility, they might however have some face of a civil government. But, since she could not prevail, either by her authority or counsel, to do any good abroad, and in a public manner, she was now come to see what she could do privately; being resolved to try her utmost, that her son, who was the hopes of the kingdom, might have a pious and liberal education; that so, in time, he might be able to apply some remedy for these spreading evils. And, seeing this was a maternal care implanted in her by nature, she hoped it would procure her the envy of no one; that, as for the rest of the government, she desired those would take it, who thought themselves fit to manage, and undergo so great a burden; but yet that they would deport themselves in such a manner, as to remember, that they were to give an account to the king when he came of age.

This harangue she made with a countenance so composed, that the chancellor was fully convinced of her sincerity; neither did he discover any thing in her train of followers, to give him the least hint of suspecting either fraud or force; so that hereupon he gave her free admission to her son when she pleased; and they were often alone together, and sometimes she staid with him all night in the castle. In the mean time, the artful woman frequently discoursed with the governor about making a reconciliation of the parties; she called also some of the opposite faction to the conferences, and thereby she insinuated herself so far with the man, that he communicated freely with her touching almost all his affairs.

Having thus gained the chancellor, she easily persuaded the young king to follow her, as the author of his liberty, out of prison, and so to escape the hands of a person who not only used the royal name for a cloak to his wickedness, but had monopolized all public offices to himself; and neglecting the good of the public, had highly advanced his own particular fortune. To bring this happily to pass, she told him there wanted only a will in him to hearken to the good counsel of his friends; and for other matters, he might leave them to her care and management. By such speeches, she, being his mother, and a sagacious woman, easily persuaded him, who was but a youth, to put his whole trust and confidence in her, especially seeing a freer condition of life was proposed to him.

Accordingly, having prepared all things for their flight, she went to the chancellor, and told him, that she would stay that night in the castle, but that early in the morning she should go to the abbey of Whitekirk, in East Lothian, to perform a vow which she had made for the safety of her son; and, in the mean time, commended him to his care till she returned. He, suspecting no deceit in her words, wished her a good journey, and a safe return, and so they parted.

Hereupon, as had been already agreed, the king was put into a chest, wherein she was wont to deposit her female attire; and, the day after, carried by her faithful attendants out of the castle, to the sea-side, at Leith. The queen followed after with a few attendants, to prevent all suspicion; and there being a vessel ready to receive them, they went on board, and, with a fair gale, made for Stirling. The king's servants waited late in the morning, expecting when he would awake, and arise from his bed; so that, before the fraud was detected, the ship was quite out of danger, and the wind so favourable, that before the evening they had landed at Stirling. There the king and queen were received with great joy and mighty acclamations of the regent, and of all the multitude. The ingenuity of the queen was commended by all, and the great fame for wisdom which the chancellor had obtained, became now a ridicule, even to the vulgar. This rejoicing and thanksgiving of the populace lasted, as usual, two days.

The third day, those of Alexander's party came in, some out of new hopes, others called by authority of the king's name; to whom, when the series of the project was declared in order, the courage of the queen in undertaking the matter, her wisdom in carrying it on, and her success in effecting it, were extolled to the skies. The avarice and general cruelty of the chancellor, but especially his ingratitude to the queen and the regent, were highly inveighed against. He was accused as the only author of all the disorders, and consequently of all the mischiefs arising from thence; moreover, that he had converted the public revenue to his own use; that he had violently seized on the estates of private persons, and that what he could not carry away, he had spoiled; that he alone had all the wealth, honour, and riches, while others were pining in disgrace, solitude, and poverty. It was further observed, that these grievances, though great, would most probably have been followed by others still more oppressive, had not the queen, through God's aid and counsel, no less valiantly than happily freed the king from prison, and so delivered the people from the tyranny of the chancellor, since, if he kept his sovereign in confinement, it was evident what private men might fear and expect from him. What hope could there ever be, that he would be reconciled to his adversaries, who had so perfidiously circumvented his friends? and how could the inferiors hope for relief from him, whose insatiable avarice all their estates were not able to satisfy? Therefore, since, by God's help, in the first place, and next, by the queen's sagacity, they were freed from his despotism, all courses were to be taken that this joy might be perpetual; and, to make it so, there was but one way, and that was, to pull the man by force out of his castle, which was a nest of tyranny; and either to kill him, or so weaken him, that, for the future, he should not have the power of doing them any more wrong; though, said they, merely disarming him was not a very safe way, because he was such a savage, and had been so accustomed to blood and rapine, that he would never be quiet as long as the breath was in his body.

This was the purport of Alexander's discourse in council, to whom all readily assented; and an order was made, that every one should go home, and levy what force he could to besiege the castle of Edinburgh, from before which he was not to depart till it was taken. To compass this with the greater facility, the queen promised to send thither a great quantity of provision, which she had stored up in Fife. But despatch was the main object in this juncture, while their counsels were yet private, and the enemy had no warning to provide things fit and necessary to endure a siege. In the mean time, they had no reason to apprehend any thing from Douglas, who they knew to be a mortal enemy to the chancellor; therefore, as they had all the power, plenty of treasure, and likewise the authority of the king's name, which

was taken from the chancellor, they were persuaded he could have no hope or resource, but in submitting himself to their mercy.

Thus, the assembly being dissolved, all things were speedily prepared for the expedition, and to lay close siege to the castle. The chancellor was acquainted well enough with their designs; but he placed his greatest hopes of safety, and the security of his dignity, in bringing over Douglas to join with him in his defence.

For this end he sent suppliants to him, humbly stating, "That he would always be at his devotion, if he would aid him in his present extremity; urging, that he was deceived, if he thought that their cruelty would rest in the destruction of himself alone, but that they would only make his overthrow a step to the ruin of Douglas."

To this message Douglas answered with more freedom than discretion; "That both Alexander and William were equally guilty of perfidiousness and avarice, and that their falling out was not for any virtuous cause, or for the good of the public, but for their own private advantage and dissensions; and that it was no great matter which of them should gain the better in the dispute; nay, that if they both fell in the contest, the world would be a gainer; and that no good man would desire to see a happier sight than two such fencers hacking and hewing one another."

This answer being spread abroad in both armies, for the castle was already besieged, had the effect of hastening a peace, sooner than any one thought was possible. Hostilities were suspended for two days, during which Alexander and William had a meeting, where they debated on the danger that would accrue to the public, as well as to their private welfare, if they pushed matters to the extremity of a battle; since it was now obvious that Douglas only waited till one of them fell, or both should be so weakened, that he might, by attacking the conqueror, gain the power of the kingdom. They concluded, therefore, that the safety of both lay in their mutual agreement. Thus the threatened danger easily reconciled these two men, who were, upon all other occasions, violent enough in their hatred to each other. William, according to agreement, gave up the keys of the castle to the king, professing, that both it and himself were at his service, and that he never entertained any other thought than that of obedience to the will of his sovereign. Upon this profession he was received into favour, with the approbation of all who were present. The king supped that night in the castle, which had been surrendered to him, and, the next day, the government of it was bestowed on William, and the regency on Alexander. Thus, after a deadly hatred between them, it was hoped that, for the future, the sense of their reciprocal advantage, and the fear of their common enemy, would have bound them in a firm and indissoluble knot of friendship.

But though these civil broils were composed, there were still robberies and murders committed among the lower orders of the people, in many places, without being punished; besides which, the old feuds that divided some noble families, occasionally broke out into open hostilities. The year after the king's death, on the 21st of September, Thomas Boyd of Kilmarnock, meeting Alan Stuart of Darnley, between Linlithgow and Falkirk, slew him treacherously, though a truce had been concluded; and, on the 9th of July following, Alexander, the brother of Alan, with his party, encountered Thomas, who fell with many others, both sides being nearly equal.

The death of Archibald Douglas, which happened about this time, was very opportune, because his power was universally formidable. He died of a fever, the next year after the death of James I. His son William, who succeeded him, being the sixth earl of that family, was then in the fourteenth year of his age, and a youth of great hopes, if his education had been answerable to his ingenuity. But flattery, which is the perpetual pest of great families, corrupted his tender years, and he became more vain, by entering too soon on his estate. For those who were accustomed to idleness, and took advantage of the folly and indiscretion of the rich, magnified his father's magnificence, power, and retinue, as exceeding royalty. By this means, they easily persuaded a plain, simple disposition, unarmed against such temptations, to maintain a great family, and to ride abroad with a train beyond

the state of any other nobleman; so that he not only kept his old vassals about him, in their former offices, but obtained also new ones with profuse salaries. He also made knights and counsellors, and so distinguished the order and degrees of his attendants, as to imitate the public conventions of the kingdom; in fine, omitting nothing that could equal the majesty of the sovereign himself. Such extravagances were enough to create suspicions of themselves; but good men were also greatly troubled for him, because he would often go abroad with two thousand horsemen in his train, amongst whom some were notorious malefactors and thieves, and many of them worthy of death. Yet with these he would come to court, and even into the king's presence; not only to shew his power, but to strike terror into the minds of others. This insolence he carried further, in sending over to France Malcolm Fleming and John Lauder, or Lothar, as his ambassadors. These two eminent persons, by their representations, easily obtained for him the title of duke of Tours; which honour had been conferred on the grandfather of Douglas, by Charles VII. for his great services performed in the wars; and his son also had enjoyed it after him. Grown proud by this accession of grandeur, he undervalued the regent and chancellor, because they were, as he alleged, the enemies of his father; neither did he stand much in awe of the king himself. For these causes, the power of the Douglas family seemed too exorbitant; but besides all this, a further cause of suspicion was excited.

James Stuart, whose brother William was possessed of a large patrimony in Lorne, after the king's death, married the queen, by whom he had children. Being highly offended that he was not admitted to any share in the administration, in order to attain more easily what he desired, and to avenge his imagined wrong, he seemed well inclined to the party of Douglas, and it was thought that the queen was not ignorant of his design; for she also took it amiss, that the regent had not rewarded her merits as she expected. On account of these suspicions, the queen, her husband, and his brother, were committed to prison. Though the queen was incarcerated in a chamber narrow enough of itself, even there she was diligently and watchfully guarded. The others were loaded with irons, and confined in the common prison, nor were they freed, till, in an assembly of the nobles, held on the 31st of August, the queen cleared herself from being any way privy to these plots, and James and his brother gave sureties that they would neither do any thing against the regent, nor take any post in the government without his consent.

Amidst this unsettled state of affairs, the western islanders made a descent upon the main land, and wasted all with fire and sword, without regard to either age or sex, so that their avarice and cruelty could not be paralleled by any example. But not content with preying upon the sea-coast, they also slew John Colquhoun, a noble person in Lennox, after calling him out from Inch-Marin, in the Loch-Lomond, to a conference, and publicly plighting their faith for his security. This was done on the 23d of September. Many foul offences of this nature were committed; so that partly through want of tillage, and partly through unseasonable weather, provisions became very dear; and moreover, there was, for two years, a pestilence so dreadful and destructive, that they who were attacked died within the space of a day. The vulgar ascribed the cause of all these calamities to the regent; for as matters prospered well with him, he despised the chancellor, and the nobles of that party, and grasped in his own hands the whole of the administration. Complaints were made against him, that he caused noble and eminent persons to be imprisoned upon light and groundless suspicions; and that he afterwards inflicted upon them heavy and unwarrantable punishments; that he granted an indemnity to those who were really guilty, according to his own arbitrary will and pleasure; and that he held secret correspondence with Douglas. The chancellor could not bear these things with patience, nor pass them over in silence; but wanting power to put a stop to them by force, he resolved to leave the court. Accordingly, he embraced the first opportunity to quit the king and the regent at Stirling, and with a great train of followers came to Edinburgh, where he fixed himself in that strong castle, being intent and watchful of all occasions of chance that might occur.

The news of this being noised abroad, excited envy against the regent, on

account of his power; and favour towards the chancellor, on account of his retirement: neither did William neglect to take advantage of these feuds; for he resolved, by some bold attempt, to curb the insolence of his adversary, and to remove the contempt which he had cast upon him. Therefore, having understood by his spies, that the king every day took the diversion of hunting, and was slightly guarded, he watched the season when Alexander was absent, and having made sufficient inquiry into the state of the country, the fitness of the time, and the certain number of attendants, he chose out a place not far from Stirling, where the faithfulest of his friends, with what force they could make, should meet and wait for his coming, while in the mean time he, with a few horse, lodged in a wood near the castle of Stirling, before day, and there waited the king's coming; neither did Providence fail him in his bold attempt. The king came into the wood early in the morning, with a small train, and those too unarmed; and so he fell amongst the troops of the chancellor; who saluted him as sovereign, according to custom, and bade him be of good cheer and take courage. The chancellor, in as few words as the time would permit, advised him to provide for himself and the kingdom, and deliver himself out of Alexander's power, that he might hereafter live at liberty, and as a monarch; not ministering to the will and dictates of other men; but laying those commands, which were just and equal, upon his subjects; and thereby freeing them from their present misery, which they had been plunged into by the ambition and lust of their subordinate governors, so deeply, that there could be no remedy found for them, unless the king himself would undertake to rule; as he might easily do without peril or pain. He added, that he himself had provided a good body of horse near at hand, who would attend him to what fit place soever he would go. The king seemed by his countenance to approve of what he said; either that he really thought so, or else, that he dissembled his fear. Whereupon the chancellor took his horse's bridle in his hand, and led him to his own men; while they who were with the king, being few, and unarmed, not able to encounter so many, returned back in great sadness. Thus the king came to Edinburgh, guarded by four thousand unarmed men, where he was received by the commonalty with great demonstrations of joy.

When the regent heard of what had taken place, his thoughts were confounded betwixt anger and shame, insomuch that he returned to Stirling, to consider what was most advisable to be done in the case. His great spirit was mightily troubled at being so childishly deluded by his negligence; and he suspected that it was done by the fraud and connivance of his own followers; so that he stood long wavering whom to trust, and whom to fear; shame, anger, and suspicion, reigning alternately in his mind. At length he took a little heart, and began to consider what remedy to apply in his present misfortune. He knew that his own strength was insufficient against the chancellor, who was a man politic in counsel, and strong in force; besides which, he had the favour of the people, and the authority of the king's name, to support him. As for the queen, he had so offended her by a close imprisonment, that it was not likely she would ever be reconciled to him; and even if she was, he had no great confidence in her assistance. With regard to Douglas, it is true, he had strength enough, but no prudence; his age was tender; his mind infirm; he was corrupted by flatterers, and swayed by the persuasions of others; and, as usually happens in such cases, the worst of men could do most with him; therefore the regent thought it beneath his dignity to have any thing to do with such persons. But the chancellor, though of a contrary faction to him, yet was a wise man, and his age and disposition might more safely be trusted; neither was the cause of offence between them so great, but that it might yield to former civilities which had passed between them. The greatest chance of their reconciliation, however, was grounded upon the similitude of their danger, and the necessity of their union to maintain the safety of the commonwealth. Besides, the enmity of the chancellor was most to be dreaded; for, if he should join the other parties, he would have power in his hands, either to reduce or banish the regent. Having pondered upon these things for some days in his mind, and communicated them to some of his most familiar friends, who were good men, and lovers of

their country, he by their advice took an ordinary train of attendants, and went to Edinburgh.

It happened, that the bishops of Aberdeen and Murray were then there ; two men, according to those days, of good learning and virtue. By their means and intercession, the regent and chancellor had a meeting in St. Giles's church, with a few friends on each side.

The regent first began to speak :

" I think it not necessary," says he, " to make a long discourse in bewailing those things which are too well known to all, or in reckoning up the mischiefs arising from intestine discords, and the benefits springing from unity. I would rather that we should observe those miseries in foreign than domestic examples. I will then come to those things which concern the public safety of all the people ; and next to theirs, our own, most of all. This disagreement betwixt us ariseth, neither from covetousness, nor from the ambition of government ; but because, in the administration of public affairs, which both of us wish well to, we are not of one mind, but take different measures ; yet, we are to take great care, lest this our dissension should prove of public prejudice to the kingdom, or privately injurious to ourselves. The eyes of all men are upon us two. Wicked persons propose to themselves the liberty of doing any thing, when we are destroyed ; and ambitious ones also think they shall obtain an opportunity to get wealth and power ; besides which we have many calumniators and enemies, as usually men newly raised to the highest dignity are wont to have. All these, as they repine at our successes, and envy our prosperity, so they would gladly receive the news of our adversity, thereby hoping and wishing for our ruin ; on which account it becomes us both to consult our own safety, which is closely interwoven with that of the public, and thus to avenge ourselves on our enemies and detractors in such a manner as may redound to our great glory and praise. The only way to accomplish these ends, is by forgetting our private injuries, and uniting all our thoughts and counsels for the good of the public ; remembering, that while the king's safety is committed to our care, as well as that of the realm, we are both liable to an account. Therefore, as heretofore, we have been to blame in contending which of us should be the greatest in honour and authority ; for the future, our contest should be, which shall exceed the other in moderation and justice. By this means, we shall recover the good will and reverence of the commonalty, who now hate us, and impute all their calamities to us. The nobility also, who, upon our disunion, have been guilty of the most unwarrantable excesses, may be brought back to a due sense of moderation ; and the more powerful, who despise us, as weakened by division, may stand in awe of us, when united and reconciled, and so behave themselves toward us with greater respect than ever. As for myself, I willingly yield that the king, in his tender age, shall be modelled and governed by you, as his father in his life-time appointed ; for, as often as I seriously think of that service, I judge myself rather eased herein of a burden, than despoiled of an honour. If I have received any private injury from you, I freely forgive it, for the sake of the public ; and if I have done you any wrong, let honest arbitrators adjust the damage, and I will make you satisfaction to the full ; and I will take special care, that such shall be my behaviour for the future, that neither my losses nor advantages shall be the least bar to the public prosperity. And if you are of the same mind, we may both of us rest secure for the present, and also leave our memories more grateful to posterity ; but if you think otherwise, I call on all men to witness, both here and hereafter, that it is not my fault, that the evils under which we now labour are not either completely cured, or, at least, in some sort relieved and mitigated."

To this the chancellor replied :

" As I reluctantly entered upon this stage of contention, so I am very willing to hear any mention made of an honourable agreement ; for, since I did not take up arms before the injuries I suffered had provoked me ; so your modesty hath urged me not to suffer the public to be damaged by my obstinacy. For I see, as well as you, by this our discord, that good men are exposed to the injuries of the bad ; in the minds of the seditious are excited the seeds of innovation ; our country is left for a prey ; the regal dignity is

lessened; public safety betrayed; authority insulted and ridiculed, even by the meanest of the people; and, whilst we thus betray the safety of the public, our private affairs are in no better a condition. In the mean time, men who are given to sedition take advantage of our discords, and our enemies behold them with pleasure, for they hate us both alike, and if the loss fall on either of us, they count themselves gainers, by what each side shall lose; and, therefore, I will not repeat the causes of our feuds, lest I make old sores bleed afresh; but, in short, I declare, that I forgive all private wrongs and injuries, upon the score of my country; for there never was, nor shall be, any thing that I prefer to the safety of the people, and the good of the commonwealth."

Those who were present highly commended both these resolutions; and so, by joint consent, arbiters were chosen to compose their differences; and, to the great joy of all, old discords were annihilated, and new terms of amity entered upon; and thus they, by joint counsel, again undertook the management of the kingdom. After this reconciliation, an assembly of the estates was held at Edinburgh. Thither came, not a few persons, as is usual, but whole clans and tenantries, as if they had removed their habitations, to complain of the wrongs they had sustained; and, indeed, the sight of such a miserable company could not be viewed without the deepest sorrow, every one stating his grievance, according to his circumstances; that robbers had despoiled fathers of their children; children of their fathers; widows of their husbands; and all, in general, of their estates. Whereupon, after commiseration of the sufferers, the guilt of these enormities was chiefly charged upon the captains of those thieves, whose offences were so notorious, that they could not be endured any longer; and yet their faction was so numerous, that no man was able to defend his life or fortune, unless he was of their party; their power besides was so great, that the authority of the magistrate could afford little protection to the poorer and weaker sort against their violence. Wherefore, the wiser sort of counsellors were of opinion, that, seeing their power was insuperable by plain force, it would be most advisable to undermine it by degrees. They all well knew that the earl of Douglas was the fountain of these calamities, though no man durst name him publicly; and, therefore, the regent, dissembling his anger for the present, persuaded the whole assembly, that it was more prudent for them to keep peace with him than to irritate him by suspicions; for he had so great a power, that he alone, if he remained refractory, was able to hinder the execution of the decrees of all the estates; but that if he joined the assembly, he might easily heal the existing evils.

Agreeable to this advice, it was resolved that letters of compliment, in the name of the estates, should be sent to Douglas, putting him in mind of the place which he held; of the great and illustrious merits of his ancestors, for the advantage of their country; and withal to desire him to come to the public assembly, which could not well be held without the presence of him and his friends. If he had any complaint to make in the convention, they would give him all the satisfaction they were able; and if he or his friends had done any thing prejudicial to the public; in respect to his noble family, which had so often deserved well of their country, they were ready to remit many things upon the account of his age, the state of the times, his own dignity, and the great hopes that were conceived of him. And, therefore, they desired he would come and undertake what part of the public government he pleased; for, inasmuch as Scotland had often been delivered from great dangers by the arms of Douglas, they hoped, that, by his presence, he would, at this juncture, strengthen and relieve his country, which laboured under intestine disorders.

The young man, whose age and disposition made him ambitious of glory, was taken with the bait; to which his friends added their persuasions: for they were all blinded by their particular hopes; so that their minds were turned from every apprehension of danger, to the sole consideration of their several advantages. When the chancellor heard that he was on his journey, he went out several miles to meet him, and gave him a friendly invitation to his castle, called Crichton, which was near the road, where he was magnifi-

cently entertained for the space of two days; in which time the chancellor shewed him all imaginable respect, that he might the more easily entrap the unwary youth. For, to shew that his mind was no way alienated from him, he began, in a familiar manner, to persuade him to be mindful of the king's dignity, and of his own duty: that he should own him for his liege lord, whom right of birth, the laws of the country, and the decree of the estates, had advanced to the sovereignty: that he should transmit the great domain, which his ancestors had gained by their blood and valour, to his posterity, in like manner as he had received it; and that the name of Douglas, which was illustrious for loyalty and achievements, should be free from the foul stain and suspicion of treason: that he and his tenants should forbear oppressing the common people: that he should discharge all robbers out of his service; and, for the future, maintain the laws of justice in so inviolable a manner, that if he had offended heretofore, it might be easily attributed to the ill counsel of bad men, and not to the depravity of his own nature; for, in that tender and infirm age, his repentance would pass for innocence. By these and such like speeches, he persuaded the young man, that he was his sincere friend, and so drew him on to Edinburgh, with David his brother, who was privy to all his projects and desigus. But his followers had some suspicion of deceit, by reason of the frequent messages that came from Alexander the regent; for expresses were flying to and fro every moment; and, besides, the chancellor's speech seemed to some more dissembling and flattering, than was usual in one of his place and dignity. All the followers of the earl muttered this secretly among themselves, and some freely told him, "that if he was resolved to go on, that he ought to send back David his brother, and, according to his father's advice to him on his death-bed, not lay his whole family open to one stroke of fortune." But the improvident youth was angry with his friends, who thus advised him; and caused a kind of proclamation to be made among all his followers, that not a whisper of the kind should be heard among them. To his more particular companions he answered, "that he knew well enough, it was the common plague of great families to be troubled with men who loved to be restless and uneasy, and who made a gain of the dangers and miseries of their patrons: and that such persons being in time of peace restrained by laws, were the authors and advisers of sedition, that so they might fish the better in troubled waters; but, that for his part, he would rather trust his person to the known prudence of the regent and chancellor, than give ear to the temerity and madness of insurgents." Having spoken these words, to prevent any further remonstrance, he set spurs to his horse, and with his brother, and a few more confidants, hastened to the castle, with more speed than is usual in an ordinary march. Thus, fate drawing him on, he precipitated himself into the snare of his enemies.

At that moment of time, the regent came in also; for it was agreed, that the whole weight of so great a blow should not lie solely on one man's shoulders. Douglas was kindly received, and admitted to the king's table; but, in the midst of the feast, some armed men came round him, quite defenceless as he was, and put a bull's head upon him, which, in those times, was the messenger and signal of death. When the young man saw this, he was troubled, and attempted to rise from his seat; but the same men seized him, and carried him into a court near the castle; where he paid for the intemperance of his youth with the loss of his head. David his brother, and Malcolm Fleming, whom, next to his brother, he trusted most of all, were also put to death with him. It is said, that the king, who was then a well-grown youth, wept for his death; and that the chancellor rebuked him severely for his unseasonable tears at the destruction of an enemy, during whose life the public peace would never have been settled. William dying thus without children, James, surnamed the Gross, for such he was, succeeded him in the earldom, which was a male fee, as the lawyers speak; but the rest of his patrimony, which was very great, fell to his only sister Beatrix, a very beautiful person in her days. This James, though no bad man, was not less suspected by the king, and hated by the commons, than the former earls; because, though he did not maintain robbers, as they had done, yet he was

not very zealous in restraining them ; but he was delivered from this state of enmity by his death, which happened two years afterwards.

William, the eldest of his seven sons, succeeded him, and being proud of the ancient power of the family, which he desired to restore to its pristine splendour, he resolved to marry the daughter of his uncle, who was the heiress of many estates. Several of his kindred, however, did not approve of the match, partly because it was an unusual, and by consequence an unlawful thing ; and partly, because, by the accession of so much wealth, he would become an object of envy to the people, and of dislike to the king. A rumour was indeed spread abroad, and that not without ground, that the king himself was determined to oppose the match as much as possible. This made William hasten the consummation of the marriage, even within the time when by ecclesiastical usage matrimony is prohibited, that he might prevent the king's endeavours. Thus, having obtained great wealth, he grew insolent, and enmity followed his arrogance, because in all places troops of robbers swarmed, whose captains were thought to be no strangers to the purposes of Douglas. Amongst these was one John Gormack of Athol, who not only pillaged all the country about him, but set upon William Ruthven, sheriff of Perth, while conducting a thief of that country to the gallows, and fought with him, as it were a set battle. At last, Gormack the captain, and thirty of his followers, were slain, and the rest fled to the mountains. This skirmish happened in the year 1443.

A few days afterwards, the castle of Dumbarton, which was impregnable by force, was twice taken in a little time. Robert Semple was the commander of the lower castle, and Patrick Galbraith of the higher, but their government was so divided, that each had a peculiar entrance into his own part. These two men, though associated in one charge, were not free from factions between themselves, for as Patrick was thought secretly to favour Douglas, Semple, perceiving that his part was but negligently guarded, seized him, and commanded him to remove his goods. The day after this Patrick entered with four unarmed companions, to fetch out his property ; and first lighting upon the porter alone, he seized some weapons, drove him and the rest out of the upper castle ; and thus, sending for aid out of the neighbouring town, he beat them out of the lower castle also, and so reduced the whole fort into his own hands.

About this time, many murders committed upon the common people were partly perpetrated by the people of Douglas, and partly charged upon them by their enemies. The king being now of age, and managing the government himself, Douglas, finding that he could no longer stand against the envy of the nobles, and the complaints of the commons, resolved to become a new man, to satisfy the people, and, by all possible means, to recover the heart of the king, which was alienated from him. In order to this, he came with a great train to Stirling, and when he had intelligence by some courtiers, whom he had bribed and made his own, that the king's anger was appeased, then, and not before, he came into his presence, and laying down his life and fortune at his feet, submitted the whole to his disposal. Some of the crimes of his former life he excused ; and other things, as the readier way to reconciliation, he ingenuously confessed ; withal affirming, that whatever fortune he should have hereafter, he would ascribe it solely to the royal clemency, and not to his own innocence ; but that if the king would be pleased to receive satisfaction from him, by his services and obsequiousness, he would do his utmost endeavour for the future, that no man should be more loyal and observant of his duty ; and that, in restraining and punishing all those exorbitant offences which his enemies cast upon him, none should be more sharp and severe ; because he was descended from that family, which was not raised by oppressing the poor, but by defending the commons of Scotland with their arms. This oration of the earl, and the secret commendation of the courtiers, so affected the king, that he forgave him all his past faults, received him into the number of his favourites, and communicated to him all his secret designs.

And indeed the earl, in a very little time, so obliged the king by his obsequious carriage, won so much on the courtiers by his liberality, and ingratiated himself to such a degree with all men by his modest deportment and

affable condescension, that the ordinary sort conceived great hope of his gentle and pliable disposition; but the wiser were somewhat apprehensive of the tendency of this sudden change of manners. Alexander Livingston and William Crichton in particular, surmising that all his counsels would lead to their destruction, resigned their places, and retired from court, Alexander to his own estate, and William to the castle of Edinburgh, there to watch and observe where the simulation of Douglas would end. Nor were these men of penetration wrong in the opinion they had entertained; for Douglas, having now the king alone, who was destitute of graver counsel, and naturally unwary, by reason of the immaturity of his age, thought now that he had a fit opportunity to revenge the deaths of his kinsmen; accordingly, he easily persuaded the king to send for William Crichton, and Alexander Livingston, with the two sons of the latter, Alexander and James, to give him a legal account of the administration of their former offices. His design herein was, if they came to court, to bring them under the control of his faction; and that if they refused to come, to declare them public enemies; and so, having the authority of the king's name as a pretence for his power, to sequester their estates. Hereupon they were summoned to appear, but instead of obeying the mandate, they returned answer by letters, "That they had never any thing more prevalent in their thoughts, than the good of the king and kingdom; and that they had so managed their trust, that they desired nothing more than to give up a full account, provided it was before impartial judges; but that, for the present, they desired to be excused, as it was evident the minds of those who were to be their judges, were prepossessed with the favours and bribes of their accusers; and besides, all passages were beset with armed men; not that they shunned a legal hearing, but only withdrew from the violence of their mortal enemies for a while, and reserved their lives for better times, till the commanders of thieves being driven from the king's presence, as they had often been in doubtful times past, they might then justify and assert their innocence to the king and all good men."

When this answer was received, in a convention which was held at Stirling the 4th of November, Douglas carried the matter so, that they were declared public enemies, and their goods confiscated. And then he sent out John Forster or Forester of Corstorphine, his confidant, with forces to ravage their lands in Mid Lothian, and bring their goods into the king's exchequer. Having compelled their castles to surrender, he demolished part, and into the others he put new garrisons; and thus making a mighty waste, without any resistance, carried off a considerable booty. Scarcely had these depredators retired, before Crichton gathered an army of his friends and vassals, sooner than was expected, and with them over-ran the lands of the adherents of Forester and Douglas, as far as Corstorphine, Strabrock, Abercorn, and Blackness. He burnt their houses, spoiled their corn, and brought away as much of the plunder as he could; particularly a stately breed of mares; and thus he did his enemy much more mischief than he received. Douglas, knowing that Crichton had done this by the assistance of others, rather than with his own force, turned his anger upon his friends, who, he was informed, had sent him aid privately, for few durst do it openly. The chief of them were James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrew's, George Earl of Angus, John Earl of Morton; the two last of whom were of Douglas's own family, one being born of the king's aunt, the mother of James Kennedy; and the other had married the king's sister. These persons did always prefer the public welfare, and the duty incumbent upon them to preserve it, before all private respects to their families. As Kennedy exceeded the rest in age, counsel, and consequently in authority; therefore the adversary's wrath was principally incensed against him; whereupon the Earl of Crawford and Alexander Ogilvie raised a sufficient body of men, and destroyed his lands in Fife; and, having a greater eye to the plunder than to the cause, they ransacked the neighbouring farms into the bargain; and then, without any opposition, returned into Angus, laden with spoil. Under these circumstances, Kennedy had recourse to his proper ecclesiastical weapons; and, because Crawford would not answer in court, he laid him under spiritual censure; which Crawford despised, according to his wonted contumacy; but, a little while after, he

was justly punished for his contempt of all laws, human and divine. For in the same year that these things happened, the college of the Benedictines at Aberbrothick, because monks could not meddle with, or set themselves up for judges in civil causes, made Alexander Lindsay, eldest son of the earl, chief judge in civil matters, under the title of sheriff, or bailiff. He, with his train of followers, became burdensome to the monastery; besides which he carried himself as their master, rather than their agent; so that they dispossessed him of his office, and put Alexander Ogilvie into his place. Lindsay looked upon this as a wrong done to him, which made each of them gather what force they could, as if a war had been declared between them. When both armies stood in readiness to fight, the earl of Crawford, having notice of it, made all the haste he could, and rode in betwixt them both, thinking that the sole authority of his name had been armour of proof to him; but, whilst he was hindering his son from engaging, and calling Ogilvie to a conference, a soldier, who was neither known, nor his aim perceived, darted a spear into his mouth, and struck him dead from his horse. His death was an alarm to both armies; and, after a sharp conflict, many being wounded on both sides, the victory fell to the Lindsays. They say the cause of this was, that, whilst both armies stood with their spears upright, as thick as a grove, a man cried out, "Why do you bring these goads with you, as if you had to do with oxen? Throw them away, and let us fight it out with our swords, hand to hand, with true courage, as becomes men." This said, they all threw away their pikes on both sides, except one hundred Clydesdale men, whom Douglas had sent in to support the Lindsays. These held the tops or points of their pikes in their hands, and trailed them at their backs; but when they came to close combat, they held them out as a thick fence before them, and broke the ranks of their enemies, who were daunted at the sight of weapons which they did not expect. The victors lost one hundred; but the vanquished five times as many, amongst whom were several men of note. Alexander Ogilvie was taken prisoner, and died, a few days after, of the anguish of his wounds, and grief of mind. Gordon, earl of Huntly, was put upon a horse by a friend of his own, and so escaped. The slaughter would have been greater, if the darkness had not covered the flight of the fugitives, for the battle began a few hours before night, on the 24th of January.

The Lindsays managed their victory with great cruelty; pillaging and demolishing houses, and utterly spoiling the country. The war was not less hotly carried on between the two factions in other parts. Douglas had besieged William Crichton some months in the castle of Edinburgh; in consequence of which, the assembly of the estates, that was summoned to be held on the 15th of July, and had already begun at Perth, was removed to Edinburgh. When the siege had lasted nine months, both sides grew equally weary, and so a surrender was made on these conditions, "That William should be indemnified for whatever he had done against the king, and that he and his party should march out without molestation." Thus, in every dispute, he who is most powerful, would seem to be most innocent. Not long after his, Crichton was received into the king's favour, and was made chancellor again, by the general consent of all; but he kept himself as much from the court, and all public business, as his office would allow. Douglas, having thus rather terrified than overthrown Crichton, turned his fury upon the Livingstons. But before I come to this part of my history, I will touch upon the slaughter of some of the nobles of those times; for it would be a work without end, to record the fates of them all.

James Stewart, a noble knight, was slain by Alexander Lisle and Robert Boyd, at Kirkpatrick, about two miles from Dumbarton; neither could they satisfy their cruelty with his death, but they endeavoured to get his wife also, who was then far advanced in her pregnancy, into their power; in order whereunto, they sent a priest to her, as in great haste, to tell her, that all the roads were full of horse and foot, and that there was no way for her to escape the present danger, but to go on shipboard, and fly to Robert Boyd, at Dumbarton, who had solemnly promised to bring her safe home. The credulous woman, who did not know that Robert was present at the perpetration of the murder, being carried from Cardross into the castle, perceiving that she was

circumvented by the fraud of her enemies, and overcome with excess of grief, fear, and indignation, brought forth an abortive birth, which, with the mother, died in a few hours.

About the same time, Patrick Hepburn, earl of Hales, kept the castle of Dunbar, having with him Joan, the wife of James I. who, in those tumultuous times, had fled thither for refuge. Archibald Dunbar, thinking this a just cause for quarrel, set upon Hales, the castle of Hepburn, in the night, killed the soldiers of the garrison at the first onset, and took it; yet, in a few hours, for fear, he gave it up to the earl of Douglas, upon condition that he and his troops should march safely out. Not long afterwards queen Joan died, leaving these children by her latter husband, John earl of Athol, James earl of Buchan, and Andrew, afterwards bishop of Murray. After she was dead, Hepburn delivered up the castle of Dunbar, ungarrisoned and desolate, to the king.

In Angus, Alexander earl of Crawford put John Lyons to death in the market-place at Dundee, because he had been raised to great wealth and honour, even to a match in the royal family, by Crawford's father; yet he proved ungrateful, and forgot the courtesies he had received.

Amidst these disorders, the men of Annandale embroiled the adjoining countries in every kind of calamity. The cause of these mischiefs was imputed to the earl of Douglas; who yet did all he could to conceal the wickedness of his clans; for he openly studied nothing more than to distress men of different parties, till his power was grown to such an enormous height, that it was a capital offence to call any thing he did in question. Thus he caused James Stewart, the king's uncle, to become a fugitive, because he spoke something freely concerning the state of the kingdom; and the ship being taken by the Flemings, he lost his life.

Next, Douglas thinking it high time to attempt the Livingstons, caused Alexander, the head of the family, and his son James, with Robert, the king's treasurer, and David, to be summoned to an assembly at Edinburgh; and of his friends, Robert Bruce, James and Robert Dundas. Of these, the two last, with Alexander Livingston, were sent back to prison to Dumbarton; but the rest were put to death. Of what crime they were guilty, meriting so great a punishment, the historians of those times do not mention, neither will I interpose my own conjectures, in a business so remote from our memory; only I will relate what I have heard, that James Livingston, when he came to the place of execution, complained heavily and explicitly of the inconstancy of fortune: "That his father, who was honoured with a power next to that of the king, did yet freely give up the invidious title of regent, and went to his own estate, far from court, and out of the sight of his enemies, whose cruelty was never satiated with his miseries; and therefore he was forced to take arms to preserve his life, which he again laid down at the king's command. If there were any fault in this, he had long ago obtained his pardon; and since that time, he had lived remote, and free from all suspicion of any crime; of which this was an evident token, that the nobility thought his family innocent, and did earnestly deprecate their punishment; and yet notwithstanding this, the severe cruelty of their enemies prevailed more than their former merits and good offices, the king's pardon, or the supplicating intercession of the nobility. And, therefore, he entreated all who were then present, to look upon those lofty titles of empire and dominion, to be nothing else but the flattering compliments of fortune, who then intended to do most mischief; and that they were rather the flowery embellishments for one's funeral, than the safeguards of a man's life; especially since bad men have more power to destroy the innocent, than the virtuous have to save them." And, having thus spoken, to the great grief of all the spectators, he submitted his neck to the executioner.

Amidst these combustions, Crichton was sent into France, partly to renew the ancient league, and partly to obtain from thence a royal bride. Douglas took his absence very well, though in an honourable employment; because, though he was a prudent and potent person, yet there were some relics of their former discords, that made him not partial to him. In this troublesome state of the kingdom, the same disease which vexed others, infected also the

ecclesiastical order. John Cameron, bishop of Glasgow, committed many acts of cruelty and avarice to the yeomen of his diocese, which was very large, and he also gave encouragement to those who were in power to do the like; that so, when the owners were unjustly condemned, their estates might be confiscated to him. The repetition of those acts made it believed that he was the author, or the favourer, of all the mischiefs that were perpetrated by his people. It is reported that the man came to an end worthy of his wicked life. The day before Christmas, as he was asleep at a farm of his own, about seven miles from Glasgow, he seemed to hear a loud voice, calling him to the tribunal of Christ, to plead his cause. This sudden fright awakening him out of his sleep, he called his servants to bring a candle, which he took into his hand, and began to read; but presently the same voice was heard louder than before, and struck all those present with great terror. Afterwards, when it sounded again still more terribly and frightfully, the bishop gave a great groan, put out his tongue, and was found dead in his bed. This singular example of God's vengeance, as I shall not rashly credit, so I have no mind to refute; yet, because it is delivered by others, and constantly affirmed to be true, I thought proper not to omit it.

At the same time, James Kennedy, one of a far different life and manners, who referred all his counsels to the good of the public; finding that he could, neither by his authority nor counsel, resist the daily increase of evils in his country; and seeing likewise, that the king's power was unable to oppose the conspiracies of wicked men, left all his estate as a prey, and went into obscurity. Neither, in these domestic miseries, were matters much better abroad. When the truce that had been concluded with the English was expired, the Scots made an inroad into England, and the English into Scotland; wasting all the countries wherever they came with fire and sword. In England, Alnwick was taken and burnt, by James, brother to the earl of Douglas. In Scotland, the earl of Salisbury did the like to Dumfries; and the earl of Northumberland to Dunbar. Great captures of men and cattle were made and carried away on both sides; but the commanders agreed amongst themselves, that the prisoners should be exchanged; for they were in a manner equal, both for number and degree. By these incursions, the country was depopulated, and yet the main object of the war remained undecided; so that a truce was again agreed upon for seven years.

In this state of affairs, James Dunbar, earl of Murray, departed this life, leaving two daughters, as his heiresses. The eldest of them was married, by her father, before his death, to James Crichton; the younger, after his decease, espoused Archibald, brother to the earl of Douglas. He, against the laws and custom of his ancestors, was called earl of Murray; so preponderating was the power of Douglas then at court. Neither was he content with this accession of honour; but that he might further increase the dignity of his family, he caused his brother George to be created earl of Ormond. His brother John, besides having many fair and fruitful farms and lands bestowed upon him, was made baron of Balveny, against the minds of several of his own friends, who were jealous lest the power of that family, too great before, should become at last formidable, even to the king himself; nay, they imagined, that these immoderate accessions and frolics of fortune would not be of long duration. His enemies, on the other hand, as invidiously as they could, bitterly inveighed against this insatiable ambition. "Who," said they, "can safely live under the exorbitant rule of such a tyrant, whose avarice nothing can satisfy, and against whose power there is no safeguard; who, right or wrong, invades the patrimony of the nobles, and exposes the meaner sort as a prey to his tenants; who causes those that oppose his power, either to lose all they have by thieves, or else to be put to death by assassins; and who advances upstarts to high honours, whom he grafts on the ruin of noble families, so that all the authority of the kingdom is now engrossed by one house?" At this time, besides many knights and barons, there were five opulent earls of the family, insomuch, that the king himself did but reign precariously, and men were like to suffer all extremities under the cruel bondage of the Douglas party; and he that uttered the least word tending to liberty, forfeited his life for his boldness. These, and similar discourses,

some certain, others to create greater envy, exaggerated beyond the bounds of truth, were spread abroad amongst the vulgar; which made those who were of neither faction remain indifferent to the care of the public, every one being mindful of his own private concerns. The wiser sort of his enemies were glad to hear, that a man of such power, against whom there was no making head, should thus voluntarily run headlong to his own destruction. Neither did they presage amiss; for his mind was grown so proud and insolent by success, that he shut his ears against the advice of his friends; while others could not, with any safety, dissemble and cover, by their silence, what they disliked, because he had parasites, who did not only watch for words, but observe the very countenances of men. As for his old enemies, many of them were brought for trial before him, who was both their adversary and judge; so that some were deprived of their estates, others were put to death, and many, to avoid his tyranny, fled the country.

The men of his faction lived in not the least fear of the law, for no one durst implead them; so that, letting the reins loose to all licentiousness, they invaded and made havock of things sacred as well as profane; and those who were obnoxious to them they murdered. Neither was there any end of their wickedness. Sometimes, when they had no sufficient cause to injure a man, they would do it unprovoked, and in a manner gratuitously, lest, through disuse of malice, any honest and tender thoughts should arise in their minds, and make them grow tardy and rusty in cruelty. Every one thought himself the noblest and bravest fellow, that could cast the greatest contumely on the common people. When such great miseries were spread through all parts of the country, the kingdom would certainly have sunk under the burden, had not England, at the same time, been as much embarrassed by civil combustions; but these being somewhat allayed, the English violated their truce, and invaded Scotland. After running over a great circuit, and ravaging many places, they drove away a vast number of cattle, and returned home. But it was not long before the Scots amply revenged themselves; for they also entered England with a great force, and did the enemy more damage, than they had sustained. Thus, the minds of both were irritated by these alternate depredations, so that a terrible desolation was made in the territories of both kingdoms; but the greatest share of the calamity fell upon Cumberland, whence the inroad to Scotland had first proceeded; and that province was so harassed by the war, as almost to be quite destroyed. When this was known in London, it occasioned the English to levy a great force against the Scots; thinking it would be easy to reduce the country into their power, as it was already weakened by civil discords. Hereupon, an army was raised of the better sort of people, and the earl of Northumberland appointed their general, because he knew the country well; and had besides a great name and power in those parts. To him was joined one Main, of a knightly family, who had long served in France, with good repute, industry, and valour. It is said, that this man, out of mortal enmity to the Scots, bargained with the king of England, that the lands which he might take either by killing or driving away the inhabitants, should belong to him and his posterity. On the other hand, the Scots, hearing of the preparation of their enemies, were not negligent in gathering forces. George, earl of Ormond, was made captain-general; who presently marched into Annandale, whither his intelligence informed him the enemy would come. And, indeed, the English had prevented him, and entered Scotland before. They had passed over the rivers Solway and Annan, and pitched their tents by the river Sark; from whence they sent out parties on every side, to pillage; but, hearing of the approach of the Scots, they recalled them by sound of trumpet, and contracted all their forces into one body. As soon as the contending armies came in sight of each other, they began the combat without delay. Main commanded the left wing of the English, and Sir John Pennington the right; in which were the Welsh, or descendants of the ancient Britons. The earl himself commanded the centre. George Douglas opposed Wallace, laird of Craig, against Main; and Maxwell and Johnston, each with their troops, were appointed to attack Pennington; while he took care himself of the main body. He gave them a brief exhortation, to entertain a confidence of victory,

"because they had taken up arms in their own defence, being provoked by the injuries of their enemies; but that a prosperous issue must needs attend so just a cause; and that if they could reduce the pride of the foe by a signal overthrow, they would reap a lasting fruit of their short labour." As the English, who abounded in archers, wounded many of the Scots with their arrows, at a distance; Wallace, who commanded the left wing, called aloud, so as to be heard by most of his men, why they trifled so, and skirmished at a distance? telling them to follow him, and rush in upon the enemy hand to hand; and then their valour would truly appear; for that such was the fighting proper for men. Having thus spoken, he drew the whole wing after him; and, presently, with their long spears, wherewith the Scots, both foot and horse, were furnished, they drove the enemy back, routed, and put them to flight. Main, perceiving his wing to give back, being more mindful of the splendid fame of his former life than of his present danger, rushed with great violence upon Wallace, that, by his boldness, he might either renew the fight, or breathe his last in the glory of an illustrious attempt; but by unwarily charging, he was separated from his own men, and was slain, as well as the few that followed him. When both armies heard that he had fallen, the Scots pressed on with such spirit, that the English army did not stand long. In their flight they dispersed, by which means more were slain in the pursuit than in the fight. But the greatest slaughter was upon the banks of the Solway; where the tide had swollen the river, so that they could not pass. About three thousand of the English were slain in this fight, and six hundred of the Scots. There were many prisoners taken, the chief of whom were Sir John Pennington and Robert Huntington. The son of the earl of Northumberland might have escaped; but, whilst he was assisting his father upon his horse, he was himself taken captive. The booty was greater than had ever been known in any previous battle betwixt the Scots and English. For the latter, trusting to the number and bravery of their soldiers, and depending also on the discord of the Scots, came on as securely as if it had been to a show, instead of a combat; so great was their confidence, and so much did they undervalue the enemy. Wallace was wounded, carried home in a litter, and, in three months after, died of his wounds.

Ormond, being thus a conqueror, took a view of the prisoners, and sent the chief commanders to the castle of Lochmaben. He then returned himself to court, where every one went out to meet him, and he was received with all the tokens of honour. The king highly extolled his military services, but advised him and his brother, that, as they had often given proof of their courage abroad, and had defended the state of Scotland by their labour and valour in perilous times, so at home they would accustom themselves to a modest deportment; and first refrain themselves from injuring the poorer sort, and next hinder their clans from doing it; and that they should employ their forces and use that grandeur, which their ancestors had obtained by their various merits, both from the monarchy and subjects, rather in restraining of robbers than in cherishing them; that this was the only thing which was wanting to complete their praise, and make it absolute; and, if they would do that, they should certainly find, that he would esteem the honour of the Douglas family, and their interest, before any thing else. They answered the king submissively, and so took their leave, and went joyfully home.

After this battle of Sark, the borders of Scotland were more secure from the wrongs of their enemies; but when the event was reported at London, it rather irritated than dejected the English. A council was immediately called about the war; and a new army was ordered to be levied, to erase the recent disgrace. Whilst they were all intent upon this expedition, at that crisis civil wars broke out among themselves; and a strong confederacy of the commons was formed against the king, which took off their thoughts from a foreign conflict; so that ambassadors were sent into Scotland, to treat for a peace; which was so much the more welcome, because the affairs there were not well settled. Yet as they could not agree upon terms, they only made a truce for three years, and so returned home. These things took place in the year of our Lord 1448.

This public joy was soon after increased by a message, sent out of Flanders

from the chancellor, who had gone on an embassy to Charles VII. about contracting a marriage. By his endeavours, Mary, the daughter of Arnold duke of Guelderland, was betrothed to James. She was of royal race on the side of her mother, who was sister to the duke of Burgundy. The year after, she came with a great train of noble persons into Scotland, and in July was crowned in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, at Edinburgh.

This universal joy, for the victory, the peace, and the marriage, was soon disturbed by the death of Richard Colvil, a knight of celebrity; which, though perhaps in itself not undeserved, yet was of very bad example to the commonwealth. Colvil, having received many and great wrongs from one John Affleck, a friend of Douglas, and not being able, after many complaints, to get any remedy in law or equity, fought and slew him, together with some of his followers. Douglas resented this deed so heinously, that he made a solemn oath never to rest, till he had expiated the murder by the death of Colvil. Neither were his threatenings in vain; for he stormed his castle, took and plundered it, and killed all the people in it who were able to bear arms. This action, though committed against law and custom, was excused, and, in fact, commended by some, as proceeding from that indignation, which is considered as a passion not unbecoming a generous mind. Thus, as it commonly happens in degenerate times, flattery, the perpetual companion of greatness, dressed up the highest offences with honest and plausible names. Douglas was so elated with the flattery of fortune, which was now bent on his destruction, that he was ambitious to make an ostentatious display of his power to foreign nations; as if the splendour of so great a family ought not to be straitened within the narrow theatre of an island; for which purpose he resolved to visit Rome. His pretence was devotion, but his motive was ambition. The church of Rome had adopted the old rites of that of the Jews; for, as in this all debts were cancelled, pledges restored, and slaves emancipated, at the end of every fifty years; the pope, who pretended to be God's viceregent on earth, adopted the example, and arrogated the power of forgiving all offences. For while, at other times, he disposed of his pardons privately, every fiftieth year he opened his full garners, and poured them out by bushels publicly to all; though I will not say that he did this gratuitously.

Douglas, with a great train of nobles, who were partly desirous of seeing novelties, and partly tempted with the hope of riches, sailed over to Flanders; from thence he went to Paris, where he took with him his brother, then lately appointed bishop of Caledonia; and who afterwards, as Douglas had no children, was, by the king's permission, encouraged in the hope of being his heir. In France, he was highly caressed, partly on account of the public league with the Scots, and partly in consideration of the services which his ancestors had done to that crown. The same also of this filled all Rome with the expectation of his coming.

About two months after his departure from Scotland, his enemies and rivals began to raise their heads, and though they durst not, through fear, complain of him while he was present, they now laid open all the injuries which they had received from him. And when it was noised abroad, that the access to the king was easy, and that his ear was open to all just complaints, the number of sufferers, lamenting their grievances, increased daily; so that all the avenues to the palace were crowded with them. The king could neither well reject the petitions of the applicants, nor yet condemn the earl in his absence, without hearing him, so that he gave a moderate answer, which satisfied their importunity for the present. He said, that he would command the earl's procurator or attorney to appear; in order that the trial might be conducted openly and equitably. The procurator was accordingly summoned, but did not appear; so that the king's officers were sent to bring him by force. When he came into court, some alleged, that he ought to be immediately punished for disobeying the command of the king, whose authority, by too much indulgence in such a case, would be despised and disregarded, even amongst the meaner sort; for, under the pretence of lenity, the audaciousness of the wicked would increase, and the impunity of offenders open the way for an increase of crime. The king was not moved by these suggestions, but re-

maintained constant to his resolution ; which was, rather to satisfy the accusers by compensation for their losses, than to please their revengeful minds by the spilling of blood. He, therefore, caused the earl's procurator to be liberated from prison, and ordered him to plead his master's cause ; telling him, that if he had any thing to allege, by which he could clear his lord of the crimes charged upon him, he should freely declare it, without any apprehension. After hearing and casting him in many suits, the king commanded him immediately to pay the damages, upon which the procurator answered, that he would defer the whole matter till the return of his lord, who was expected in a few months. This he spake, as it was thought, by the advice of Ormond and Murray, the brothers of the earl. When the king was informed of his resolution, he sent William Sinclair, earl of the Orkneys, who was then chancellor, first into Galloway, and then into Douglasdale, where he appointed sequestrators, to collect the rents, and so to pay the damages adjudged by law. But as Sinclair had not military sufficient to enforce his order, some eluded payment, and others abused him very grossly ; so that he returned without accomplishing the objects of his mission.

The king, provoked by this contempt of his authority, commanded all the favourers of the Douglas party to make their appearance before him ; and when they refused, he declared them public enemies ; and an army was levied against them, which marched into Galloway. At their first coming, the commanders of the rebels took shelter in their castles ; while a small party of the royal forces, pursuing the rest through craggy places, were repulsed ; so that they returned back to the king, not without disgrace. The king, being in a great indignation, that a set of abandoned thieves should dare to make such a resistance, resolved that they should pay dear for their opposition to his authority, and accordingly attacked their strongest holds. He first took the castle of Maben, with no great difficulty ; but his soldiers were so much fatigued and exhausted in reducing the castle of Douglas, that he entirely demolished it, by way of punishment. As for the vassals and tenants who submitted themselves and their fortunes to him, he commanded them to pay their rents to his treasurers, till the estate of Douglas should have fully satisfied what was awarded against him by law. And when this was done, he dismissed his army, after gaining great credit for his lenity and moderation, even amongst his enemies.

When these matters were imparted to the earl at Rome, his great spirit was mightily troubled ; and his dignity was so much lowered thereby in the estimation of his own attendants, that a great part of them deserted him ; and he set out on his journey homewards, with only a few followers. Having passed through England to the borders of Scotland, he sent forward his brother James to feel the king's pulse how he stood affected towards him ; and finding that he was in the humour of being appeased, he returned home, and was kindly received ; only admonished to abandon and subdue all robbers, especially those of Annandale, who had been guilty of many cruelties, to satisfy their avarice, in his absence. Douglas having engaged on oath to do this, was not only restored to his former grace and favour, but also made regent over all Scotland ; every one being enjoined to obey his commands.

But his towering mind, which was always soaring to the utmost height of exaltation, was not content with this honour, which was the greatest he could be advanced to, under the king. By his temerity, he gave the state new occasions of suspicion ; for he undertook a journey privately into England ; and, after his address to that king, told him, that the cause of his coming was, that his estate, though claimed, had not yet been restored. But this seemed to James a light, and not a probable cause of his journey ; and, therefore, he conceived a great suspicion in his mind, which before was not well reconciled ; neither did he conceal his anger, as supposing that there was a deeper design hid under this discourse with the English monarch. Douglas, having now an offended king to deal with, fled presently to his wonted refuge, the well known clemency of his sovereign, and cast himself at his feet. The queen also, and many of the nobles, interceded for him ; and, after a solemn oath, that, for the future, he would never do any thing which might justly offend the king, his fault was forgiven ; and he was only deprived of his office.

Upon this, the earl of the Orkneys, and William Crichton, who had always remained loyal, were advanced again to the management of public affairs.

Though Douglas was very angry with the whole body of courtiers for this disgrace, as he interpreted it, he was chiefly incensed against William Crichton; suspecting that it was by his management all his projects had been disappointed; and therefore he was resolved to despatch him out of the world, either by treachery, or otherwise. To do this with the least odium, he suborned one of his friends to witness, that he heard Crichton say, "That Scotland would never be at rest as long as any of the family of Douglas remained alive; and that the safety of the king and kingdom, the concord of the estates, and the public peace, depended upon the death of that one man; for he being of a turbulent nature, and supported by many and great affinities, and irreconcilable by any offices of respect and advancements to honour, it was better to have him taken out of the way, than so the public peace might be confirmed and settled." This tale, when noised abroad, and believed by many, on account of its wearing the face of probability, excited a great deal of ill-will against Crichton. Douglas, on being informed by his spies of his departure from Edinburgh, laid an ambush for him, late in the night, as secretly as he could; and, when Crichton and his train came up, the perfidious ruffians set upon them with a great shout, at which, they who were first assaulted, were so astonished at the suddenness of the danger, that they could not lift a hand to defend themselves. But William, being a man of great courage and presence of mind, as soon as he had a little recovered from his alarm, slew the first man that assaulted him, and wounded another; and thus he and his attendants broke through the midst of their enemies, having only received some wounds. He hastened to Crichton castle, and there staid some days, till his wounds were healed, soon after which, he collected a great number of his friends and tenants, and came with such secrecy and celerity to Edinburgh, that he almost surprised his enemy unawares.

Douglas, being thus freed from a sudden danger, either out of fear, shame, or both, when he saw the power of the adverse party increase and grow extremely popular, endeavoured to strengthen his own faction as much as he could; and therefore joined himself in league with the earls of Crawford and Ross, two of the most distinguished and potent families in Scotland, next to his own. A mutual oath was entered into betwixt them, that each should aid and assist the others with their respective forces and confederates against all the world. In confidence of this combination, they not only contemned the forces of the opposite party, but even those of the king. His majesty resented this as the highest indignity; and besides, he had other fresh causes of provocation against Douglas, which hastened his destruction. John Herries, a knight of a noble family in Galloway, being averse to the ill practices of the party of Douglas, commonly kept within the walls of his own house; but the men of Annandale were sent in to harrass him, and did him a great deal of mischief. He often complained of this to Douglas, but in vain; upon which, he determined at last to revenge himself, and repel force by force. Accordingly, he gathered a company of his friends, but on entering Annandale, the whole of them were taken prisoners by the banditti; and being brought to Douglas, he hung Herries up as a thief, though the king earnestly interceded for him by his letters. The matter seemed so very heinous, as it truly was, that people generally said, Douglas, by his evil practices, did endeavour, and that not obscurely, to make his way to the crown: for now there was nothing else remaining, which could satisfy his vast and aspiring mind. This suspicion was soon after increased by another action which he committed, as foul as the former. There was a certain family of the Macleans in Galloway, and one of the chief and best there; the principal person of whom having killed one of Douglas's attendants, but not till after receiving from him continual wrongs and affronts; Douglas put him and his brother in prison. The king was made acquainted with it, and very much importuned by the friends of Maclean not to suffer one so noble and honest to be dragged forth not to a trial, but undoubted destruction; as the same person was both his capital enemy and judge; they alleged

also, that his present misfortune arose not so much from any actual crime, as his having always been of the upright, or loyal party. Hereupon the king sent Patrick Gray, the uncle of Maclean, a worthy knight, and a relation of Douglas, to command him to send the prisoner to court, that the matter might be tried there, in due course of law. The earl received Gray courteously; but, in the mean time, caused Maclean to be executed; and then endeavoured to excuse himself by saying, that it was done by his officers without his knowledge. But Gray perceiving how much he had been deluded, was filled with rage, and told Douglas, that, from hence forward, he not only renounced alliance, friendship, and every kind of obligation to him, but was resolved to be his open and everlasting enemy, and to do him all the mischief he could. When this news was brought to court, the action appeared so atrocious to all who heard it, as to make it the universal topic of discourse. Douglas did now exceed the bounds of a subject, and plainly carried himself as a king: for to what other purpose tended his combinations with the earls of Crawford, Ross, Murray, and Ormond? It was observed also, that his private discourse with the king of England, his putting good men to death, and his allowed licentiousness in pillaging the people, were indications of the same design. Now, innocence was accounted cowardice, and loyalty to the king punished as perfidiousness; the enemies of the commonwealth grew insolent, by the excessive lenity and indulgence of its prince; for which reason it was time that he should take the reins of government into his own hand, and act like a monarch; and then it would appear who were his friends, and who were his enemies. It was said likewise, that if he did not dare to do this openly, by reason of the power of particular men; yet, that by some way or other, he ought to punish disloyalty; but that if he were so fearful, as not to do so, what remained, but that they, who had hitherto been constant in their attachment to him, should now at length provide for themselves? Though the conduct of the party accused, and the credulity of the monarch, who was prone to suspicion, verified these discourses; yet the king, either out of an innate clemency, or else having before laid his design, sent for Douglas to court. But he, conscious of his evil practices, calling to remembrance how often he had been pardoned, and understanding how offensive his late league with Crawford was to the king; though he put great confidence in his majesty's goodness, yet being more inclined to fear, refused to come; alleging, that he had many powerful enemies at court, some of whom had lately lain in wait to take away his life. Hereupon, to remove his fear, many of the nobles about the king, sent him a schedule, with their hands and seals to it, promising upon oath, that, if the king himself should meditate any thing against his life, they would guarantee his safety. In consequence of this, Douglas, encouraged by the royal clemency, and the public faith, testified by the subscriptions of so many noble persons, with a great train of followers, came to Stirling; where he was courteously treated by the king, and invited into the castle. After supper, the king cheerfully took him aside into a private chamber, with only a few attendants; not admitting so much as those to whom he was wont to communicate his most secret counsels. There he discoursed over, from the beginning, the loyalty and valour of his ancestors, and his royal indulgence towards their family, and especially himself; who, after having committed many heinous offences, either through the inexperience of his years, or by the persuasions of wicked men, had been freely pardoned; in the hope, that either his royal mercy toward him, or else his growing further into years of discretion, would reform him. "And as yet," said he, "I despair not but it may be so; and if you repent of what you have impiously committed, the door of my favour shall never be shut against you. This last league, (proceeded he,) with Crawford and Ross, as it is not creditable for you, so it is ignominious to me; and therefore, though I take it much amiss that you should enter into it, yet I put it into your power, and give you liberty to cancel and break it off; which, though by my prerogative I might command, I would rather, by fair means, persuade you to do; that, since the eyes of all men are upon you, the cause of suspicion may be removed with greater security." Douglas answered submissively enough to all other points; but

when the king came to mention the league, he was somewhat perplexed, and did not frankly declare what he would do; but said that he would advise with his associates. He also ventured to remark, that he did not see any cause why the king at present should oblige him to a breach of the agreement, since it contained nothing that could justly offend his majesty. The king, either having resolved upon the matter before, or else provoked by his contumacious answer, as the courtiers say, replied, "If thou wilt not break it, I will;" and immediately struck his dagger into his breast. Those who stood nearest the door, hearing the noise, rushed in, and, after a great number of wounds, gave him the finishing blow. Some say, that next after the king, Patrick Gray, of whom mention was made before, struck him on the head with a bill; and that the rest, on coming in, to shew their loyalty, gave him every one a blow. He was killed in the month of February, 1452, according to the Roman account.

Douglas had then four brothers in Stirling, who were accompanied by a great number of the nobility; and they, on hearing of what had been done, ran in great amazement to their arms, as it commonly happens in such sudden confusions, filling the town with noise and clamour. But, when the tumult was appeased by the nobles, they were commanded to go each man to his respective lodging. The next day they met to consult; and first of all, James was saluted earl in the room of his departed brother. After bitterly inveighing against the perfidiousness of the king and the courtiers, he proposed laying siege to the castle with what forces they then had, and with all speed to levy more; in order, as he said, to drag those men out of their recesses, who were valiant only to commit acts of treachery, while they were yet in some fear and anguish for the guilt of their offence. The company commended the affection and courage of James, but were against his project of a siege; because they were not prepared with materials for such an enterprise; so that they all departed home. But, after holding a consultation with the chief of their friends, they returned again on the 27th of March, and having fastened to the tail of a horse the schedule of the king and nobles, promising the public faith to Douglas for his security; drew it through the streets, abstaining in their march from every reproach, either against the king or council, till they came to the market-place, where, with the sound of five hundred trumpets, and the voice of a crier, they proclaimed the king, and those with him, truce-breakers, perjured persons, and enemies to all good men. Moreover, they were angry with the town, which had committed no offence; and, after having pillaged and left it, they sent James Hamilton back to set it on fire: nay, their fury continued for some days; so that they ranged throughout the country, and ruined the lands of all who were loyal to the king. They besieged the castle of Dalkeith, and took an oath not to depart till they had taken it; for they were greatly displeased with John, the owner of it, because he, and the earl of Angus, had separated themselves from the party of Douglas. The siege lasted longer than they expected; for Patrick Cockburn, commander of the garrison, made a vigorous defence against all the efforts of the assailants; so that, after they had received many wounds, and were worn out with toil and watching, they broke up and retired. In the mean time, the king levied an army to relieve his distressed friends; but not having strength enough to encounter his opponents, he resolved to wait till Alexander Gordon could come to his assistance; who, it was reported, had collected a great force in the northern parts, and was marching towards him. But, in his progress through Angus, he was encountered at Brechin by Crawford, with a considerable body, and a sharp battle was fought betwixt them. When the main body of the royalists, being overpowered by their antagonists, were giving ground, John Colclace, who commanded the left wing, forsook Crawford, through a grudge, and so left the centre exposed. This struck those who had almost gained the victory, with such terror, that they turned their backs, and fled. Thus Gordon unexpectedly gained the day, though with much loss on his side; two of his brothers, and a great number of his friends and followers, being slain. Of the men of Angus, also, there fell several men of note; and, amongst the rest, John Lindsay, brother to the earl. As for the earl himself, he turned his wrath from the enemy, against those

who had deserted him, storming their castles, and ravaging their estates with fire and sword. He was the better enabled to do this, because Gordon made a speedy return into his own country of Buchan, on hearing that the earl of Murray was practising all manner of cruelty against his territories; so that he was forced to march back with his victorious army; with which he not only revenged his loss upon the enemy, but also quite expelled him out of his own domain. These actions were performed towards the end of the spring.

In the mean time, the king, chiefly by the advice of James Kennedy, caused an assembly of the estates to meet at Edinburgh, to which he summoned, by a herald, the earl of Douglas, and the nobles of his party. But that chief, instead of complying with the order, caused a libel to be suspended the next night on the church doors, saying, that he would not trust the king with his life, nor yield obedience any more to one who had sent for his kinsmen to Edinburgh, and his brother to Stirling, under the protection of the public faith, and there had perfidiously slain them, without hearing their cause. In this assembly, the four brothers of the late earl who was slain, James, Archibald, George, and John, with Beatrix, the wife of the late earl, and Alexander, earl of Crawford, were declared public enemies to the commonwealth. Many persons were advanced to the rank of nobility, and rewards were assigned them out of the lands of the rebels. An army was levied to pursue the enemy; which, after some devastation of the country, driving off cattle, and burning corn in the granaries, was again dismissed in the winter, because the soldiers could not keep the field; and an expedition was then appointed to meet before the ensuing spring.

Meanwhile, James Douglas, lest the wealth of his family, which was mightily increased by rich alliances, should pass away to other people, took for a wife Beatrix, the relict of his brother, and solicited the pope to confirm the marriage. But the king, by his letters, interposed, and hindered his holiness from giving his ratification to it. This year, and the two next following, there was much quarrelling between the several parties; lands were pillaged, and some castles were overthrown; but they never came to the decision of the main controversy by a set battle. The greatest part of the damage fell on the counties of Annandale, Forres, and the neighbouring lands belonging to the Douglas party. This devastation of the estates was followed by a famine, and that by a pestilence. The wisest of Douglas's friends used all their arguments to persuade him to endeavour a reconciliation with the king, and to lay himself and all his concerns at the foot of the throne, from whence his ancestors had before experienced mercy. They urged this, especially since he had a king who was naturally benevolent; and who, moreover, might be made more placable by the mediation of friends; and they entreated Douglas not to suffer so noble a family as his was to be extirpated by his obstinacy; nor betray the lives of so many brave men who followed his party; nor yet bring them to such an extreme point of necessity, that, after having suffered so many calamities, they should be forced to make terms for themselves. Whilst he was in a prosperous state, he might gain easy terms of peace; but if once his friends deserted him, he could then have no hopes of obtaining his pardon.—The man, being in the full pride and warmth of his youth, and of a fierce disposition too, made answer, "That he would never submit himself to their power, who were restrained by no bonds of moderation, nor by any divine or human laws; who, under fair promises, had enticed his cousins and brother to come to them, and then perfidiously and cruelly murdered them; in a word, that he would suffer the height of all extremities, before he would ever put himself into their hands."

This answer was approved or disliked according to every man's humour; those who were violent, or who made a gain of the public miseries, commended the greatness of his courage; but the wiser sort persuaded him to take the opportunity that offered, lest, after his friends had forsaken him, he should find reason, when it was too late, to complain that he had neglected the time for a reconciliation, which is usually the end of hasty and headstrong resolutions. But the earl of Crawford, wearied out with so long a war, and reflecting upon the injustice of his cause, and the frequent turns and changes

of human life; knowing, moreover, that he might easily obtain his pardon, if he would be but early enough in his solicitations for the king's favour; but that he would find it extremely difficult to get it, if he stood out; and besides, being forsaken by some of his friends; and suspecting the fidelity of the rest, clad himself in such a habit, as would most probably move compassion. Accordingly, he came bareheaded and barefoot, in most humble manner, to the king, as he was passing through Angus; and having ingenuously confessed the offences of his former life, laid his life and fortune at the royal mercy, first prefacing something concerning the fidelity and good services which his ancestors had performed to their sovereigns. He was conscious, he said, that his fault had deserved the extremity of punishment; but declared, that whatsoever hereafter he should possess, either of life or fortune, he would regard as a debt wholly due to the clemency of the king. Having spoken these, with other words to the like effect, not without tears, all the spectators were much moved and affected, especially some of the nobility of Angus; and, though they had themselves adhered to the king's party, yet they were unwilling that so eminent and ancient a family should be destroyed. James Kennedy conducted himself, at the same time, like a good bishop, and a friendly patriot; for he not only forgave the earl the many grievous injuries he had done him, but further commended his suit, and spoke in his favour; foreseeing, as it afterwards happened, that, by this accession, the royal cause in future would be strengthened, and the enemies of the king weakened daily, as many were likely to follow the example of this great man. Besides, the king, thinking that his former fierceness was humbled, and that he was really penitent for what he had done, was not hard to be entreated; but gave him his pardon, and restored him to his former estate and honour; only advising him, for the future, to keep within the bounds of his duty. And indeed Crawford, being thus engaged by the lenity and indulgence of the king, did afterwards endeavour to render him all the service he could. He followed him with his forces in his progress to the remotest parts of the kingdom; and, having settled things there for the present, entertained him nobly at his house in his return. When he marched to make an end of the civil war, he promised him all the force he could raise; and indeed the whole course of his life was so changed, that, laying aside his former ferocious behaviour, he lived courteously, and in amity with the neighbouring nobility; so that his death, which followed soon after, was the greater grief to the king, and to all the people.

Thus the king, having weakened the party of Douglas by degrees, that earl's only remaining hopes were in obtaining support from England. For this purpose he sent Hamilton to London, who brought him back word, that the English monarch would consent to engage in a war with Scotland on no other terms, than that of receiving the submission of Douglas, with all his concerns, as a subject. Thus all his hopes from thence were cut off. And, on the other side, the king of Scotland pressed hard upon him by his edicts, proscriptions, and arms, and by all the miseries which accompany rebellious insurrections; so that Hamilton advised the earl not to suffer the king to destroy his forces by piecemeal; and, by taking them in parties, to weaken, and in time overthrow the whole; but, rather to march out with his army, and trust fortune in a battle, there to die valiantly, or conquer honourably. This resolution, said he, is worthy of the name of Douglas, and the only way to end the present misery. Alarmed and fired with this speech, he gathered as great an army as he could, of his friends and dependants, and hastened to relieve the castle of Abercorn: which the king, after having demolished many castles belonging to the party of Douglas, had at last besieged. It was a very strong fortress, situated almost in the mid-way between Stirling and Edinburgh. When Douglas came so near, that he saw and was seen by the enemy, his friends advised him to begin the fight, and either make himself renowned by some eminent victory, or, by a noble death, free himself from reproach and misery; but, when all his party were ready for the onset, he damped their spirits by his own backwardness; for he retreated with his army again into his camp, determined to protract the war to a greater length. His commanders disapproved of this plan; and Hamilton, abhorring his cow-

ardice, and despairing of the success of his arms, went over that very night to the royal side. Upon this defection, though the king gave him his pardon, he could not repose any confidence in him, because of his subtlety, and therefore sent him prisoner to Roslin, a castle belonging to the earl of the Orkneys; but afterwards, by the mediation of his friends, he was released, and received into favour, and the unbloody victory ascribed to him, as being the main occasion of it.

Most of the rest of the Douglas party followed the example of Hamilton, and abandoned their chief, each going where he thought it most convenient for his own security; so that, at length, the castle, after much loss on both sides, was taken, the garrison put to the sword, and the walls left half demolished, as a monument of the conquest. Douglas, being thus deserted by almost all his friends, with a few of his associates fled into England. From thence, not long after, he made an inroad with a small party into Annandale, which was then possessed by the king's troops; but, being defeated in a skirmish, he and his brother John escaped; Archibald, earl of Murray, was slain; George, being severely wounded, was taken prisoner; and, after his wounds were cured, was brought to the king, and put to death. In an assembly of the estates held at Edinburgh, on the 5th of June, in the year 1455, James, John, and Beatrix Douglas, were again proscribed. The public acts make Beatrix to be their mother; which seems not very probable to me, unless perhaps the others might be called her sons by adoption. Earl James being thus deprived of his brothers, deserted by his friends, and distrusting the English, as his last resource, applied himself to Donald, king of the Isles. They met at Dunstaffnage; where the earl easily persuaded Donald, a man naturally prone to mischief, to join him in the war; whereupon they committed great outrages in the king's provinces adjacent, without paying respect to age or sex; sparing nothing that could be violated by fire or sword. The like cruelty they used in Argyll and Arran; and Douglas, laden with booty, returned home. After this, having wasted Lochaber and Murray, he made an incursion to Inverness, where he took the castle, and pillaged and burnt the town.

Neither were the English quiet all this while, but, watching their opportunity, they invaded March, where they slew some men of note, who endeavoured to oppose their furious ravages; and so returned home without loss, and laden with plunder from that opulent country. In the following year, Beatrix, widow of the former earl of Douglas, and who lived for some years with James his brother, as his wife, came to the king. She laid all the fault of her former miscarriages upon James; saying that being a woman, and helpless, she was forced to that wicked marriage; but, taking an advantage of his absence, she had quitted that servile state, to lay herself and all her affairs at the king's feet; and that whatever order he should please to make concerning her, or her estate, she would willingly obey it. The king received her into his protection; gave her an estate in Balveny; and espoused her to his uterine brother, the earl of Athol. The wife of Donald the islander followed her example. She was the daughter of James Livingston, and was married to Donald by her grandfather the regent, at the persuasion of the king; that so he might a little soften the rugged disposition of the man, and keep him firm to his duty. But when her kinsmen were restored to the favour and grace they had formerly enjoyed, her husband, on joining the party of Douglas, treated her every day with additional injury; so that she implored the king's assistance against his barbarous cruelty. There was the less need of her making any apology, in regard to the marriage, as the king himself had been the author of it; so that she was nobly treated, and had a large revenue settled upon her, by which she was enabled to live honourably during the rest of her life.

About the same time, Patrick Thornton, who had followed the court a great while, yet was secretly of Douglas's faction, having got a convenient opportunity, slew at Dumbarton John Sandiland of Calder, a young man of about twenty years of age, and Alan Stuart, both of noble families, and eminent for their loyalty to the king. But soon after, he was himself taken by the clans of the opposite party, and executed.

This year was very remarkable for the death of many noble personages;

but especially of William Crichton. Though descended of a knightly family only, yet, such was his great prudence, fortitude, and singular loyalty to the king, even to the last of his days, that his departure was a great loss to all good men. The next year, the English, encouraged by their former successes, made great spoil in March, under the command of Henry Percy earl of Northumberland, and James Douglas the exile. In order to put a stop to these devastations, George Douglas, earl of Angus, gathering a party of his countrymen together, made an assault upon the plunderers, and drove those whom he attacked in great confusion to their own standards. The English, irritated at this repulse, advanced with their army, before the rest had recovered their colours; and the Scots were as ready to receive them.

The fight was conducted on both sides with greater courage than force for a long time together; neither party appearing to have the advantage, till the English, who were scattered up and down the country, by the noise and tumult, perceiving that the enemy was come, for fear of losing the rich booty they had gained, hastened directly home. Their departure decided the victory, though not an unbloody one, in favour of the Scots, there being almost an equal number slain on both sides; but many of the English were taken in the pursuit. The news of this exploit being brought to the king, somewhat raised his spirits, which had been depressed by the insurrections of his own subjects, as well as the invasion of foreigners. Donald the islander also, perceiving the ill success of his affairs, was now induced to send agents to the king to sue for a peace. These messengers, in a humble oration, reminded the king of his clemency to Crawford, and the rest of his partisans in the same cause. As for their own offences, they laid them on the evil genius of the times; but now they made large promises, how loyal and obsequious Donald would prove for the future. The king seemed to be somewhat affected by their speech, yet gave them no positive answer; neither quite pardoning Donald, nor utterly excluding all hopes of pardon. He told them, that though the crimes of Donald were numerous and glaring, he discovered no sign of repentance; and that if he really was as penitent as he pretended to be in words, or wished to be thought sincere in what he professed, he should make restitution for the loss he had formerly occasioned, and restore their estates to the rightful owners who had been deprived of them; and thus cancel the memory of his former mischiefs, by some eminent and loyal service. "It is true," said he, "no virtue becomes a king more than clemency; but care must be had, lest the reins of government be not let loose by too much lenity; and so the wicked be made rather more insolent, than good men excited to their duty by it." He added, that he would give Donald and his party time to manifest, by some tokens, that they repented of their miscarriages; and that they should always find him acting towards them as their deeds, and not their words, deserved from his hands. In the mean time they need not fear; for now they had it in their own power, whether they would every man be happy, or miserable, for the future.

Intestine feuds being hereby either composed, or laid asleep, the king bent all his care against the English. Whilst he was consulting about carrying on a war with them, on account of their frequent violations of treaties, ambassadors came at that very crisis from the English nobility, to desire aid against Henry their king, who had slighted them by advancing upstarts, and following their counsels, with those of his wife, a woman of masculine spirit and courage. Besides, Henry had incurred the contempt of his people, and the displeasure of his friends, because things had not succeeded well in Gascoigne and Normandy; for they having lost so many provinces, and being now pent up within the ancient limits of their own island, were discontented, and openly declared, that the king's indolence, and the queen's pride, were no longer to be endured. The heads of the conspiracy were Richard duke of York, and the earls of Salisbury and Warwick. After the English ambassadors had discoursed much in justification of their taking up arms against Henry, and also concerning their own power, and the cowardly disposition of their king, they craved aid against him, as being a common enemy, who was fearful in war, sordid in peace, and who had nourished civil discords among the Scots by having supported their exiles. Withal, they promised,

if they gained the victory, to restore the castles and countries which had been taken in former wars from Scotland. The king, by the advice of his council, made answer, that he knew before the state of the English affairs, and that he was not ignorant of the right or demands on either side; but that he would not interpose himself as an arbiter in another man's kingdom, unless he were chosen by both parties to that office. As to the war, he said he had long since determined to revenge the injuries of former times; and, since he could not by law obtain the places he had lost, owing to these discords, he would endeavour to recover them by force; but that if the duke of York, with his party, would promise to restore them, he would assist him against Henry. The ambassadors agreed to the terms, and so returned home. The king then mustered his forces, and was about to march, when, just in the instant of time, an English impostor, sent by Henry, met him. He had been a long time at Rome, and was well acquainted with the speech and custom of the Italians. His habit and train corresponded perfectly with the character he assumed, and he had counterfeit letters as from the pope; which made unsuspecting men believe that he was actually a legate sent from him; while, to gain the greater credit to his imposture, he had a monk with him, whose feigned sanctity made the fraud less suspected. These men were brought to the king, and, in the pope's name, commanded him to proceed no further with his army; for if he did, they were empowered to excommunicate him with bell, book, and candle: "For his holiness," said they, "is wholly intent upon a war against the common enemy of Christendom; and so would have differences composed all over Europe, that the people may be free for the enterprise." They averred also, that they were sent before, to give the king notice of it; but that there was a more solemn embassy, which would shortly arrive, and which, they believed, was already come as far as France, to decide the civil discords in England, and to give satisfaction to the Scots for the wrongs they had sustained. The king had no conception of any fraud in the case, and as he desired nothing more than an honourable peace, because things at home were not quite settled to his mind, he therefore obeyed the legate, and disbanded his army. But he had hardly done this, before he was advised from England, that this supposed ambassador was a cheat; so that he raised some new forces; and, because he could not join the duke of York, that he might draw off some of the royal armies from him, and at the same time revenge his own wrongs, he marched directly to Roxburgh; which town he took, and destroyed it at his first coming. Whilst, however, he was laying siege to the castle, ambassadors came from the duke of York and his associates, informing him, that their king was overcome, and the war ended in England. They gave him thanks for his good will, in assisting them in the maintenance of their cause; and assured him, that they would, in time, requite the courtesy; but that, at present, they desired him not only to raise the siege, and withdraw his troops from the castle, but likewise forbear from any other act of hostility against England; otherwise the people would not be satisfied, unless an army was immediately sent against the Scots. James congratulated them on their victory; but asked the ambassadors, whether the duke of York had given them nothing in command, concerning the performance of his late promise. They answered, that he had not. "Then," said he, "before your embassy came to me, I was determined to pull down that castle, which is built upon my land; neither, since that, am I so much obliged by the courtesies of the faction, as to give over an enterprise, which is begun, and almost finished. As for the threatenings, whether they are their own, or that of their people, let them look to it: go you, and tell them, that I will not be removed hence by words, but by blows." Thus the ambassadors were dismissed without their errand. And, whilst he pressed upon the besieged with all the hardships of war, Donald the islander came into his camp, with a considerable body of his countrymen. He, to obtain the easier pardon for his past offences, and fully to make atonement and reconcile the king, promised him, that, if he would march forward into the enemy's country, as long as he was there, he would advance a mile before the royal army, and so endure the hazard of the first onset, and stand the greatest shocks. But he was commanded to remain near the king; yet some of his troops were sent

to prey upon the country. It happened also, that, at the same time, Alexander Gordon, earl of Huntly, brought in new forces to the king, which accession of strength made him more resolute to continue the siege, though a stout defence was made by the garrison. It had hitherto been a blockade only, but now vigorous operations were carried on against the place, and, as there were troops enough, the soldiers relieved each other; while the besieged suffered a daily diminution, many being slain, numbers wounded, and the rest wearied with continued toil and labour. To intimidate them the more, the king gave command to batter part of the wall with iron ordnance, which were then much used, and were very terrible; but whilst he was very busy about one of them, to encourage and press on the work, the piece exploded, and, with its force, drove out a wooden wedge, or plug, which immediately struck the king dead on the earth, without hurting any one else. The courtiers that stood next him, though terrified at this sudden accident, yet covered his body, lest the report of his death should make the common soldiers run away. The queen, who came that very day to the camp, did not spend the time in feminine lamentations, but called the nobles together, and exhorted them to be of good courage, telling them that so many valiant men should not be dismayed at the loss of one; and that it would be dishonourable to desert a business that was so near a conclusion. She added, that she would herself speedily bring them another king, in the place of him that was slain; and that, in the mean time, they should press with might and main upon the enemy, lest they grew more resolute upon the news of the death of the general, and imagine, that all the courage of so many valiant men was extinguished in the fate of one person. The officers, ashamed to be exceeded in courage by a woman, assaulted the castle with such violence, that neither party was sensible of the loss of the king. In the mean time, his son James, who was then about seven years of age, was brought into the camp, and saluted as sovereign. Nor was it long after, before the English, quite tired out with watching, and fatigued with continued service, surrendered up the castle to the new king, on condition of being allowed to march away with bag and baggage. The castle, that it might not be the occasion of another war, was levelled to the ground. Such was the end of James II. in the year of Christ 1460, a few days before the autumnal equinox, in the 30th year of his age, and the 24th of his reign. He had been ever exercised, even from his youth, in domestic or foreign wars; and bore both the conditions of life, prosperity and adversity, with great moderation of mind. He shewed such valour against his enemies, and such clemency to those who submitted themselves, that all estates were much afflicted for his loss; and his death was the more lamented, because it was sudden, and in the flower of his age, after having escaped many dangers, and when the expectation of his virtues was at the highest. He was also missed the more, because his son was yet unfit for the government, and when men considered what miseries they had suffered during the last twenty years, the ashes of which fire were hardly yet covered up, the recollection of the past, and the reflection that memory induced, made them augur unfavourably of the future.

BOOK XII.

JAMES III. *the Hundred and fourth King, began his reign A. D. 1460.*

JAMES II. as I have related, being slain in his camp, to prevent all such disputes concerning the right of succession, as had happened at other times, his son James, a child of about seven years old, who was the younger and survivor of twin brothers, entered upon the sovereignty in the town of Kelso. The nobles, according to custom, having taken the oaths of allegiance to him eight days after he began his reign, he left the army, and retired to the castle of Edinburgh, to be under the care of his mother, till an assembly of the states should be held for the arrangement of the important concerns of the kingdom. The assembly was summoned later than ordinary, because matters were neither composed in England, nor quiet in Scotland; so that the nobility were

of opinion, the war was the first thing to be attended to; that so they might revenge old injuries, and punish their enemies by gaining some notable advantage over those who always lay upon the watch to profit by the distresses of others. For this end, they marched into the enemy's country, without any resistance; where they committed much damage, and demolished many castles, from whence the English had been accustomed to make incursions. The chief of these fortresses was Werk, situated on the banks of the river Tweed, and, by its neighbourhood, was very injurious to the country of March. The army having ravaged the enemy's country, as far as they could, for the time of the year, at the beginning of winter returned home.

This year, Henry, king of England, was taken by the duke of York, and brought to London, where a form of peace was concluded between them, for Henry durst not deny any thing; "That he, as long as he lived, should bear the name and outward show of a king, but that the power of government should be in York, under the name of a protector; and that, on the death of Henry, the regal title should be transferred to Richard and his posterity." Whilst these things were transacted at London, news arrived that the queen was marching with a great army to rescue her husband from prison. York, upon this, went out to engage her, with about five thousand men, leaving the earl of Warwick behind. He marched as far as Yorkshire; and, that it might not be said, that he who in France had defended himself against numerous forces, not with walls, but arms, now shunned combat with a woman, he fought against a number far greater than his own, and, in the battle, fell, as well as his youngest son, and a great many nobles. The heads of the commanders were placed as a spectacle on the gates of York. The queen, thus victorious, marched on to deliver her husband, but was met by the earl of Warwick, bringing the king with him, as if he would defend the compact made concerning the kingdom under his auspices. Both armies met at St. Alban's, which is thought to be the old Verulam; where the queen was again the conqueror. She slew the principal officers of the adverse army, released her husband, and marched towards London; but, finding that the earl of Pembroke, whom she had sent to collect fresh forces, had been defeated by Edward, the son of her enemy Richard, the late duke of York; and knowing besides, what cruel hatred the citizens of London bore against her, she withdrew towards Northumberland, which country she looked upon as the seminary or source of her strength. But there she was overcome in a bloody fight; more than 36,000 valiant men being, according to report, slain on both sides, and the enemy pressing upon her, and giving her no time to collect her forces, she, with her husband and son, fled into Scotland.

The conqueror called himself Edward IV. king of England. Henry craved aid in his distress, and, through James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrew's, whose authority in Scotland then exceeded that of all others, and whose prudence was held in the highest esteem, he was entertained with great honour and respect, so that he had some prospect of recovering his former fortune; to nourish which hope, by all the means he possessed, he restored the town of Berwick to the Scots, which the English had held ever since the days of Edward I. The Scots, upon this obligation, assisted Henry in all things; not only in repairing the wreck of his fallen fortunes, but promising him more aid, in time, to recover his right. And, that the friendship now begun, might be the more firmly established, the two queens, who were both of French descent, began to treat concerning a marriage between the sister of James and the son of Henry, whom they called prince of Wales, though neither was yet seven years old. Philip of Burgundy, uncle to the queen of Scots, but a mortal enemy to the queen of England, in order to hinder this marriage, sent Grouthus, a nobleman, as his ambassador for the purpose. Philip at this time was so rancorously inimical to Renatus, the grandfather of the young lady by the mother's side, that he sought all occasions to hinder his family from increasing; in consequence of which, out of favour to him, the matter was, at that time, rather delayed than annulled. But the fortune of Henry protracted that union which Philip of Burgundy feared. Being somewhat encouraged by the kindness of the Scots towards him, and also by some comfortable letters sent from his friends out of England, he sent his wife beyond sea to Renatus,

her father, to procure what aid she could from her foreign connexions. She prevailed so far in France, as to secure an asylum there for her adherents, to the exclusion of her adversaries; and, moreover, she obtained two thousand men, as Monstrelet says, under Warren, their general; but our writers, as well as the English, with whom I rather agree, reduce the number to five hundred, which they say were commanded by Peter Brice, or, as some call him, Brace, a Briton, and that they were rather companions for her journey, than an auxiliary aid. With this small band she returned into Scotland, and thought fit to attempt something, not doubting but that, at the report of foreign assistance, the English would rise and join her. Whereupon, she made a descent at Tynemouth; but this small company, being dismayed on hearing that a great force was coming against them, returned to their ships, without doing any thing remarkable; where, also, as if fortune had crossed them on all hands, they met with a dreadful storm, which drove the greatest part of the queen's followers into Berwick; but some of them were cast upon the isle of Lindisfarne, where they were taken by the enemy, and put to the sword.

The heroic queen, however, was not discouraged at this misfortune, but enlisted a great number of Scots to join with her own soldiers, and resolved to try her fortune once more. Accordingly, leaving her son at Berwick, she and her husband entered Northumberland, from whence she made great devastation, with fire and sword, in all the adjacent parts. On the report of this new army, some of the nobles, as the duke of Somerset, Ralph Percy, and many other old friends of Henry, who, for fear of the times, had retired to king Edward, came in to them; but there was a far greater confluence from the neighbouring parts of England, of such persons as had led irregular lives, in hopes of some new plunder. To repress this commotion, Edward made great military preparations both by land and sea. He commanded the lord Montague, with a great part of the nobility, to march against the enemy, while he himself followed with his whole army. Both parties pitched their tents not far from Hexham; but the common soldiers, who enlisted only for booty, beginning to desert, Henry thought it best, in such a desperate case, to hazard a battle; and accordingly the fight began, wherein he was overthrown, his chief friends were slain or taken, and he himself made a hasty retreat to Berwick. Of the prisoners, some had their heads cut off on the spot, but others were reserved for execution. Edward, having thus gained the day by his generals, came himself to Durham, in order to prevent the incursions of the Scots by the terror of his army; and also, that by his presence he might quell any domestic insurrections, if any should arise. While there, he sent out part of his force, under several commanders, to take those places, which were possessed by his enemies, of which he reduced many by storm, or compelled them to capitulate, and at last laid siege to the castle of Alnwick. This fortress, which was greater and stronger than the rest, was defended by a garrison of French, who held out bravely, in hopes of relief from Scotland, which was near at hand. The Scots, however, having lately met with ill success in England, could not so soon levy an army as the present exigence required, for the raising of the siege. But whilst others were, at this crisis, backward, and delayed their decision, George earl of Angus, with great boldness and bravery, undertook the hazardous attempt. Having raised among his friends, vassals, and the neighbouring province, of which he was governor, about ten thousand cavalry, he came to the castle, and supplied the French garrison with some spare horses he had brought for the purpose, and so carried them all off safe into Scotland, whilst the English stood looking on, amazed at the boldness of his enterprise; either thinking that Douglas had help near at hand, or rather hoping to have the castle given up without a battle, and so they would not put the whole to hazard, by joining in fight with that small, though select party. Edward settled guards at all convenient places, that no insurgent troops might pass; and then, as if he had quieted the whole kingdom, he returned to London.

In the mean time, the exiled Henry, either flattered into hopes by his friends, or weary of his banishment, determined to shelter himself privately amongst his adherents in England. But fortune continuing to frown upon him, he was discovered, taken, and carried to London, where he was committed

prisoner to the Tower; and his wife Margaret, distrusting her present affairs, with her son and a few followers left Scotland, and sailed over to her father Renatus, in France.

To return to the affairs of Scotland. The time for the assembly, which was summoned to be held at Edinburgh, having arrived, there was a very full attendance, but the body was divided into two parties. Some of the nobles adhered to the queen; but the far greater part joined James Kennedy, and George Douglas, earl of Angus, who were the heads of the opposition. The queen lodged in the castle; the bishop and the earl lay in the abbey of Holyroodhouse, at the farther part of the suburbs, towards the east. The cause of the dissension was the claim of the queen to have the tutelage or guardianship of her son; while the other party judged it most fit, that one should be chosen out of the whole assembly, for that important charge. The queen pleaded very strongly the tenderness of a mother, and the powerful ties of interest and blood. The adverse party insisted on the old law, confirmed by uninterrupted custom. On the third day of the assembly, the queen came from the castle with her followers, and caused herself to be decreed guardian of the king, and governess of the kingdom, by her own faction, and so returned back again. When Kennedy heard of this, he hastened with his party into the market-place, and there, in a long speech, told the multitude, who were numerously collected about him, "That he and his associates aimed at nothing but the public good, and the observation of their ancient laws; but that their adversaries were each of them led by his private advantage; and this he would evidently make appear, if he might have a place allotted, and freedom to dispute the point." This said, he retired with his followers to his lodging; but before he had gone far from the market-place, he heard that the other party was coming down armed from the castle. Douglas looking upon this as an intolerable thing, that valiant men should yield to the threats of a few, and that their retirement should be looked upon as a slight, would have assaulted the adjoining gate of the city, had he not been restrained by Kennedy. Defenceless as he was, he seemed bent upon attacking armed men; but the bishops of Glasgow, Galloway, and Dunblane, upon noise of the uproar, came in, and by their mediation the matter was so far composed, that a truce was agreed upon for a month.

Though the chiefs of the faction were thus quieted, yet the multitude could not be restrained from expressing their wrath and indignation, in rough and sharp language, against the queen, whose conduct, they said, was dishonourable to the kingdom, and indecent in herself. "What," said they, "is the valour of the old Scots reduced to so low an ebb, that, amongst thousands, there is none worthy to govern the affairs of the kingdom but a woman? Was there no man," they exclaimed, "to rule over the nation; and lead the greatest part of his life in arms? What likelihood was there, that those, who were already disinclined to respect their king, should yield obedience to a foreign woman? Was it to be endured that men, born and bred up to arms, who had undergone so much labour, and lost so much blood, should tamely give up themselves to the servitude of a woman? What if the English should invade them, as they had often done at other times, in revenge of their losses, with a great army? Who could, in that case, set up the standard, and lead them out to battle? Who could give, or accept, terms of peace or war?" Such were the discourses of the common people in all their clubs.

But in the course of a month their minds were somewhat more calm; and the truce being at an end, there was another convention, where the queen alleged this for herself, in justification of her cause, "That, since she had not entered upon the government, the year before, by force, or against the minds of the nobility, but, being chosen to that dignity by their unanimous consent, had only used her own right, she took it amiss to be degraded, especially as no crime at all was imputed to her administration. If, (said she,) as is usual, degrees of relation be considered in guardianship, there is none nearer than a mother; if the safety of the king was in their view, none could be more faithful; for other persons might have their various and distinct hopes from his death, but that nothing remained for her, except to mourn for the loss of so dear a son. But if they had respect to the good of the public, they should

reflect that she was a stranger, and had no concern or interest in their feuds or friendships, which was a point of importance in those who sat at the helm of government, it being necessary that they should not only be free from vicious courses, but likewise from those temptations which might set a bias upon their mind to pervert justice and judgment. Some had opulent parents, kinsmen, connexions, by whose interest they might hope for a palliation of their offences, or, at least, an easier pardon; nay, sometimes rulers were compelled to square and accommodate their actions to the will and humour of friends. As for herself, the queen said, her innocence alone was her only advocate; she had but one son to regard, and the benefits and advantages of both were closely joined and interwoven. Were it not, she observed, for these considerations, she would choose much rather to live a quiet and happy life in retirement, with the good opinion of all, than undergo the enmity of all offenders, by punishing their crimes; nay, sometimes to incur even the displeasure of the virtuous. Neither was it a new thing for a woman to desire the regency of a kingdom, since not only in Britain, but even in the greatest and most powerful nations on the continent, women had enjoyed the supreme power, and their reigns were such, that their subjects never repented of their government."

When she had thus spoken, many assented to her; partly to secure a place in her future grace and favour; partly in hopes that the fruits of other people's envy would redound to their advantage: nay, there were some, who had an evil surmise, that, if an election should take place, they would themselves be passed over as less fit; and therefore they rather desired, that the queen should be made head over them all, than that others, who were either their equals in rank, or even of a superior order, should be preferred before them.

However, the more upright part of the nobility shewed, both by their countenances and speeches, that they were disgusted at the queen's oration; but that which principally affected the whole assembly, was the authority and speech of James Kennedy, archbishop of St. Andrew's, who, it is reported, spoke in this manner:

"It is my chief desire, noble peers, that they whose aim is the good of all in general, might freely declare their minds, without offence to any one person in particular. But in our present circumstances, when the sense of things, delivered for the public good, is wrested and turned to the reproach of those private individuals who speak them, it is a very difficult thing to observe such a mean between conflicting heats and different opinions, as not to incur the resentment of one or other of the parties. As for myself, I will so temper and moderate my discourse, that no man shall complain of me, without first confessing his own guilt: yet I shall use the liberty of speech, received from our ancestors, with such moderation, that as, on the one side, I desire to prejudice no man; so, on the other, neither for fear nor favour will I pass by any thing which is for use in the debate before us. I see, that there are two opinions which retard and impede our concord; the one is of those who judge, that, in a matter relating to the general good, an election out of the whole is to be made: and, as we all meet to give our suffrages in a business concerning the safety of the entire kingdom, so it is just and fit, that no man should be excluded from the hopes of that honour, who seeks to obtain it by honest and virtuous methods. The other is, of such as think that it will be a great injury done to the queen, who is both a noble princess and an excellent woman, if she be not preferred before all others in the guardianship of her son, and the administration of the government of the kingdom.

"Of these two opinions, I prefer the former, and will presently give you my reasons for it. In the mean time, I so far approve of the mind of the latter, as to think it below the queen's grandeur that any single person should vie with her for this point of honour, lest her authority, which ought to be, as in truth it is, accounted venerable, should be lessened by contending with inferiors; and indeed I should be wholly of their judgment, if the dispute lay here, about the honour of one, and not the safety of all. But, since we are, this day, to make a determination about that which concerns the lives and fortunes of all private men, and the safety of the whole kingdom besides, it is highly requisite that single interests and concerns of every kind should stoop

and give way to this consideration; and therefore I earnestly advise those who are of this opinion, so to consult the dignity of the queen, as not to forget, at the same time, the reverence they owe to the laws, the old customs, and the universal good of their country. If they can shew that it is lawful, and publicly expedient, that the guardianship of the king, and the regency of the kingdom, ought to be in the queen's hands, I will be of their opinion. But, if what they plead for be pernicious to the public, I hope the queen first, and next all good men, will pardon me, if (always saving the majesty of the queen, as sacred, so far as by law and the custom of our ancestors I may,) I do not conceal my opinion, or, rather, if I speak out that with freedom, which it were the greatest impiety in me to conceal. To begin, then, with the laws: there was one made above five hundred years ago, by our king Kenneth, a prince no less eminent for his wisdom and prudence, than for his military achievements; and it was assented and yielded to by all the orders of the state; and approved of even to this very day, by the observance of several ages, 'That when the king happens to be a minor, the parliament of the nation shall assemble, and choose some one man, eminent for wisdom and power, to be his guardian, and to govern him as long as he shall be unable to wield the sceptre with his own hands.' Though this law be referred to Kenneth as the author, yet it seems to me, that he did not so much enact it first, as revive and confirm the ancient custom of the Scots by a new sanction. For our ancestors were so far from committing the supreme power to the hands of a woman, that, if you look over our chronicles, you shall not find the name of a female regent recorded in any of them. For why, pray, should they mention such a name, of which they never had occasion, and hoped in future never to have any? For those females, whom other countries call queens, we only call wives or consorts of our kings; neither do we owe them any higher name: for, I believe, our wise ancestors had this in their eye, that as often as these consorts heard their names subjoined to that of their husbands, they might remember that they were subject to men; and therefore a woman has never been admitted to the regency, or the administration of public affairs, to this very day. The same course hath been also constantly observed in inferior magistracies, both as to their appointment and execution. For though many honours, and some seignories with them have come either by inheritance to women, by reason of extraordinary services and grants from their country, or allotted to them as dowries; yet it was never known, since the memory of man, that any woman did ever preside at a public council, or in any court of judicature, or did ever take upon her any of those offices which are appropriated to men. And truly, since our ancestors, though not bound by law to it, did constantly observe this custom, only by the impulse of nature; if we, their posterity, should bring the commonwealth into an apparent danger, by opposing a law received by the votes of all, and approved by so long a usage, who will free us from the brand—I will not say of rashness, but even of madness itself? especially, since we have been warned by examples near at hand; for the Saxons, justly urged and provoked to it by the wickedness of one woman, namely, Ethelburga, made a law, that, after that time, no woman should be called queen, nor should sit in public, next to the king, in any seat of honour. I beseech you, therefore, consider how much they deviate from prudence, who, against a law so ancient, and one no less advantageous to women than honourable to men, would put the reins of government into their hands, to whom our ancestors never gave so much as a royal name; and from whom our neighbours took it away, after they had given it to them. Other nations, I grant, have acted otherwise; but with what success, I shall declare, after I have answered those who dare not calumniate this law openly, but, in the secret meetings of women, implead it as unjust. But whoever he may be that finds fault with it, he seems to reprehend—not some sanction merely approved by the suffrages of men, but even the authority of nature, that is the primary law imprinted in our hearts by the Divinity; I repeat it again, nature itself, whom our legislator had as a guide and directress of all his counsels when he proposed and enacted this law. For nature, from the beginning, hath not only distinguished men from women by the strength of mind and body, but hath also appropriated distinct offices and virtues to each

sex, the same indeed for kind, but far different in degree; for it is no less unbecoming a woman to pronounce judgment, to levy forces, to conduct an army, to give a signal to the battle, than it is for a man to pick wool, to handle the distaff, to spin or card, and to perform the other services of the weaker sex. That which is liberality, fortitude, and severity in man, is profusion, madness, and cruelty in a woman. And again, that which is elegant, comely, and ornamental in a woman, is mean, sordid, and effeminate in a man. Do not they, therefore, who endeavour to confound and mix those things which nature, of her own accord, hath distinguished; do they not, I say, seem to you, not only to disturb, but also to overthrow, the state of the kingdom, which is founded upon such good laws and customs? This they do, when they would obtrude on us the government of a woman, which our ancestors never so much as once named. For the maker of that law, which I mentioned before, doth not seem so much to induce a new sanction in the enacting of it, as to commit to writing the perpetual usage of our ancestors, that it might be transmitted to posterity; and that which hath been always observed according to the guidance of nature, in the making of a king, is consecrated by public authority, in the appointment of a guardian to a sovereign when under age. They who strive to undermine and infringe this law, what do they, but endeavour at once to overthrow all the other laws, rites, and customs of our ancestors? I speak this, that I may prevent all cavil; not that I think all laws are immutable, as if they were enacted to last for ever: no, laws are of different powers, degrees, and kinds: those which are accommodated to the vicissitudes of times, are subject to the inconstancy of fortune, and are intended to last as long as the necessity which imposed them; and those which are obtruded on men by the wills of tyrants, are commonly disannulled and abrogated with their authors. But with regard to the instinct or impress of nature, which is, as it were, a living law, ordained by God, and deeply imprinted and engraven in men's hearts; this, neither the consent of the multitude, nor any decrees of men, can abolish. For, as an excellent poet is reported to have said, 'It was not born yesterday or to-day, but it grew up together with maternal nature herself, and lives and dies with her.' And seeing our law, of which we now speak, is of that sort, and a principal one too, he doth not oppose the dignity of the queen, who desires, that she, of her own accord, would prescribe to herself those bounds which nature hath appointed, her sex requires, custom hath established, and the laws made by the consent of almost all nations approve; but they do this who would have her forget her sex, and would fain persuade her to break through all bonds of law, and to disturb the order of things instituted by God, received by use, and allowed in all well-governed cities and countries. And, certainly, who-soever slights that order, will be grievously punished, not by men only, but by God himself, who will assert his own ordinances. For if good laws threaten a man with death, who shall clothe himself with women's apparel; and a woman, if she wear the habit of a man; what punishment can be inflicted on them too great for their offence, who, by a preposterous flattery, would overthrow the whole force of nature, and the everlasting constitution of God himself? Will you understand how these flatterers do not speak what they cordially mean? In a public assembly, to give a vote; to be president in a court of justice; to enact or abrogate a law;—these are great things in themselves; yet they are but a small portion of public government. Why do not these flatterers bring their wives hither to us, to consult? why do not they also preside in judicatures? why do they not deliberate upon the passing of laws? why do not these men look after their domestic affairs at home, and send their wives abroad to the wars? But if they would impose those as regents upon us, whom they themselves will hardly trust in the management of their own household affairs, much less think them fit for the least part of any public business, consider, I pray you, how inconsiderately they act; but if, conscious of their own infirmity, they speak as they think, and so are restrained by modesty, rather than judgment; yet let them hope well of others, who both can and will perform their own, that is, the services proper for men; but if, as I rather judge, they think by this kind of complaisance to gratify the queen, I advise and admonish them to lay aside their false opinion of a

princess of the great prudence that she is, and not believe her to be so ignorant of things, as to reckon that an increase and accession of dignity to her, which would be the foulest thing imaginable in other women. I enter upon this part of my discourse very unwillingly; therefore, since our noble princess hath so well deserved of the whole kingdom, that it is fit she should hear nothing which might justly offend her ears or heart, I will not mention those things, which ill men commonly allege, in contemning and undervaluing the sex; I shall rather insist on those virtues which are proper to the queen; and though these are many, and eminently illustrious, yet none of them have procured greater praise and commendation than her modesty: which is esteemed so proper to her sex, that even in a private person, it doth either cover, or at least much extenuate other faults. But in our princess, none of whose words or deeds, in regard of the eminence of her birth and condition, can be concealed, it doth shine out so illustriously, that all her other virtues become much more acceptable, and are more amply commended, merely for the sake of this one grace. And therefore I need say but a few words in reference to her, save only to warn and encourage her to persist in that way to glory and honour, which she hath already entered upon; and that she would not give ear to the flatteries of any, so as to be forgetful of herself; but that she would rather tread the sure and experienced path to immortal renown, than, by running upon unsafe and craggy precipices, hazard the splendour of her former life.

“ But my great business is with you, my lords, who, either out of envy, are afraid that your betters should be preferred before you; or else, out of a wicked ambition, are laying artfully the foundation of your future favour with a good princess. I will therefore, most noble queen, under the shelter of your prudence, speak freely my thoughts in this case. Such persons do not court you, but your fortune; and whilst they think upon the queen, they forget that the same person is a woman. When I say woman, I use not the word reproachfully, but as denoting one to whom nature hath given many blandishments and eminent endowments, but withal mingled them, as she usually doth, in the most usual and precious things, with some alloy of infirmity; and therefore would have her to be under the guardianship of another, as not sufficiently able to protect herself: so that, instead of having an empire over others, the laws, in imitation of nature, command the sex to be under the perpetual tutelage of parents, brothers, or husbands. Neither doth this tend to their reproach, but is a relief to their frailty: as it keeps them off from those affairs for which they are unfit; and it is a kindness to their modesty, not a scandal detracting from their honour. I forbear to notice how difficult it is to control them by the vigilance of their husbands, or the authority of their parents; neither will I mention, how far the licentiousness of some women hath proceeded, when they have been free from all restraints. I shall confine my speech only to what the present case offers, or rather dictates and requires; and which cannot, without damage to the public, be concealed. If there be any thing of private concern amiss in the sex, let their husbands and kindred look to that; I shall only briefly touch what may be publicly prejudicial. Greatness of mind was never required in this sex. It is true, women have their other proper virtues; but as for this, it was always reckoned amongst virile, and not female endowments. Besides, the more they are liable to perturbations, passions, and other mental emotions, through the imbecility of their nature, the more doth their violence, when they have broken through the restraints of judgment, carry them to excess, so as hardly ever to be reduced, and brought back within its due bounds. Women are alike impatient, both of diseases and their remedies; and if any of them appear remarkably valiant and courageous, they are so much the more dangerous, as being liable to more impetuous and vehement passions. For they, who, being weary of their sex, have put off the woman, are very willing to extend their liberty, even beyond the limits of a masculine genius. If you once exceed and pass the boundaries set by nature, whatsoever is beyond, is infinite; and there is no mound left, for desire or action. Moreover, there is a further addition to this infirmity of nature; for the less confidence one hath in himself, the more easily he interprets the words and deeds of others to his

own reproach; so that he is more vehemently angry, and is hardly appeased. Such a person is immoderately vindictive, and avenges himself upon his adversary with mortal hatred. Now, that all these things disqualify one for the magistracy, none of you can be ignorant. But if any man think that I devise these things of my own head, let him consider what great disturbances there were, not long ago, when Joan of Naples reigned. Examine the historical records of ancient times. I will not mention Semiramis of Assyria; nor Laodice of Cappadocia; for those were monsters, not women. The celebrated Zenobia of Palmyra, the subduer of the Parthians, and a match for the Roman emperors, was at last overcome, and led in triumph; and so, besides herself, the kingdom, which had been enlarged and increased by her husband, Odenatus, was lost in a moment.

“Neither may I pass over in silence what is principally to be regarded in the management of other’s men’s affairs; that the chief command is not to be intrusted to such sort of persons, who cannot be called to an account for their mal-administration. I do not at all distrust the ingenuity, faithfulness, or care of the queen; but, if any thing be done amiss, as it often happens, by the fraud of others, and matters be carried otherwise than the public good or the dignity of her place doth require; what mulct can we exact from the king’s mother? what punishment can we require? who shall censure her miscarriages? Shall the highest matters be managed by a council held with women in a nursery, or the dressing-room? Must you there, either each man in particular, subscribe to decrees, or all in general agree in making them? How will you be able to bear female power clothed with your own authority, which now, when it is without arms, and subjected to you by laws and customs, you can hardly restrain within reasonable bounds? Do not think I speak this, as if I feared any such thing from our queen, who is the best and most modest of women; but because I think it degrading and unseemly for us, who have all things yet in our own hands, to place the hope of our safety, which we owe to ourselves, in the power of another; especially since both divine and human laws, the custom of our ancestors, nay, and the consent of all nations throughout the whole world, make for us against such a practice. Though some nations have endured women to be their sovereigns, they were not elected to that dignity by the public voice, but obtained it by their birth. For there never yet existed any people with a freedom of vote, who, when they had plenty of able men to choose, did ever prefer female to masculine government. And therefore, most eminent patriots, I advise, and earnestly entreat you, that, according to the laws of our country, and the customs of our ancestors, we choose one, or, if you think fit, more, the most worthy out of the noble and worthy, who may undertake the regency, till the king shall arrive at that strength, both of body and mind, as to be able to manage the government himself. And I pray God to bless your proceedings in this affair.”

Thus spoke Kennedy, with the approbation of an undoubted majority of the assembly; and the rest, perceiving that it was in vain to oppose them, acceded to the counsel. Now the matter was so arranged, that neither side might seem to have the better of the other, by selecting two of each party for the guardianship of the king, who were to manage all public affairs with fidelity; to collect and expend the king’s revenue; and to undertake the charge of the royal family. On the queen’s side were William Graham and Robert Boyd, who was then chancellor; of the other, Robert, earl of the Orkneys, and John Kennedy; all chief men of their respective families. To these were added the two bishops of Glasgow and Caledonia. The queen was allowed to have a share in the education of the king; but she was not to meddle with any part of the public government. As for the other children, who were four, namely, Alexander, duke of Albany, John, earl of Marr, and two young females, she had the charge of their education solely to herself.

Matters being thus composed at home, ambassadors from England had their audience, who desired a truce, which was granted for fifteen years. The next year, which was 1463, the king’s mother died with the unhappiness of not being well spoken of in regard to virtue. The same year, Alexander, the king’s brother, returning from a visit to his maternal grandfather in France,

was taken prisoner by the English; but delivered up soon after, on the Scots complaining of it as a breach of the truce, and threatening war by way of retaliation.

Peace being obtained abroad, it was not long before intestine commotions arose at home; for, the disputes betwixt the nobility concerning the state of the nation, magnified by vulgar rumours, and the king's minority, together with the fresh remembrance of the licentiousness of the late times, all conspired easily to let loose the reins to men, who were turbulent enough in their own nature. Allan of Lorn, a seditious person, coveting the estate of John his elder brother, threw him into prison, with the intention of detaining him there till he should comply with his will and pleasure; but when Colin Campbell, earl of Argyle, heard of it, he gathered a band of his tenants together, freed John, and cast Allan into prison in his room; resolving to carry him to court, that he might suffer punishment for that, as well as for his other noted robberies; but he prevented his punishment by death, whether voluntary or casual is unknown.

In another part of the country, Donald, the islander, who was a still more powerful person, began to make a greater disturbance; for, after the king's death, being free from fear, and judging that unsettled state of things to be a fit opportunity for him to injure his inferiors, and increase his own power, he came to Inverness, with no great train, and was kindly invited into the castle by the governor; who had no thoughts, or so much as the least apprehension, of any hostile design in him. But he had no sooner entered, than he turned out the garrison, seized the castle, and calling in his people, proclaimed himself king of the islands. He sent forth edicts into the neighbouring countries, "that the inhabitants should pay tribute to none but him; and that they should acknowledge no other lord or master; denouncing a great penalty to those who did otherwise." The news of it made persons of debauched principles flock to him from all parts; so that, having gathered an army of sufficient force, he entered Athol with such despatch, that he took the earl of that name, who was the king's uncle, and his wife, prisoners, by surprise. For the earl, on hearing the sudden tumult of war, distrusted the strength of his castle of Blair, and went into the church of St. Bride adjoining, thinking that the sanctity of the place would prove an effectual security. Many, also, of his vassals and countrymen, being alarmed at the unexpected danger, carried and laid up their best goods in the same sanctuary. This church was held by the people of those parts in great veneration, and it had remained inviolate to that very day, on account of the general respect to its sanctity; but the consideration of gain was more prevalent with that savage and avaricious person, than any sense of religion; for he violently dragged out the earl and his wife from thence, together with a great number of other persons, and, after pillaging the church, set it on fire. And, when the priests spoke to him, to deter him from that sacrilege, he killed some of them, and sent others away, though not without inflicting upon them tokens of his barbarity. After having wasted the neighbouring countries with fire and sword, as he was returning home with a great booty, a sudden tempest arose, which sunk many of his ships, and greatly damaged the rest; so that he, with a few only of his followers, were rather cast ashore than landed, on the island of Isla. Those who survived this wreck, thinking that the visitation resulted from the vengeance of the Deity, on account of their sacrilege to the church of St. Bride, went thither barefoot, and covered only with scanty linen garments, in all humility, carried gifts to her, whom a few days before they had so contumeliously abused. It is reported, that, from that day forward, Donald, their commander, became deranged, either for grief that he had lost his army and spoil, or because his mind, though brutish, was at length galled with the consciousness of his sacrilege, and contempt of religion. This misfortune of their commander occasioned his kindred to set the earl of Athol and his children at liberty, and to propitiate St. Bride with many large and expiatory gifts.

When the news of these things were brought to court, the design of an expedition against the islanders was suspended. The first tumults being appeased, the administration of Scottish affairs was carried on with so much equity and tranquillity, that the oldest man alive never remembered more

secure, quiet, and peaceable days; owing to the prudence and gravity of James Kennedy, whose authority the court principally followed; and to the modesty of the rest of the nobility, in yielding obedience to wiser men than themselves. James Kennedy had obtained such a reputation, by his numerous merits, the services he had rendered to his country, and his good offices to the former king; nay, he had procured such a great opinion of his fidelity in all matters, as well as by his complacency and near alliance to the king, that the other guardians, who were to succeed one another alternately by two and two, did willingly admit and suffer him, whenever he came to court, to be the sole censor and supervisor of the pains and diligence they took in that service. By this concord the education of the king was carried on regularly; and as his own steadiness and ingenuity aided their industry, all men conceived great hopes of him.

Thus affairs proceeded till about the sixth year of the king's reign. There was then at court Robert Boyd, the chief of his family, who, besides his large personal estate, was allied to many other great and noble houses; and he had also a flourishing stock of children of his own, particularly Thomas and Robert. He had a brother too, named Alexander, who was well instructed and versed in all polite letters. This Alexander, at the desire of John Kennedy, his kinsman, who, by reason of his declining age, was not so fit for youthful exercises, and with the consent of the rest of the king's tutors, was appointed to teach the king the rudiments of the military art; in which knowledge he was supposed to exceed all his contemporaries. The Boyds, on account of these advantages, were not content with the place and authority, though very great and honourable, which they had at court; but farther sought to transfer all public offices into their own family. To accomplish this, Alexander was desired by them to incline the royal favour towards them. He, having to deal with a king of tender age, and very pliant, did so insinuate into him, by his flattering complaisance, that he could do any thing he pleased with him. Being admitted into such familiar intimacy and converse, he would often let words drop before the king, that he was now fit to hold the reins of government himself; that it was time for him to be freed from the attendance of old men, and that he ought to maintain a company of noble military youths about him; that so he might enter upon those pursuits betimes, wherein, whether he would or not, he was likely to pass the greater part of his life. Discourses of this kind were easily entertained by an inexperienced youth, who was now in that slippery part of his age most eager for liberty: so that he began to be a little stubborn and headstrong against his governors: some things he would do without their advice, many against it; seeking an opportunity to be delivered from the severity of those elders, as from a kind of bondage and imprisonment. Accordingly, going from Linlithgow, for the pleasure of hunting, unknown to Kennedy, whose turn it was then to wait; the old man, being informed of it, went out to overtake him, not far from the town; and, having done so, he took his horse by the bridle, and endeavoured to stop, and bring him back; alleging, that it was not a convenient time, nor was the company fitting for such an exercise. Hereupon, Alexander ran forward, and with a bow which he held, broke the old man's head, though he deserved better things at his hands. Kennedy being thus driven off, as a troublesome hinderer of their sport, they proceeded to the place whither they intended to go, while Kennedy returned wounded into the town: nor did Robert Boyd, when he came again to court, disapprove of what his brother Alexander had done. By this means, the seeds of enmity were sown between these two parties, which grew up to the great detriment of the kingdom, and, at length, to the total destruction of one of them.

The feud was first discovered upon this occasion. The Boyds would have the king removed from that place to Edinburgh; but Kennedy and his friends would have him reside at Stirling. As the Boyds could then do most at court, they, without public consent, carried the king to Edinburgh, there to enter upon the regal government. The attendants of the journey were, besides their own kindred, Adam Hepburn, John Somerville, and Andrew Car, all the heads of their respective families. This took place about the 10th of July, in the year 1466. The Kennedys having been defeated in the dispute, departed

each to his estate, John into Carrick, and James into Fife; their minds swelling with anger, and resolving to omit no opportunity of revenge. The Boyds, being thus conquerors, not contented with the wrong they had done, sent John an ape, out of mockery, for the old man to play and sport himself with at home, thereby opprobriating him as a dotard.

Not long afterwards James Kennedy departed this life, maturely enough, if we respect his age; yet his death was lamented by all good men, as though they had in him lost a public father. For under him, besides the virtues already mentioned, there was a high degree of frugality and order observed at home, united to great splendour and magnificence abroad. He not only exceeded, in liberality to the public, former bishops, but all those that have succeeded him in the same see to this day, though his ecclesiastical revenues were not great: for as yet the Scots had not arrived at the ill custom of adding preferments to preferments; nor had they learned to spend that upon luxury, which they had badly gained by avarice. He left one eminent monument of munificence behind him in the public schools at St. Andrew's, which he built at a great expense, and endowed with large revenues, issuing out of the income of the church. He gave order, that a magnificent tomb should be erected for himself there; which yet, such was the malignity of the age, excited envy, though he had deserved so well privately of most, and publicly of all men. They alleged it savoured of too much vanity to bestow so much cost upon a useless structure. His death, however, made his virtues more illustrious, and increased the regret felt for his loss; because when he, who was a perpetual censor and corrector of manners, was removed out of the way, the public discipline began, by degrees, to grow weak and remiss; and at last became so corrupt, as to bring almost all things, with itself, to ruin.

The Boyds made use of pretences in law, to increase the domestic power of their family, and weaken that of their opponents. And first, Patrick Graham seemed most fit for their purpose: he was brother to James Kennedy by the same mother; and was also cousin on the maternal side to Robert Boyd. He, according to the custom of those days, was elected bishop by the canons, in the room of his relative James; but being hindered by the court-faction from getting the king's leave to go to Rome, he went privately to the pope, without any train, and so was easily admitted to his brother's place; for, besides the nobleness of his blood, and the strong recommendation of his virtues, he was also well learned for those times. During his stay at Rome, the old controversy concerning the liberty of the church of Scotland began to be revived; the archbishop of York pretending that the bishops of Scotland were under his jurisdiction; so that he endeavoured to retain that power in the time of peace, which had been usurped in the licentious times of war. But a decree was made at Rome in favour of the Scots; and Graham was not only constituted primate of that church, but also appointed the pope's legate there for three years, to inquire into the degenerate manners and conversation of the priests, and to restore decayed ecclesiastical discipline to its pristine state and integrity. Yet this great man, though illustrious for his endowments of mind and fortune, could not, even with the support which he derived from the papal authority, venture to return home till the power of the Boyds was on the decline at court.

This family, perceiving that the concurrence of the nobility to them was not so great as they hoped; to avert the accusations of their enemies, and provide for their own security for the future, caused a public assembly or parliament to be summoned against the 13th of October. There Robert Boyd the elder fell on his knees before the king and his counsellors of state; complaining, that the service which he had performed to his sovereign in bringing him to Edinburgh, was ill interpreted, and traduced by the malignant speeches of his adversaries, who gave out threatening words, that the advisers of the journey should one day suffer punishment for it. On this account, he humbly besought the king, that, if he felt any ill-will or disgust in his mind against him for that journey, he would openly declare it; in order that the calumnies of his detractors might be either prevented, or allayed. The king, having advised a little with the lords of the articles, made answer, that Robert was not his adviser in, but rather the companion of his journey; and therefore, that

he was more worthy of a reward for his courtesy, than of punishment for his obsequiousness and compliance therein. The king added, that, to put an end to all invidious reports, he was willing to make a declaration to the same effect in a public decree of the estates, containing, besides a provision that the subject should never be prejudicial in future to Robert, or any of his companions. Boyd desired, that this decree might be registered amongst the acts of assembly; and that the same should be confirmed by letters patent under the great seal. The decree was accordingly enrolled amongst the acts, and the letters patent were delivered to him on the 25th of that month. The same day also, the king, by the advice of his council, gave him other letters patent, wherein he was constituted regent, and had the safety of the king, his brothers, sisters, towns, castles, and all the jurisdiction over his subjects, committed to him, till the monarch should come to the age of twenty-one; and he managed it so with the nobles then present, that they solemnly promised, under penalty, in case of disobedience, to assist the Boyds in all their public actions. To this stipulation and pledge the king was also a subscriber.

By this means, the sovereign being their declared friend, part of the nobility in league with them, and the administration of the whole government put into their hands, they thought themselves sufficiently secured for a long time. But to lay the foundation for the future greatness of their posterity, they contrived that Thomas Boyd, the son of Robert, should marry the king's eldest sister. This alliance, while it seemed an effectual prop and establishment of their power, increased the hatred of their enemies, and gave occasion to a variety of discourse amongst the common people. For, although by this means all passage to the king's ear seemed to be intercepted, and they alone were the sole arbiters of his words and actions, their flourishing condition at court was more than counterbalanced by the opprobrium in which they were held by the public. This enmity lay concealed indeed four years but then it broke out, to the destruction of their whole family. And the wiser sort of the adverse party did not much dislike their sudden increase of honour; for they expected to see in them what commonly happens, the union of arrogance with elevation; for they who cannot endure a superior, will despise an equal, and trample on an inferior; and when hereby the bounds of a subject's condition are exceeded, it rouses kings, who are impatient of rivals, to overthrow those whom they suspect of such designs. The noise of this discord betwixt such potent factions, let loose the reins of popular licentiousness; for the people, accustomed to robberies, did, at intervals, more eagerly return to their former trade. The seeds of hatred, which were suppressed for a time, began now to bud forth again with greater vigour; and the seditious willingly laid hold of these occasions for disturbances; so that there was a general liberty taken to do what men listed, in hopes of impunity.

Neither were the Kennedys backward in availing themselves of the opportunity, which these circumstances gave them, of inflaming the people by the circulation of reports to the injury of the Boyds, who were accused with being the authors of the public disturbances and miseries. Some were also of opinion, that, so far from being hostile to the designs of the seditious, they artfully and secretly threw fuel into the fire. It was indeed plain and evident, by their very manner, that this troublesome state of affairs was not unpleasant or unacceptable to them. There seemed only one thing wanting, utterly to subvert the flourishing power of their enemies, which was, to bring the king to their side; for, in other respects, they had strength enough, if not rather too much; and they were aware that the commonalty, who affect innovations, and love every thing more than what is present, would flock to their party. Upon this, they agreed to sound the inclinations of the king, by some crafty persons, who should pretend themselves to be adherents to the faction of Boyd.

In the mean time, ambassadors were appointed to go to Denmark, to treat for a marriage between Margaret, the daughter of that monarch, and king James; but they were required to take all the care they could, that the old controversy concerning the Orkneys and isles of Shetland, which had cost both nations so much blood, might be terminated. The chief of the embassy was Andrew Stuart, son of Walter, chancellor of Scotland. The Danes both

easily assented to the marriage, and yielded, in the form of a dowry, all the right which their ancestors claimed over the islands round Scotland, only the private owners of estates therein were to enjoy them upon the same terms as they had formerly done. Some relate, that they were made over in a mortgage, till the dowry should be paid, but that afterwards the king of Denmark gave up all his right over them for ever, to his grandson James, immediately on his birth.

When the chancellor had informed the king that all things were finished according to his desire, the next point was, to send a handsome train of nobles to bring over the new queen. And here, by the fraud of his enemies, and inadvertency of his friends, Thomas Boyd, son of Robert, earl of Arran, was chosen ambassador, his very adversaries purposely commending his aptness for the charge, by reason of his valour, splendour, and estate, which were requisite qualities for such a magnificent errand. He, esteeming all things to be safe at home, as his father was regent, willingly undertook the employment; and, at the beginning of autumn, with a noble suite of friends and followers, went on shipboard.

In the mean time, the Kennedys had loosened the king's affections to the Boyds; and while the latter thought to retain his good-will by pleasures, and by drawing him off from public cares, these very baits the others imputed against them as crimes; and, by magnifying their wealth, which was great in itself, as too bulky, and even dangerous to the crown; and withal alleging what a great addition would accrue to the royal exchequer, from the confiscation of their estates upon conviction, they put strange scruples into the weak mind of the monarch, who was naturally inclined to suspicious and avarice. The Boyds, on the other side, though they endeavoured, by their obsequious flatteries, and by concealing the public miseries from him, to banish all melancholy thoughts out of his mind, yet the complaints of the vulgar, and the desolate state of the court, both which were purposely contrived and increased by their enemies, could not be hid. And besides, there were some who, when the king was alone, discoursed with him freely concerning the public calamities, and the way to remedy them; nay, the sovereign himself, being grown up to a state of mature thought, declared, that those things which occurred sometimes, did not please him. But the Boyds, though they perceived that the king became every day less favourable to them than formerly, and withal, that popular envy rose higher against them, yet remitted nothing of their old licentiousness, as trusting to the king's former lenity, and the amnesty which they had obtained for what was past.

The opposite faction, therefore, having secretly brought over the king to their party, and Thomas, earl of Arran, being sent ambassador to Denmark, from whence he was not expected to return till late in the spring, because the northern seas are tempestuous and impassable for a great part of the year; thought it a fit season to attack the Boyds, who were aged and infirm men, and seldom came to court; besides which, they wanted the assistance of their friends now on the foreign mission. The first thing the Kennedys did, was to persuade the king to convene a parliament, which had been much desired by many, at Edinburgh, on the 22d of November, 1469. Thither the two Boyds, who were brothers, received a summons to come and make their appearance, where various matters were discussed, in regard to them, just as hatred directed some, and favour disposed others. But they were so astonished at this sudden blow, for which they had made no provision, that their minds were quite dejected, not so much on account of the power of the adverse party, as by reason of the sudden alienation of the king's mind from them; so that Robert, in despair of safety, fled into England; but Alexander, who, owing to his sickness, could not escape, was called to answer the charges alleged. The crime objected to both the brothers, was, that they had laid hands on the king, and, of their own will, carried him to Edinburgh. Alexander, in his defence, stated, that he had obtained his pardon for that offence in a public convention; and, therefore, he humbly desired that a copy of the amnesty might be transcribed out of the parliament rolls; which request was denied. What objection his accusers made against that pardon, the writers of those times do not record; and, therefore, though a conjecture is

not very difficult to be made in the case; yet I would rather leave the whole matter to the reader's thoughts, than to affirm uncertainties for truths. Alexander being then brought to trial, was condemned and beheaded. Robert, a few years afterwards, died at Alnwick in England, the grief of banishment being added to the pains of old age. His son, though absent, and that upon a public business, was declared a public enemy, without being granted even a hearing, and all their estates were confiscated.

Thus stood the fact; but I shall not conceal what I have heard some good men, and those too not ignorant of the history of their times, affirm. They say, that the amnesty given to the Boyds was thus worded in the records, "that the king forgave them all the prejudice and rancour of mind, as they then phrased it, that he might have conceived against them." Thus they, who were willing to gratify the king, did interpret, (according to the distinction then celebrated amongst divines, concerning the remission of the fault and punishment,) in the following manner, that, "though the king forgave them his personal resentment, they were not exempted from the punishment of the law." When Thomas Boyd heard of the calamity of his family, though some put him in hopes of pardon, in a time of public rejoicing, he was afraid to land; for his wife, upon the first news of the approach of the fleet, went immediately to inform him, that there was no hope of his re-admission to the king's favour, as his enemies had stopt all avenues thereto. In consequence of this, he sailed back to Denmark, and then travelled through Germany into France, where he in vain endeavoured to obtain in his behalf the mediation of Lewis XI. who had just turned the legitimate government of that nation into a tyranny. Thus disappointed, he went to Charles duke of Burgundy, where he behaved himself valiantly, and did him much faithful service in the wars, for which he was well rewarded by him with honour and profit. There he lived a private, yet honourable life; and his wife bore him a son, called James, and a daughter called Grecina, of whom in their place.

The marriage of James III. and queen Margaret was celebrated amidst a great concourse of the nobility, on the 10th of July, in the year 1470. Three years after this marriage, on St. Patrick's day, in March, was born James, who succeeded his father in the kingdom.

In the mean time, the king, not yet satisfied with the misery of the Boyds, wrote over to Flanders, to recall his sister home; but knowing that she bore so great a love to her husband, that she would hardly be induced to part from him, he caused others to write to her, giving her some hopes, that her brother's anger might, in time, be appeased towards her husband; and that no doubt was to be made, but she herself might prevail much for his relief; only that she must plead in person, and not intrust the case to others. Upon these allurements she returned, but no sooner did she arrive in Scotland, than the king communed with her about a divorce; and, accordingly, affixed public libels and citations, attested by many witnesses, at Kilmarnock, which was the chief house of the Boyds before their fall, where Thomas was commanded to appear in sixty days; when all men knew, that even if the public faith had been given him, he could hardly have come. As he did not appear at the day, the former marriage was pronounced null, and a divorce was decreed, though the husband was absent and unheard; and so, Mary, the king's sister, was compelled, against her will, to espouse James Hamilton, a man who had been but lately elevated, and was much inferior to her former husband in estate and dignity. She bore him a son, named James, and a daughter called Margaret. The children she had by her former husband, were also recalled by the king. Boyd did not long survive this misfortune; but died at Antwerp, and having no kinsman there to claim his estate, Charles of Burgundy expended the money he had bestowed upon him, in the erection of a magnificent monument to his memory, with a honourable epitaph thereon, in the church where he was interred. Thus, the family of Boyd, which had been the most flourishing in all Scotland, within a few years grew up and was cut down, thereby proving to posterity, what slippery things are the favours of young princes.

Their ruin not only amazed their friends, but terrified their very enemies; so that none would venture to aspire to that dignity from whence they were

cast down ; partly on account of the instability of human affairs, and partly in consideration of the king's sudden caprice in repenting having bestowed his grace and favour, and his perseverance in the hatred which he had once conceived. It is certain, that they who were raised to great hopes of preferment by this mutation of public affairs, found themselves much mistaken ; for the king, who had hitherto indulged himself in domestic ease, and seldom appeared in public, being now newly married, spent a great part of his time in the pleasures of his palace. He excluded the nobility, and was wholly governed by a few of his servants ; for, being of an eager and fervid disposition, he could not well bear to be contradicted in his own will ; so that he shunned the liberty which the nobles took in advising him, and kept only those about him who would not reprehend, but rather approve of what he did, that so, by avoiding any occasion of offence, and by using all the flattery they could, they might gain his favour. Amidst these manners of the court, the ecclesiastical state was not much better. For, though the ministers of the church had been given of old to luxury and avarice, yet there was still some shadow of ancient gravity remaining, so that some encouragement was given to learning, and advantage to such as were good proficients therein ; for the bishops were chosen by the colleges of canons, and the abbots by their respective fraternities. But now the parasitical courtiers, who alone had the heart and ear of the king, persuaded him that he would find it much to his advantage, and very practicable, to recall and assume the designation of those offices to himself, and not suffer matters of that great importance to rest in the hands of a generation of drones like the ecclesiastics, who were unfit for any public business. The king was the more easily inclined to this, because it was farther alleged, that hereby, besides other benefits, he would have an opportunity of curbing the contumacious, confirming the wavering, and rewarding the meritorious. But, said they, under our present circumstances, promotions and honours are in the hands of the dregs of the vulgar, who are as parsimonious in case of public necessities, as they are profuse in their private pleasures. All men should depend upon the king alone, so that he may have the sole power of punishing, pardoning, and rewarding.

By these and the like flattering arguments, they drew the king to their opinion, for his mind was not yet strengthened by ripeness of years ; besides, it was weakened by ill custom, and not fortified against the temptations of avarice : and he was, moreover, naturally prone to liberty. Hereupon, a new face of things presently appeared throughout the whole kingdom, and all matters, both sacred and civil, were brought to court, to be bartered and sold, as in a public fair. In this state, Patrick Graham was the only man who endeavoured to stop the precipitous ruin of the church. When his enemies swayed all at home, he staid at Rome some years ; but on receiving information from his friends of the state of things in Scotland, he resolved to return, depending for his security upon his relation to the king, as being the son of his great aunt. But, that he might previously prepare the minds of men, he sent the bull which he had obtained from the pope, for his legantine power, and caused it to be published in the month of September, in the year of our Lord 1472. This, however, raised much envy against him ; for they who had bought ecclesiastical honours at court, were afraid of losing their purchase and money too : and they who thought to make advantage by such bargains, were grieved to be so disappointed, but particularly that faction raged furiously, that had already mercenarily obtained ecclesiastical preferments from the king, in order to sell them to others ; being afraid that this lucrative practice would be taken out of their hands. All these made a conspiracy against Patrick, and, in his absence, loaded him with reproaches. They came to court, and complained, that their ancient laws, as well as the late decrees of the king, were violated ; and that the Romanists were carrying on many matters very prejudicial to the realm ; and that, unless his majesty did speedily resist their encroachments, they would quickly bring all things under their power, till they had reduced the sovereign himself to a state of subjection.

To prevent this danger, persons were sent, by order of the council, to Patrick, when he had scarcely set his foot on shore, to forbid him to execute any part of his office, until the king should have heard the complaints made

against him. The first of November was accordingly appointed for his appearance, in order to a hearing at Edinburgh.

In the mean time, his friends and relations having assured him that the king would do what was equitable in so just a cause, the adverse faction, on being apprized of it, did so engage the king and his courtiers, by the promises of great sums of money, that Patrick could never have a fair hearing afterwards. When he came to the assembly, he produced the bull and grant, wherein he was constituted archbishop of St. Andrew's, primate of Scotland, and the papal legate for three years, to regulate ecclesiastical affairs. The inferior body of the clergy rejoiced that this necessary office was put into the hands of so pious and learned a man; but they did not dare to speak out, for fear of some powerful persons who had gained the ear of the king and his counsellors. The adversaries of the archbishop made their appeal to the pope, who alone could be judge in the case; which they did on purpose to create delay; so that the favour of the people towards Patrick might in time abate. He was himself sent by the king to his church, but with an express injunction neither to wear the robes of an archbishop, till the cause was determined, nor to perform any office beyond what had been executed by the former prelates.

Whilst these things were acting, a new enemy rose up against Patrick, in the person of William Sivez, who was the bitterest of all the rest; and that upon a light occasion. He was a young man of a ready wit, who had lived some years at Louvain, under the tutorage of John Sperinc, a person well skilled in the study of physic and astrology. On his return home, Sivez quickly insinuated himself into the favour of the courtiers, on account of his various accomplishments, and particularly his boasted knowledge of the occult sciences. This qualification gained him great respect from the court, which was then madly addicted to all sorts of divinations; so that, being of an acute wit, and in great favour, he was soon made archdeacon of St. Andrew's; but the bishop refused to admit him to that office. Upon this, he entered into a consultation with John Lock, rector of the public schools there, who was a secret enemy of Patrick, and these two together employed all their engines to work his overthrow. The rector, having a grant from the pope, whereby he was privileged and exempted from archiepiscopal jurisdiction, pronounced a sentence of excommunication against Patrick. But he so slighted this communication from one of an inferior order to himself, that though, when he came to court, it was twice or thrice served upon him, he went on in his ordinary course of life; whereupon his enemies, as is usual in cases where ecclesiastical censures are contumned, implored the assistance of the king, and got Patrick excluded from all the churches. Officers of the exchequer were also sent, to take an inventory of all his goods; his retinue was commanded, under a heavy penalty, to depart; and a guard was set upon him, to observe that he did nothing contrary to the edict. The rest of the bishops, that they might not seem ungrateful towards so benevolent a monarch, raised a considerable sum of money, which they violently extorted out of the small benefices, and presented it to him. The king, on the receipt of it, affected to deal more mildly with Patrick, as if he took pity on him; and accordingly sent to him the abbot of Holyrood, and Sivez, the effect of which was, an apparent reconciliation between all the parties. But this act of condescension on the side of the king, did not take place till he had received the contributions which had been collected by the friends of the bishop. Patrick seeming to be thus freed from all his troubles, retired to his manor-house of Monymul, and began to prepare himself for the execution of his office, publicly and privately; when, lo, the Romish tax-gatherers were sent in upon him by his adversaries; and because he had not paid his fees for the papal grant, or bull, as they call it, they likewise excommunicated him. The man was now reduced to extreme poverty; for his revenues, both before and after his return, were, for the most part, taken and brought into the royal exchequer; besides which, whatever his friends could make up, had been given to the king and his courtiers. When the officers of the crown were again sent to take possession of his estate, guards were set upon him by the king; his household servants were discharged, and he was kept prisoner in his castle,

all which had the effect of depriving him of the use of his reason. William Sivez, his capital enemy, was first appointed by the king, and afterwards approved by the pope, to be what is called his coadjutor, on account of his mental disorder. This Sivez was also made inquisitor, by the power of the adverse faction, to inquire into the life and character of the archbishop. Many trifling, and some ridiculous and incredible things were objected against the prelate, and amongst the rest, this was one, that he had said mass three times in one day, whereas, in that age, there was hardly a bishop, who did the same in three months. Thus his enemy being his judge, and the witnesses against him suborned, he was turned out of his bishopric, and Sivez, who carried the decree to the pope, was nominated in his room. Neither were his enemies content with the mischief they had done him; but, perceiving he bore all their contumelies with much greatness of spirit, they made an order, that he should be shut up in some desolate monastery with four keepers. The place chosen was Inchcolm, a rock rather than an island; from whence, three years after, he was removed to Dunfermline, for fear of the English; betwixt whom and the Scots a war had then commenced. Afterwards, he was carried to the castle of Lochleven; where, being worn out with age and miseries, he departed this life. He was a man guilty of no known vice; and in learning and virtue was inferior to none of his age. Other upright men, terrified by his calamity, and perceiving no hopes of any reformation of the church, went every one about his own private affairs. In the court, ecclesiastical preferments were either sold, or else given away to flatterers and panders, as a reward for their base and scandalous services.*

Though these things occurred at different times, I have put them all together in my discourse, that so the thread of the history might not be broken off too much; and also, that, by a single memorable example, we might have an entire view of those times; for one may easily imagine how wretched the common people were, since a man eminent for all kind of virtue, and who, besides, had the advantage of being allied to the king, as well as to many noble families, was, by a few villains of the lowest sort, exposed to the reproach and cruelty of his enemies. But to return to the other transactions of those times.

In the year 1476, there was a public decree made against John, lord of the Isles, who had seized upon some provinces, and committed great ravages on the maritime coasts, insomuch that the king resolved in person to march against him by land, while the earl of Crawford, his admiral, received orders to meet him by sea. Hereupon John, perceiving that he was too weak to withstand such preparations, by the advice of the earl of Athol, the king's uncle, came in a humble manner to court, and surrendered himself to the royal mercy. The provinces which he had forcibly entered, were taken from him, as Ross, Kintyre, and Knapdale; but he was suffered still to continue in the command of the islands. The same year, the dispute with the English was settled amicably, just as it was about to break out into an open war. The occasion was this. James Kennedy had built the largest ship that had been known to sail upon the ocean; but, in her voyage, she was cast by a tempest upon the English coast, where her lading was plundered by the inhabitants, and though restitution was often demanded, none could be obtained. This circumstance bred a disgust betwixt the two nations, for some years. At last, the English sent ambassadors into Scotland, the chief of whom were the bishop of Durlam, and a nobleman named Scroop. By these persons, king Edward, who had been tossed about by the caprice of fortune, and whose exchequer was drained by continual wars, desired a treaty of peace; which was easily renewed, on condition that a proper compensation should be made for the ship and cargo that had been rifled, according to the estimate of the arbitrators appointed for the purpose.

The same year ambassadors were sent to Charles duke of Burgundy, in behalf of the merchants who had been disturbed in their trade. On their

* The body of the Scottish prelates being jealous of the metropolitical jurisdiction of St. Andrew's, made a present to the king, and petitioned him to solicit the pope for a revocation of part of his bull. His holiness complied for the same consideration, and a new archbishopric was founded at Glasgow.—*Collier's Eccles. Hist.* vol. i. 681.

arrival in Flanders, they were honourably received by the prince; but one Andrews, a physician, who was also a great astrologer, being occasionally invited by them to supper, and understanding the cause of their coming, took them aside, and told them that they should not make too much haste in their embassy; for, in a few days, they would hear other news of the duke. Accordingly, his prediction was fulfilled; for within three days after, the duke's army was overthrown by the Swiss, at the city of Nancy in Lorraine; where he was killed.* Hereupon the ambassadors returned without effecting their business; and when they came to the king, and told him how highly skilled this Andrews was, in predicting things to come, they persuaded him, who of himself was inclinable to those arts, to send for the man, upon promises of a good reward. Hither therefore he came, was well received, and gratified with a rich parsonage, and other benefices. It is reported of him, that he told the king he should speedily be destroyed by his own subjects; and that this speech agreed with the prediction of some witches, a species of divination to which he was immoderately addicted. These women are said to have prophesied, that a lion should be killed by his whelps. Hereupon, from a prince at first of great ingenuity and good hopes, and as yet not wholly depraved, he degenerated into a fierce and cruel tyrant; for when his mind had received and become filled with suspicions, he accounted even his nearest kindred, and the best of the nobility, as his enemies. The nobles also were disgusted with him, partly by reason of his familiarity with that base kind of people; but chiefly because he slighted men of rank, and chose mean persons for his counsellors and advisers. The chief of these was Thomas Preston, one of a good family, but who made it his business to humour the king in all things. Another was Robert Cochran, a man endued with great strength of body and equal audacity of mind, who became known to the king by a duel which he fought; so that presently, from an architect he rose to be a courtier, and was put in a fair way of rising to some greater advancement. Having performed some lighter matters intrusted to him, with diligence, and by accommodating himself to the king's humour, he was soon admitted to advise concerning the great affairs of the kingdom; insomuch that Preston chose him for his son-in-law. The third was William Rogers, an English musician, or singer, who, coming into Scotland with the ambassadors, after the king had heard him once or twice, he was so taken with him, that he would not suffer him to return, but advanced him to wealth and honour; and, in a short time, made him a knight. The rest of his intimates were the most despicable sort of the meanest tradesmen, who were only known by their improbity, or had nothing to recommend them but their boldness. Whereupon the nobility had a meeting, wherein the king's two brothers were chief, to consult upon the means of clearing the court of these low characters. Some intimation of the design being divulged abroad, John, the youngest of the brothers, more unwary than the rest, spoke a little too boldly and rashly concerning the state of the kingdom, for which he was seized by the courtiers, cast into prison, condemned by the privy-council, and put to death, by having a vein opened till he expired. The cause of his death was given out amongst the vulgar, to be, his having conspired with sorcerers against the king's life; and, to make the matter more plausible, twelve witches of the lowest condition were tried and burnt. The death of John, however, did rather stifle than dissipate the conspiracy, which seemed almost ready to break forth into action.

Alexander, the next in blood, as well as in danger, though he endeavoured to avert all suspicion from himself as much as he could, yet the king's officers thought they could never be secure while he was alive; and therefore presently shut him up prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh. Here he was strictly kept by those who judged his power would be their destruction; and seeing he could not appease the king's wrath by the mediation of his friends, he began to think of making his escape. He had but one of his servants left to wait upon him in his chamber. Him, and none else, he acquainted with his

* Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, was slain January 5, 1476: but there was nothing extraordinary in the prediction of his death, for Philip de Comines tells us that there was a conspiracy formed for the purpose.

design, who hired a vessel for him, to be ready fitted in the adjoining road ; then he employed messengers to make frequent errands to him from the court, who should tell him stories before his keepers, for he was not allowed to speak with any body except in their presence, that the king was now more reconcilable to him than formerly, and that he would speedily be set at liberty. When the day appointed for his escape approached, he assumed as cheerful an air as in this calamitous condition he was able to do, and told his keepers, that now he believed, by the messages sent him from the king, he was reconciled to him, and that he hoped he should not be held much longer in durance. Accordingly, he invited them to a noble supper, and himself drank freely with them, till late at night. They then departed, and, being all full of wine, fell into a sound sleep. Thus left to himself, he made a rope of the sheets of his bed, long enough, as he thought, for the height of the wall ; but first, to make a trial, he caused his servant to slide down it, till, perceiving by his fall that it was too short, he lengthened it out as well as he could in these circumstances, and himself descended, took up the man, who had broke his leg by the fall, upon his shoulders, and carried him about a mile to the vessel, where they went on board ; and, having a fair wind, sailed to Dunbar. Here he fortified the castle against any forcible assault, and soon after, with a small retinue, went over into France. Andrew Stuart, the chancellor, was now sent with an army to take the castle, which was besieged closely some months ; but it was defended not less bravely, till at last, the garrison, for want of necessaries, were forced to get vessels, and, in the night, they departed privately for England. In the morning, the empty fortress was taken ; but the conquest cost the besiegers some men of note, who were slain there.

It was much about this time, that the kings of England and Scotland, wearied out with domestic troubles, desired each to make peace. Accordingly, an embassy from England was appointed to complete it, which was kindly received, and the terms were not only agreed upon, but an affinity settled to confirm it ; that Cecilia, the daughter of Edward, should be espoused to James, the son of the king of Scotland, as soon as both were marriageable. Part also of the dowry was paid, upon this condition, that if, when they came to the proper age, the marriage should not be consummated, the money should be repaid to the English. Some burghers of the principal towns were also given up as hostages, for the performance of the conditions. But this peace lasted not long ; for, by reason of the grudges remaining since the last wars, incursions were made, plunders committed, and villages burnt ; so that both sides were inflamed by these mutual injuries, to such a degree, that it broke out at last into open hostility. But, besides this, each king had other peculiar provocations. Douglas the elder, and Alexander, the king's brother, in exile, stirred up the English king to war. For Alexander, who, as I said before, went into France, married the daughter of the earl of Bolougne ; but, not being able to procure aid from Lewis XI. then on the throne, for the recovery of his own, he passed over into England, hoping, from thence, to make some attempt upon Scotland. As for James of Scotland, Lewis of France incited him to make war, having sent Robert Ireland, a Scotchman, and doctor of the Sorbonne, with two French knights to him, on that errand. Thus the peace came to be violated ; and although the Scottish affairs, owing to part of the country being wasted, were in an indifferent condition, and a great army of the English, under the duke of Gloucester, was expected ; yet the king, and those about him, levied forces, but with no great heart ; for the upstarts, as they lately were, and very poor ones too, whose greatness was founded on the calamities of others, and who had been the authors of desperate counsels, feared nothing more than a numerous assembly of the incensed nobility. When they came to Lauder, a town near the borders of March and Teviotdale, though those countries had been either wasted by the enemy, or else were necessitated to submit ; the king proceeded in his wonted course of exactions, distrusting the nobility, and managing every thing by his cabinet-council. This indignity the nobles would endure no longer ; and therefore, during the third watch, they assembled in a church in the town, where, in a full audience, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, is reported to have declared the cause of their meeting in this manner :

"I think it not necessary, noble peers, to make a long oration concerning the state of the Scottish affairs, which you partly remember yourselves, and partly see now before your eyes. The chief of the nobility are either banished, or else compelled to suffer intolerably, and to perform unworthy things; while you, in whom the strength of the kingdom rests, are left without a head as a ship without a steersman, subject to all the storms and tempests of fortune. Your houses are burnt, your estates are plundered, the husbandmen are either slain, or else, being without a remedy, have submitted to the enemy. The king, though of himself a man of a generous spirit and singular prudence, is carried away by poisonous insinuations, and refers all things pertaining to the good of the commonwealth, as peace, war, and the like, not to an assembly of the nobles, but to inferior upstarts. These men consult soothsayers and wizards, and carry their answers to the king, whose mind is become infirm, sickly, and easily taken with such vain superstitions. Thus decrees are made under the influence of such directors, concerning the general safety; for they, knowing themselves to be deservedly hated by all men, bear the like hatred to all; and their endeavour is, not only to undermine your authority, but to cut you all off, by whatever arts and practices are in their power. They have removed some by death, and others by banishment. Neither do they proceed step by step, to play their game, as inferior persons, when promoted, are wont to do; but immediately exercise the trials of their cruelty and avarice upon the royal blood. One of the king's brothers they have most inhumanly put to death; of the other the country has been robbed by banishment, so that he is given as a general to our enemies. These being thus taken out of the way, their next work is, to deal with the nobility; for, being of low estate and condition themselves, they would have no man of excellence, or of high birth, to survive them. All such as have either riches to satisfy their avarice, or power to resist their presumption, are accounted as their enemies. Yet, in the mean time, we are undertaking a war against a public foe, the English, as if any enemy were more deadly than he who is never satisfied, in point of covetousness, with your estates, nor, in point of cruelty, with your blood. Now, to make it clear to you, that this intestine plague is more dreadful than the foreign one; suppose, which God forbid, that the king of England should defeat us, doubtless he would remember old grudges, and, in pursuance of that conquest, what end of his successes would he propound to himself, or what reward of his victory? Would he aim at the life of his enemy, the king, or at ours? I think at neither. For the dispute between us is, not for life, but for glory and empire: and a generous mind, as it is vehement and eager against those who resist it, so it is easily mitigated and inclined to lenity by submission and obsequiousness, even by the mere consideration of the instability of all human affairs. But, suppose that the rage of the enemy should aim at the king's life and destruction, I pray, which of the two can be said to act most mercifully, he that, together with life, takes away all sense of misery, or they who reserve him, whom they ought principally to love and reverence next to God, to a daily butchery and execution? who arm his mind, already prepossessed with witchcrafts, to the destruction of his friends? who keep the king, now almost encompassed by the arms of his enemies, as a prisoner, and do not suffer him to see the faces of his people, that he may understand their affection to him, and experience their loyalty? They are not so much enemies, who pitch camp against camp, and so openly profess their hostility, as they who, at home, treacherously contrive our ruin. They alienate the king's mind from his friends, and betray him to his adversaries; and thus they deprive us of our commander, and expose us as a prey to the arms of the enemy, by whom, if your lives are given you, after you are conquered, yet you will fall into shame and servitude; and, if you overcome them, yet you will not procure quiet to yourselves, strength to your country, nor glory to your king but a greater liberty to your foes to exercise their pleasure, not only at present, but in perfect security for the future. Thus we shall bring a plague and misery on ourselves, and a stricter servitude on our king, so that victory, instead of freeing us from foreign miseries, would only increase our domestic ones. Therefore, in short, my opinion is, that we ought to shake off the yoke

at home, before we venture to engage the enemy abroad; otherwise we shall be all made slaves to the arbitrary humours of a few men; and thereby strengthen the enemy, and betray the commonwealth. God bless your consultations in this matter."

When Douglas had ended his speech, there followed, not a debate, but a confused noise, throughout the whole assembly, and a continual cry of, "To your arms against the public enemy!" For the minds of all present were so inflamed, that though they had none to lead them, most of them were ready to break in upon the king's quarters. But the graver sort, who, by their honour and authority, had a great interest among the rest, appeased the tumult; fearing lest, in any impetuous assault of the people, the king himself might come to some harm. Therefore they agreed, that the principal commanders should take a small number of their chief confidants, and, without any general movement, go to the king's pavilion, and seize the offenders who had the management of things, and bring them forth to be tried before the whole army, that so they might suffer condign punishment, according to the laws.

Whilst these things were in agitation, intelligence came to the court, that the nobles had assembled before day in the church; but for what purpose could not be surmised; though it certainly must be some great matter, which engaged such persons to meet, unknown to the king and his counsellors. The king being awakened, rose in great fear out of his bed, and consulted those about him, what was best to be done; sending, in the mean while, Cochran out to observe what was passing, and to bring him word. Just as Cochran came pretty near the church with a small retinue, he met the chief of the nobility coming to court. Douglas no sooner saw him, than he immediately laid hold of the massy gold chain which he wore about his neck, and almost strangled him, after which he gave him up as a prisoner to the marshal, and then went directly to the king's bedchamber. They who were there made no opposition, either out of reverence to his person, or because they were astonished at his sudden appearance; so that there the rest were soon seized upon, who were thought to have corrupted the king by their wicked counsels. Only one young man, who hung about the king's neck, and desired pardon, escaped. His name was John Ramsay, who came of a good family, on account of which, and his age, he was excused and dismissed. Whilst the rest were led out to their trials, there was a universal tumult and noise raised throughout the army, crying out, "Hang the rogues!" whereupon they were presently hurried away, and ended their lives in a halter. The army in general was so intent upon their execution, that when they wanted ropes upon so sudden an occasion, they all offered the reins of their horses' bridles and their baggage tackle for the purpose, striving much who should have the honour of presenting his own first.

This faction of the court had committed many injuries against private persons; but their wrongs to the public lay chiefly in their having been the authors of a new brass coin, to which the common people gave the odious name of black money. Upon this coinage there first ensued a dearth of all things, and afterwards a famine; for the traders would rather suffer their commodities to spoil on their hands, than, under a pretence of sale, give them away to the buyers. But, that all commerce might not wholly cease amongst the people, this one remedy was found out for dealers and chapmen, that they should mention, in their contracts, in what sort of money the payment should be made. It is true, some of our former kings had coined a similar kind of money, but it was more for the necessary use of the poor, than for their own gain; and also provision was made by a law, appointing such a sum, beyond which sellers should not be compelled to take it in payment. Thus the purchasers of small commodities had a benefit; and care was taken, that the richer sort should have no damage by this mode of change or sale. It was also objected against these men, that they had alienated the king's heart from the nobility, had set him upon the study of magic, and hurried him on to the destruction of his own kindred. But that which made Cochran most hated, was his earldom of March; which country his royal master had either given to him, or at least committed to his trust, upon the death of the king's younger brother.

When these evil counsellors were removed out of the way, the king having no great confidence in the soldiery, nor they in him, the army was dismissed, and returned home. But though the king for the present suppressed his anger, and made many large and fair promises to the nobility, his heart inwardly boiled with blood, slaughter, and revenge. And therefore, as soon as he thought himself at liberty, he retired, with a few of his confidants, into the castle of Edinburgh; while the nobility, not knowing what to think, held also their separate consultations. The king of England, chiefly through the persuasion of Alexander, who informed him of the dissension between the Scottish king and his nobles, and also assured him, that as soon as ever he entered that country, great numbers of horse and foot would come in to him, raised forces in the winter, over which he made Richard his brother, duke of Gloucester, general, and commanded him to go into Scotland. He began his march about midsummer; and, understanding in what condition the Scottish affairs were, turned aside to Berwick. He was received immediately into the town, and leaving four thousand men to besiege the castle, with the rest of his force proceeded directly to Edinburgh, making dreadful devastation wherever he came. But Alexander leading them on, they entered the city without committing any rapine there; and by a public proclamation made in the market-place, he advised James, seeing he could not speak with him, first to perform what he had promised to Edward; and then, that before the first of September he would cause satisfaction to be made for all the wrongs and injuries he had offered to the English; adding, that, unless he complied, Richard duke of Gloucester would persecute him and his country with fire and sword. To all this, James, perceiving that at present he was not able to perform what was required, and that, on the other hand, he was unable to withstand the power of the enemy, returned no answer at all, either by writing or message. The nobles of Scotland, however, when they found themselves forsaken of their king, that they might not be wholly wanting to the public safety, levied another army, and formed a camp at Haddington; and, that they might somewhat alleviate the imminent danger and pressure, and stop the enemy in his career of victory, they sent agents to the duke of Gloucester, to desire, that the marriage, so long proposed, might be consummated. They were also to declare, that it should not be their fault, if the agreements made between the two nations were not punctually performed. The English general, knowing that the Scots would not run the risk of a battle, because part of their strength was with him on account of Alexander, who was a popular man, and that the rest were divided into several factions, returned for answer, "That he did not know what his king had resolved upon in regard to the marriage, but that he thought it fit the money, paid to James as part of the dowry, should be presently returned; and that if they would have peace, they should promise to give up the castle of Berwick; or, if they could not do that, then solemnly to swear that they would neither attempt to relieve the garrison, nor hinder the besiegers, until the place was either taken by storm, or surrendered upon conditions." The Scots returned answer by their ambassadors, that it could not be their fault the marriage was not consummated, since both bride and bridegroom were under age: that the money was not due, as the day of payment was not come, and that if there were not sufficient security given for it, they would give more; but that with regard to the castle of Berwick, it was built by the Scots on their own ground, and had for many ages been under their jurisdiction, therefore they could not part with it; and that though the English had sometimes taken it, and possessed it by force, yet their violence did not prejudice the ancient right of the original owners. But Gloucester, who was superior in strength, resolved to carry the point, and to admit of no legal dispute in the case. The same day, Campbell, earl of Argyle, Andrew Stuart the chancellor, and the bishops of St. Andrew's and Dunblane, sent to Alexander, who was in the English camp at Lethington, a deed signed with their own hands and seals, promising him, if he would be loyal to the king, in the next assembly they would take care that his estate should be restored, and an amnesty given for what was past; in assurance of which they solemnly engaged their faith. Alexander acquainted Gloucester with this, who was very friendly, and dismissed him upon it; and

so he returned into his own country, where, in the next assembly of estates, he was unanimously made regent; and presently a proposition was made concerning raising the siege of Berwick. The wiser sort were of opinion, that in so dangerous a time, when things were unsettled by reason of domestic seditions, it would be best to make peace upon any terms; for they saw plainly, that if they should have the better of so powerful an enemy, yet it would rather provoke than dishearten him; and that if they were themselves overcome, it was uncertain how an enemy, fierce by nature and elevated by success, would use his victory. Some, who were more spirited than prudent, opposed this opinion; which, however, was carried in parliament. After many conditions had been discussed, it was agreed at length, that, on the 26th of August, 1482, the castle of Berwick should be surrendered to the English, and a truce made for a few months, till they could have more time to treat of a peace. Thus Berwick was lost to the Scots, after it had been enjoyed by them twenty-one years since their last recovery of it. The duke of Gloucester having thus made a prosperous expedition, returned home in triumph.

Edward, by the advice of his council, judged it more for the advantage of England to disannul the marriage contract; for he feared that the intestine discords of the Scots were so great, that the issue of James might be in danger of losing the crown; and he was most respectful to Alexander, because, if he should succeed to the throne, he hoped to have a constant and faithful ally in him, on account of the great kindness he had received at his hands. Hereupon, a herald was sent to Edinburgh, to renounce the affinity, and to demand the repayment of the dowry. When he had declared his errand publicly, on the 25th of October, the Scots obtained a day for the repayment, and restored it to a penny, and withal, they sent some to convoy the herald as far as Berwick. Alexander, that he might extinguish the remains of the old hatred of his brother against him, and so obtain new favour by a fresh courtesy, brought him out of the castle, and restored him to the full possession of his kingdom. But the memory of old offences prevailed more with the proud and restless spirit of James, than this act of kindness. Moreover, besides the king's rooted jealousies, there were some who daily calumniated Alexander, and whispered in the ear of his brother, that the great popularity which he had acquired, afforded an evident proof that the crown was his object. Alexander, upon this, being informed by his friends, that mischief was hatching against him at court, fled privately into England, and gave up the castle of Dunbar to Edward. In his absence he was condemned, and the crimes alleged against him were, first, that he had often sent messengers into England; that he had retired thither himself, without obtaining the royal permission; and that there he had joined in council against his country and the life of his king. All his adherents, however, were pardoned, and amongst the rest, William Crichton, who was accused not only of being an abettor of his designs against his country, but also as the chief instigator of them. But when he had obtained indemnity for what was past, he fell again under the charge of giving counsel and advice to Alexander, after he was condemned, frequent letters passing between them, by the means of Thomas Dickson, a priest; and of causing his castle of Crichton to be fortified against the king, and commanding the soldiers of the garrison not to surrender it to the royal forces. Wherefore he was summoned to answer the 14th day of February, in the year 1485; but, as he did not appear, he was outlawed, and his goods were confiscated. These were the causes of his punishment, as stated in our public records; but it is thought that the hatred which the king had conceived against him, upon a private occasion, did him most mischief. The cause was this, William had a beautiful wife, of the noble family of Dunbar, of whom he was very fond, till she was seduced by the king. On being made acquainted with this dishonour, he had recourse to a rash kind of revenge, by intriguing with the king's younger sister, who was very handsome, but of a light character, and even suspected of being too familiar with her brother. By her Crichton had a daughter, named Margaret, who died not long since. In the mean time, Crichton's wife died at his own house; and the king's sister, just mentioned, was so much in love with Wil-

liam, that she seemed at times to have lost her senses out of regard to him. The king, partly by the mediation of William's friends, partly mindful of the wrong which he had himself done him of the like sort, and willing also to cover the infamy of his sister under the veil of marriage, permitted Crichton to return again to court, on condition that he made her his wife. William was persuaded by his friends; and for want of better prospects, especially when Richard of England was dead, he came to Inverness, where he had a conference with the king, not long before the demise of both; so that great hopes were there given of his return. His sepulchre is yet there to be seen. These things occurred at several periods, but I have put them together, that the thread of my history might not be discontinued and broken off. Let us now return to what was before omitted.

Edward of England died in the month of April next after the delivery of Dunbar to him, in the year 1483, leaving his brother Richard guardian to his sons. He was first content with the name of Protector, and under that title governed England for two months: but afterwards having, by sinister practices, engaged a great part of the nobility and commonalty to his side, he confined the two young princes in prison, while the queen and her two daughters sought refuge in a sanctuary near London. In June following he took upon him the name and entire dignity of a king.

Alexander of Albany, and James Douglas, being willing to try how their countrymen stood affected towards them, came with five hundred chosen horse to Lochmaben on the day of St. Magdalen, because a great fair used to be then held at that place. Here a skirmish began between the parties with enraged minds on both sides, and the success was various, as aid came in out of the neighbouring district, either to one party or the other. They fought from noon till night, and the issue was very doubtful; but at last the victory inclined to the Scots, though it was a bloody one, as they lost many of their men. Douglas was there taken prisoner, and sent to the monastery of Lindores. Alexander was set on a horse, and escaped, but did not remain long after this in England. In the mean time, many incursions were made, more to the loss of the English than benefit to the Scots. Richard was uncertain of the event of things at home, and withal feared his enemy abroad; for many of the English favouring the earl of Richmond, who was then an exile in France, they sent for him over, to take upon him the government of the kingdom. Richard at this was mightily troubled; neither was he less disturbed with the consciousness of his own wickedness; but because he could not quell domestic seditions as soon as he hoped, therefore he thought it best to oblige foreigners by any conditions whatever; that so, by their authority and power, he might be safer at home, and more formidable abroad. For this cause he sent ambassadors into Scotland, to make peace, or at least a truce for some years. There he found all things more easy than he could have hoped; for James, whose many and notable crimes made him no less an object of bitter hatred to his own people, than Richard was to his, willingly gave ear to the ambassadors; thinking that, if once he could secure a peace with England, he might revenge his private wrongs at leisure, and more effectually, because his opponents would be deprived of a refuge. On these grounds especially, both kings sent some of their confidants to the borders; where, after many and long disputes concerning compensation for losses, seeing peace could not be made by reason of the multitude of complainants, and the weakness of their proofs, they only concluded a truce for three years.

But because matters could not then be adjusted, on account of the above difficulties, and the shortness of the time, arbiters were appointed on both sides, who, together with the commanders of the borders, should see all things settled according to equity. One condition in the treaty was set down so very intricately, about the restoration of the castle of Dunbar, that the English interpreted the article in the sense of being allowed to retain it, while the Scots understood it to mean, that they might reduce it by force, notwithstanding the truce. When the Scots, after the expiration of six months, sent ambassadors to demand the castle, Richard by his letters made them promises of good will, but delayed the restoration, alleging sometimes one, and

sometimes another thing, as an obstacle, till his death, which ensued not long after. He was slain by his countrymen, and Henry VII. was not yet fully established in the throne, when James laid siege to the castle in a very sharp winter. The garrison, seeing that they were not likely to have relief from England, in the present distracted state of affairs there, surrendered the place. Henry, being troubled with many cares, that he might cut off the occasion of foreign wars, and extirpate the seeds of old hatred, came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne; from whence he sent ambassadors to Scotland, either to make a perpetual league, or, at least, a long truce. He, as a man of great prudence, and having experienced many vicissitudes of things in his life, judged it highly conducive to the settlement of his kingdom, to make peace with his neighbours, and especially the Scots; because, commonly, those two nations lying upon the watch for advantages against each other, protected rebellious fugitives, entertained those who were exiled, and maintained sedition, by giving the authors of it hopes of refuge and supply. James also desired nothing more, than to be free from the fear of foreigners, that he might punish his own disobedient subjects at his pleasure. Therefore he kindly received the ambassadors, and told them that he wished very much for an amicable understanding, but that he feared his people would neither consent to a perpetual peace, nor to any long truce. He was of this opinion, partly because a long truce was forbidden the Scots by an ancient law, lest, when all fear of an enemy was removed, their minds might languish in idleness, and the sinews of their vigour be remitted; and partly, because they could not so suddenly lay aside that fierceness of spirit, which they had acquired by an habitual use of arms. If, however, he added, they could be brought to yield to a truce for six or seven years, he would not have them refuse it; but as for himself, he was willing to maintain a firm and inviolate peace with the English, as long as he lived; and he would also take care, that the truce should be renewed, before the date of it was quite expired; but he earnestly desired the ambassadors not to divulge abroad the discourse which had passed in secret between them, lest his nobility should be more backward from assenting to a peace, if they saw him forward in the measure. When this was reported to Henry, who knew in what a tumultuous state the affairs of Scotland were, how convenient it was for the king to have a peace, and imagined that he spoke in sincerity of heart, he accepted of the truce for seven years, and so returned to York. In the mean time the queen of Scots died, a woman of singular beauty and probity; who, by her good conduct, was thought sometimes to have moderated the unbridled appetites and passions of her husband. Alexander also, the king's brother, died in France, leaving two sons behind him, Alexander, by his first wife, the daughter of the earl of the Orkneys, and by his second, John, who was afterwards the regent king of Scotland for some years.

James, having thus settled peace abroad, and at home being freed from two troublesome disturbers of his designs, returned to his extravagant courses, excluding almost all the nobility, and keeping none but upstarts about him; upon whom he bestowed great honours and preferments; entrusting to them the care of all public affairs, and the ways and means of raising money, while he himself lay, as it were, drowned in voluptuousness. The chief of this new faction of the court was John Ramsay, who had been preserved at Lauder by the desire of the king, and escaped punishment. Such now was his arrogant pride, that, not content with the stewardship of the household, a place of prime honour amongst the Scots, which the king had given him, and many rich lordships besides, he obtained an edict, that "none but he, and his retinue, should wear a sword, or other weapon, in those places where the king lodged;" that so, by this means, they might strengthen themselves and their followers against the nobility, who kept their distinct and frequent meetings by themselves, and walked up and down in their arms. But this edict made the people hate Ramsay, rather than fear him; for now, they had nothing but the image of perfect slavery before their eyes. In the mean time, the king meditated nothing more, than how to satiate himself with the blood of those men who were supposed to have been the authors of the former insurrection, or were suspected of rebellious designs. But as he could not do this by open

force, he thought to effect it by subtlety; and therefore feigned friendship for the very men who were the objects of his malevolence; and treated them with more familiarity than became the dignity of a prince. To others, who were eminent in power, he gave honours and various grants. He made David Lindsay, earl of Crawford, duke of Montrose; endeavouring to draw him over to his side by that means, because he was a powerful man in his country. As for George, earl of Angus, he entertained him frequently about his person; and, as if he had wholly received him into his favour, acquainted him with his private designs; yet none of his rewards and flatteries could persuade men that he was sincere. For they who knew his disposition, did not at all doubt, that his dissimulation of benevolence and respect, tended to no other end, but that he might either arrest the nobility one by one, or else cause them to quarrel with each other; as his assembling the chief of them at Edinburgh made more plainly appear; for he called Douglas to him into the castle, and told him, that he had now an eminent opportunity to revenge himself; because, if the leaders of the faction were apprehended and put to death, the rest would be quiet; but that if he omitted this opportunity, which was so fairly put into his hands, he could never expect the like again.

Douglas, who knew that the king's mind was no more reconciled to himself than to others, craftily reasoned with him concerning the cruelty and danger of the design; alleging, that men would judge it a base and flagitious act, if he should, without a hearing or trial, hurry so many noble persons to death, after having pardoned their former misdemeanors, and given them the public faith for their safety. He observed also, that so far from the fierce minds of his enemies being broken by the death of a few, if his faith should be once violated, all hope of concord would be cut off; and that, if once men despaired of pardon, their anger would be turned into rage; and from thence a greater obstinacy and contempt, both of the king's authority, and even of their lives, would infallibly ensue. But if you will hearken to my counsel, said he, I will shew you a way, whereby you may preserve the dignity of a king, and gratify your revenge. I will gather my friends and clans together, and so openly, and in the day time, will lay hold upon them, that you may try them where you will, and inflict what punishment you please upon them. This way will be more creditable and safe; than if you were to set upon them secretly, and by night; for then it would look as if they were murdered by thieves. The king, thinking the earl sincere in what he spoke, and knowing that he was able to perform what he promised; gave him many thanks, and more promises of great rewards, and so dismissed him. But he presently acquainted the nobility with their imminent danger, and advised them to withdraw themselves from court, as he himself also did. The king, perceiving that his secret projects were discovered, from that day forward would trust nobody; so, after staying some time in the castle of Edinburgh, he sailed into the countries beyond the Forth; where the people still continued firm in their obedience to him, and there he levied a considerable force. The nobles, who had hitherto sought his reformation, and not his destruction, now seeing that all hopes of an agreement were cut off, directed their counsels to his utter overthrow and ruin; only there was one thing which troubled them, and that was the choice of a general, who, in case of their subduing the king, might be regent or viceroy, with the consent of the people, and such an one, as, on account of the honour of his family, would excite as little envy as possible. After many consultations upon this point, at last they pitched upon the king's son, who was allured to a compliance by the superintendants and tutors of his childhood. But he consented out of fear, lest, if he refused, the government and command should be made over to the English, who were the perpetual enemies of his family.

The king by this time had passed over the Forth, and pitched his tent near the castle of Blackness; the army of his son being not far off, and ready for the encounter. At this crisis, the difference was composed by the intervention of the earl of Athol, the king's uncle, who was given up as a hostage for the peace, to Adam Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, with whom he remained till the death of the king. But though peace was thus restored, it did not last long; for new suspicions arose on both sides, and many complaints passed

between them; till, at length the nobles came to this decision: "That, since the king did nothing sincerely, a certain war was better than a treacherous peace; therefore, only one medium was left, upon which they could agree; and that was, that the king should resign the government to his son, and if he would not consent to that, it was in vain for him to give himself the trouble of any more messages or disputes." The king communicated this answer, by his ambassadors, to the French and English courts, making it his request that they would assist him, by their influence, against the fury of a few of his rebellious subjects, and, if necessary, by some auxiliary forces, that so they might be reduced to obedience. He observed, that this ought to be regarded as a common concern, since the contagion, by such an example, would quickly spread to the neighbouring nations. Ambassadors were also sent to Eugenius VIII. pope of Rome, desiring him, out of his paternal affection to the Scottish name, to send thither a legate with full power, by ecclesiastical censures, to compel the rebels to lay down their arms, and obey the king. The pope wrote to Adrian of Castell, his legate in England, and a man of great learning and prudence, enjoining him to exert his endeavours for settling the Scottish affairs. But these remedies came too late; for the nobles, who were not ignorant of the king's designs, and knew that he was implacable towards them, resolved to hasten a battle, before he should receive any more forces. Though they had the king's son with them, to give their cause a better grace among the common people, and also to shew that they were no enemies to their country, but only to their misled king; yet, lest the public might be depressed by the approach of foreign ambassadors, they were solicitous, night and day, to bring the contest to a battle. But the king's fearfulness was an hinderance to their purpose, for, having levied a great strength in the northern parts of the kingdom, he resolved to keep himself within the castle of Edinburgh, till he should receive the promised succours. This certainly was the safest course that he could adopt, and yet his resolution was overruled by the fraud or simplicity of those about him; who, being impatient of the delay occasioned by the frequent washes and friths that impeded the arrival of the foreign aid, advised the king to go to Stirling, as the only place in the kingdom fit for the conjunction of the forces he expected from different quarters. There, they said, he might be as safe as he was in the castle of Edinburgh, since his enemies were unprovided with the materials requisite for the storming of fortresses, and there also he might have his fleet, which he had fitted out in case of extreme hazard, to ride in some convenient harbour near adjoining. This counsel seemed faithful, and might have been safe enough, if James Shaw, governor of the castle, being corrupted by the contrary faction, had not refused to give him entrance. The enemy followed him so close, that before he knew where to betake himself, he was forced, with the strength which he had, to venture a battle. At the beginning, they fought stoutly, and the first ranks of the army of the nobles began to give ground; but the men of Annandale, and the neighbouring parts, inhabiting the west of Scotland, came boldly up, and, having longer spears than the adverse party, presently routed the main forces of the king; who, after being weakened by the fall of his horse, fled to some water-mills, near the place where the battle was fought. His intent was, it is supposed, to get to his ships, which lay not far off; but here, with a few of his men, he was taken and slain. There were three who pursued him very closely in his flight, namely, Patrick Gray, the head of his family, Sterline Ker, and a priest named Borthwick; but it is not well known which of them gave him his mortal wound. When the news of his death, though not as yet fully certain, was divulged through both armies, it made the conquerors press less violently upon those who fled, so that there were the fewer of them slain; for the nobles managed the war against the king, and not against their fellow-subjects. There fell of the king's party, Alexander Cunningham, earl of Glencairn, with some few of his vassals and kindred, but many were wounded on both sides.

Thus James III. came to his end, a man not so much of a bad disposition by nature, as corrupted by ill habits, into which he had been brought up by vicious acquaintance. At first he gave a specimen of considerable ingenuity,

and of a mind truly royal, but afterwards he degenerated by degrees, the Boyds being the first occasion of it, into all manner of licentiousness. When these men were removed, then persons of the lowest description were his advisers in all kind of wickedness ; but besides this, the corruption of the times, and the ill examples of cotemporary and neighbouring princes, contributed not a little to his overthrow and ruin ; for Edward IV. of England, Charles duke of Burgundy, Lewis XI. of France, John II. of Portugal, all of them laid the foundations of tyranny in their respective dominions. Richard the Third also exercised it to the highest degree of cruelty in England. The death of James was branded with this ignominy, that, in the ensuing assembly, the whole parliament voted that he was justly slain ; and provision was made for all that had borne arms against him, so that neither they, nor their posterity should be prejudiced by it. He died in the year of our Lord 1488, in the twenty-eighth of his reign, and the thirty-fifth of his age.

BOOK XIII.

JAMES III. being thus slain, near Stirling, in the month of June, his opposers, who were as yet uncertain what was become of him, retreated to Linlithgow. There word was brought to them, that some boats had passed backwards and forwards from the ships to the land, and that they had carried off wounded men. Upon this, a suspicion arose amongst them, that the king himself also was gone on ship-board, which occasioned them to remove their camp to Leith ; from whence the Prince (as the king of Scotland's eldest son is called) sent some agents, to require the admiral of the fleet to come on shore to him. He was a knight, named Andrew Wood ; and, being mindful of the king's kindness towards him, remained constant in his affection to him, even after he was dead. He refused to come on shore, unless hostages were given for his safe return, upon which Seton and Fleming, two noblemen, were sent for that purpose. When he landed, the council asked him if he knew where the king was ? and who they were that were carried off to his ships after the fight ? As for the king, he told them he knew nothing of him, but that he and his brothers had landed from their boats, that so they might assist the sovereign and all his loyal subjects ; but having endeavoured, in vain, to preserve him, they returned to the fleet. He added, that if the king were alive, they would obey, none but him ; but that if he was slain, they were ready to revenge his death. He uttered also many reproachful speeches against the rebels ; notwithstanding which they sent him away in safety to his ships, that so the hostages might not suffer. On their return, the inhabitants of Leith were called to the council, and pressed by promises of great reward, to fit out their ships, and subdue Andrew Wood. They all in general made answer, that he had two ships so completely equipped for fighting, and so well furnished with able and valiant seamen, while he was himself so skilful in naval affairs, that no ten ships in Scotland were able to cope with his two. Upon this, the consultation was adjourned, and they went to Edinburgh ; where they were fully assured of the king's death, and appointed a magnificent funeral to be made for him at Cambuskenneth, a monastery near Stirling, on the 25th of June.

JAMES IV. the Hundred-and-fifth King, began his Reign A. D. 1489.

In the mean time, an assembly was summoned to meet on a particular day, in order to confirm the new sovereign. There were, however, but few who came together to perform this service, and those were mostly of the party that had conspired against the former king. The young monarch, just after his accession, sent a herald to the governor of Edinburgh castle, commanding him to surrender it, which he accordingly did ; and then he marched to Stirling, which castle was also delivered up to him by the garrison. When the troubled state of Scotland became generally known in England, a squadron of five ships belonging to the royal navy, was despatched to the Frith of Forth, and there plundered the merchantmen, obstructing their commerce, and making frequent

descents on both shores, to the extreme injury of the maritime parts, beyond which the invaders did not venture, naturally thinking that the Scots in the interior were up in arms against each other. For, seeing the defeated party were rather shattered than broken in the late fight, in regard they were not all there, and of those who were, not many were slain; they thought a fiercer tempest would have arisen from minds which still continued to be inflamed with hatred and envy, and were elevated by confidence in their own strength. And indeed it increased the public indignation, that now the power over so many noble and eminent persons had thus fallen easily, not into the hands of the king, but a few particular men. For though the king retained the regal name and title, yet being but a youth of fifteen, he could not be said so much to rule, as to be governed by those who had killed his father, the whole management of affairs centering in Douglas, Hepburn, and Hume, whose confidence was the more increased, because all the shores were covered by the Scottish and English fleets. To remove these difficulties, the new king in the first place endeavoured to bring over the naval forces to himself, lest, during his absence in the remoter parts of the country, to settle matters there, they should raise new commotions, and open a way for the English to penetrate far into his dominions, and spoil the midland countries. When the death of the former king came to be publicly known, the new one thought that Andrew Wood would become more flexible, and therefore sent for him, giving him the public faith for his security. On his landing, the king told him what a great dishonour, loss, and public shame it was to the whole nation, that a few English ships should, in defiance, ride on their coasts; by which means he drew over Andrew to his party, and set him forth in good equipage against the English. Many advised him to fit out at least an equal number of ships against the enemy, who had more and larger vessels than he had; but Wood answered, "No, I'll have only my own two." Accordingly, as soon as the wind served, he made directly toward the English, who were riding before Dunbar; and after a gallant fight, took, and brought them all into Leith, where he presented their commanders to the king. Andrew was liberally rewarded; and his skill in naval engagements, as well as the singular valour of his soldiers and seamen, was highly magnified. Yet some of those sort of creatures, who always extol the achievements of kings, whatever they may be, and if great, view them in a magnifying glass, foretold that this victory only preceded a greater. Meanwhile the adverse party of the nobility sent messages into all parts of the kingdom, to persuade the country to rise, and not endure the present state of things, or suffer so many valiant men to be deceived by such public parricides, who had not only murdered one king, and made another captive, but accused the defenders of their sovereign as traitors. It was observed, that the men who affected to be the only assertors of the rights of their country, and the sole maintainers of its liberty, were themselves violators of all divine and human laws; who kept their prince in a state of servitude, and had forced him to take up arms against his father and king; and, that after the monarch had fallen a sacrifice to impiety, they compelled his successor to prosecute, by a nefarious war, those who were the friends of his parent, and the defenders of his life. Many such discourses they spread abroad among the vulgar: and, to kindle a greater flame of indignation and hatred, Alexander Forbes, the chief of a noble family, carried the king's shirt, bloody and torn with the marks of the wounds he received, upon a spear through Aberdeen, and all the chief towns of the adjacent country; exciting all men, by this spectacle, and by the voice of a herald, to rise in arms to revenge so black a deed. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, also a man of great wealth and power, and who, by a honest kind of popularity, was equally dear to high and low, appeared no less active in the countries on this side the Forth; for he raised up the neighbouring lords, and with a good force endeavoured to pass over the bridge at Stirling, to join his associates; but that position being occupied by the king's forces, he attempted to cross a ford, not far from the base of the river, at the foot of Mount Grampius. His design, however, was discovered to John Drummond by Alexander Macalpin, his vassal, who had joined the enemy; and gave information of the negligent state of their camp; where every one went about as he pleased; there being no watch set in

convenient places, nor the least military discipline observed. Upon this intelligence, Drummond, with some volunteers who came to his assistance, set upon them in the dead of the night, so that many were killed in their sleep, and the rest, running away without their arms, returned from whence they came. Several prisoners were taken, but a great part of them were dismissed by their friends who knew them; and those only were severely dealt with, who had written or spoken more contumeliously than others.

The joy for this victory was increased by the news of another at the same time, which Andrew Wood had gained over Stephen Bull, in an engagement at sea. For king Henry of England, hearing that five of his ships were taken by two of the Scots, inferior in size, was anxious to blot out the infamy of the defeat; and though he could find no just pretence for a war, he called his ablest naval officers together; offering them what ships and warlike provisions they pleased, with an earnest exhortation to purge away this stain cast upon the English name; promising them withal, great rewards on bringing Wood to him, dead or alive. When those who knew the valour of the man, and his successful exploits, hesitated, Stephen Bull, a knight of known courage, undertook the expedition: and opportunity seemed to favour his design, because he knew that Wood was shortly to return out of Flanders; and he thought it would be a matter of no great difficulty to attack him unawares in his passage. Taking therefore three ships out of the royal navy, he equipped them well in all points, and so stood for the uninhabited Isle of May, in the fiith of Forth, selecting that place for its conveniency, because on every side there is safe riding, and a harbour for large vessels in bad weather; while the channel is so narrow, that not a boat can pass without being discovered. Whilst he lay there, he continually kept some of his most skillful mariners abroad in fishing boats, to watch and give him notice of the enemy's ships. He had not rode at anchor there many days, when Wood's squadron appeared with full sail making towards him. Bull knew them, and presently weighing anchor, as being already the victor in his mind, prepared himself for the fight. Wood, with equal alacrity, lay by no longer than till his men were ready to engage, and so made up to him. Thus did these two valiant commanders contend, as if they engrossed the courage of mighty armies, fighting obstinately till night closed the fray, and the victory inclined to neither side. The next morning each encouraged his men, and renewed the attack with redoubled fury. They threw grappling-irons into one another's ships, and so fought hand to hand, as if they had been fighting on land, and that with so much eagerness, that neither of them took notice of the falling of the tide, till they came to the heaps of sand at the mouth of the Tay. There the water being shallower, the great ships of the English became so unmanageable, that they were forced to surrender; and so were towed up the stream of that river to Dundee, where they staid till the dead were buried, and the wounded were placed under the hands of surgeons for their cure. This battle was fought on the 10th of August, in the year 1490.

A few days afterwards, Wood went to the king, taking with him Stephen Bull, with the other commanders of the captured ships, and the most noted of the soldiers, whom he presented to him. Andrew was highly commended, and honourably rewarded for this achievement. The king freely dismissed the prisoners and their ships, and sent them back to their own sovereign with a high commendation of their bravery: observing that as they fought for honour, and not for booty, he therefore would shew, that valour ought to be honoured, even in an enemy.

King Henry, though highly concerned for the loss of his men in this unhappy fight, yet returned his thanks to the king of Scots, and told him, that he gratefully accepted his kindness, and could not but applaud the greatness of his mind.

About this time a new kind of monster was born in Scotland. In the lower part of its body it resembled a male child, nothing differing from the ordinary shape of the human structure; but above the navel, the trunk, and all the other members, were double, representing both sexes, male and female. The king gave special order for its careful education, especially in music, in which it arrived at an admirable degree of skill; and moreover it learned several

tongues, but sometimes the two bodies would discover different appetites, disagreeing one with another; and so they would quarrel, one liking this and the other that: yet, at times again, they would agree and consult, as it were, in common, for the good of both. This was also memorable, that when the legs or loins were hurt below, both bodies were alike sensible of the pain; but, when it was pricked or otherwise hurt above, the sense of pain affected one only. This difference was also more remarkably observable in the article of death; for one of the bodies expired many days before the other; and that which survived, being half putrified, pined away by degrees. This monster lived twenty-eight years, and then died, when John was regent of Scotland. I am the more confident in relating the case, because there are many honest and credible persons yet living, who saw the prodigy with their own eyes.

When the people of the north of Scotland heard of the naval victory, they gave over all thoughts of war, and returned every man to his own home. This tumult and broil being so easily quieted, the king applied his mind, not only to quell all seditions for the present, but to prevent all occasions of them for the future. He summoned his first parliament to be held at Edinburgh, on the 6th of November; where many wholesome laws were made for the establishing of public concord; and, in order to pacify the people in general, and produce unity of mind, the blame of what had occurred was thrown upon a few particular persons, whose punishments were either very light, or else wholly remitted. When the lawfulness of the late war came under debate, John Lyon, lord of Glammis, arose, and exhibited several heads of articles, which the discontented peers had formerly submitted to the king, who not only assented thereto, but would have concluded a treaty upon those terms, had he not been prevented from it by evil counsellors, who persuaded him to call in an old enemy to fight against his own subjects. By this inconsistency on the part of the late king, the earls of Huntley and Errol, the earl Marischal, and Lyon himself, with many other noble persons, forsook him at that time, and set up his son, as being a lover of the public peace and welfare. After a long discussion, at last they all consented to a decree, wherein those who had fallen in the battle of Stirling were affirmed to have been cut off by their own fault, and that their slaughter was just; and that they who had taken up arms against the enemies of the public, for thus they covered their hidden fraud under honest pretences, were guilty of no crime, and consequently not liable to punishment. All who had votes in the assembly subscribed to this decree, that so they might give a better account of the transaction to foreign ambassadors, of whose coming they had information. Many other statutes were also made at that time, to restore to the poor what had been taken violently from them; to inflict small fines on the rich; and to indemnify both parties, so that the taking up of arms on either side in the late war might never turn to the prejudice of them or their posterity. This moderation of spirit was highly commended in a young king, who was only fifteen years old, and who was also a conqueror, and had the command of all; but it was further heightened by his benignity and faithfulness in performing his promises. To this we may add further, which commonly takes most with the vulgar, that he was of a graceful person, well proportioned, and of a lively and quick apprehension. Thus, by using his victory neither with avarice nor cruelty, and by his generosity in pardoning offenders, in a short time there grew up a great concord amongst both parties, both equally striving to shew their love and duty to the king; a few only, who were most obstinate, being punished with a small fine, or with the loss of part of their estates, but none at all were deprived of their whole patrimony; neither were the fines brought into the king's exchequer, but applied to defray the charges of the war. This royal clemency was the more grateful, because men did yet retain fresh in memory, upon what slight occasions, in the former reign, many eminent men were deprived of all; and how greatly inferior to them those were who came in their places. Moreover, to engage the chief leaders of the contrary faction to a greater fidelity, he joined them in bonds of affinity to himself; for, as his aunt had two daughters, by two husbands, he married Gracina Boyd to Alexander Forbes, and Margaret Hamilton to Matthew Stuart. Hereby, in a short time, the minds of all men were reconciled, and a happy peace and

and tranquillity ensued; nay, as if fortune had condescended to become handmaid to the virtue of the king, there was such an increase of grain and of the other fruits of the earth, that a golden spring appeared suddenly to have started up out of a more than iron age. Thus, after the king had suppressed robberies by his arms, and other vices by the severity of the laws, lest he might seem too severe to others, and indulgent to himself, he expressed his concern at the fate of his father, by wearing an iron chain about his waist as long as he lived, adding every year one link more to it: and though this practice might give umbrage to those who were instrumental to that catastrophe, yet they had such confidence, either in the gentleness of the king's disposition, or in their own power, that it occasioned no disturbance.

Amidst this public jubilee, and the private rejoicings of particular persons, about the seventh year of the king's reign, Perkin Warbeck came into Scotland. But before I declare the cause of his arrival, I must go farther back.

Margaret, the sister of Edward IV. king of England, having married Charles, duke of Burgundy, endeavoured, by all the means she could devise, if not to overthrow, yet at least to vex Henry VII. who had supplanted her family. In order, therefore, to annoy the reigning monarch, she raised up Perkin Warbeck as a competitor for the kingdom. He was a youth born of mean parentage, at Tournay, but of such beauty, ingenuity, stature, and comeliness, that he might easily be taken as a descendant of royal stock. By reason of his poverty, he had travelled through several countries, so that he was known to few of his own relations, and thus he had not only acquired several languages, but had inured both his face and mind to the most complete assurance. When Margaret, who was intent on all occasions to disturb the peace of England, had gained this youth, she kept him a while privately with her, till she had informed him under what factions England laboured at that time; and what friends and what enemies she had there. In a word, she made him acquainted with the whole genealogy of the royal progeny, and what happiness or misfortune had attended each of them. As soon as things were sufficiently ripe, she resolved to try the chance of fortune; and accordingly gave private directions, that he should be conveyed, with a decent equipage, first into Portugal, and next to Ireland; where a great concourse of people flocked to his standard, and acknowledged him as the son of Edward the Fourth, king of England; either deceived by his address in personating the character, or else hoping that he would be the means of raising great commotions. While he was thus engaged in Ireland a war broke out between the French and English, in consequence of which; Perkin was suddenly sent for by Charles the Eighth, who gave him many promises of assistance. On his arrival at Paris, he was honourably received, and treated in every respect as a prince, with a guard assigned him; nor were the English exiles and fugitives, who were then numerous at that court, backward in paying him their respects, and flattering him with assurances of success. But when the quarrel between the two crowns was settled, Perkin, for fear of being delivered up, withdrew privately from the French court, into Flanders, where he met with a hearty welcome from Margaret, who affected to make it believed that this was their first interview. He was now introduced to all the nobility; and frequently, when a sufficient number was assembled, he was desired to give a narrative of his adventures. Margaret, as if this had been the first time she ever heard of it, so well accommodated her dissembled passions to the progress of the tale, both when he recapitulated his successes and his misfortunes, that every person thought she really believed the whole to be true.

In a day or two, Perkin was equipped to go about in the habit of a prince, with thirty attendants for his guard, each wearing a white rose, which was the badge of the house of York; and so he was every where announced as the undoubted heir of the English throne. When these things were spread abroad first in Flanders, and afterwards in England, the minds of men were so agitated, that numbers flocked to him, not only of persons who lurked about in private places and sanctuaries, for fear of the laws; but even of the nobility, who were either dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, or anxiously looked for a revolution. But when, after a little delay, Perkin

found that his forces began to lessen rather than increase, owing to the discovery of the cheat, he determined to try his fortune in the field. Accordingly, he collected a band of his adherents, and landed them on the coast of Kent, to try the affections of the people in that county. Being disappointed in his expectations there, he steered for Ireland, where also, notwithstanding his former success, he met with such a cold reception, that he sailed to Scotland, being encouraged by the knowledge that peace between the two neighbouring nations was seldom of long continuance. Here, on being admitted to the presence of the king, he gave a melancholy history of the ruin of his family, and of the miseries which he had himself endured; earnestly beseeching him to protect the royal blood of York from contumely and ignominy. The king, in reply, encouraged him to be of good heart, and promised him, that he should shortly find he had not, in his distress, desired assistance in vain. Within a few days afterwards, a council was held, where Perkin appeared, and gave a full relation of his numerous misfortunes, saying, "that though he was the son of the most puissant king of his time, and of the highest hopes, he had been left destitute by the untimely death of his father; that in his infancy, before he knew what evil meant, he narrowly escaped falling into the tyrannical hands of his unnatural uncle, Richard, who caused his eldest brother to be cruelly murdered; but that, through the management of friends, he was himself conveyed abroad, where, ever since, he had led a precarious life amongst foreigners, and now could not obtain a poor and quiet settlement in the kingdom which was his own lawful inheritance. He said, that, in his wanderings in strange lands, his condition had been so wretched, that he envied the lot of his brother, who had been snatched from all calamity by a sudden and violent death, leaving him to be the sport of fortune, without the common solace of venting his griefs to excite the pity of strangers, since no sooner did he make his dignity known, than he was instantly assailed by new shafts of malice; that to his former miseries was now added a continual fear of treachery; for that his crafty enemy had, on some occasions, tempted those who gave him an asylum, to take away his life, and on others, had privily set spies about his person, to discover, under the pretence of friendship, his secret purposes, to alienate the minds of his open adherents, and to ascertain who were privately attached to his cause. He said also, that those persons circulated vile reports among the common people, respecting his pedigree, and calumniated, in the most infamous manner, his aunt Margaret, and those English nobles who gave him their support: but that Margaret, notwithstanding the abuse which was poured upon her, persevered in maintaining the cause of her family, and though her estate was low, had contributed as much as she could to his assistance; till, at length, when he perceived that her means were contracted, and reflected that she was a widow, and in years, he had recourse to the neighbouring princes and states, imploring their sympathy in his vicissitudes, and intreating them not to suffer one of royal blood to be oppressed by tyrannical violence, or to pine away in grief, fear, and woe. He added, that though for the present he was afflicted with many evils, yet was he not so depressed in mind, as to be without hope of a restoration to his kingdom, by the help of his friends, of whom he had many among the English and Scots. In conclusion, he said, that should he be successful, his memory would retain a sense of the services he had received, and that he would be careful to remunerate them according to his ability. This he trusted to accomplish, if the Scots gave him their support, in which case, on his recovering the throne of his ancestors by their arms, he pledged for himself and his posterity, perpetual gratitude, and a constant acknowledgment, that for this change of fortune he was indebted to them alone."

Perkin said also many things in praise of the king, partly just, and partly accommodated to present circumstances. Having thus finished his speech, the monarch called him up to his seat, and cheered him, by saying that he would refer his request to the council, whose advice in all great affairs it was necessary for him to have; but that, let their determination be what it would, he should have no cause to regret having chosen his court for a sanctuary. Upon this royal assurance, Perkin withdrew, and the matter being brought under discussion, the wiser and most experienced part of the assembly, were

for rejecting the application altogether, either because they judged it to be an imposture; or else, foreseeing that there would be more danger in a war, than the most certain victory could compensate. But the majority, either through ignorance of true policy, want of caution, or from a wish to gratify the king, asserted that the cause of Perkin was perfectly just, and that he was highly deserving of commiseration. They added also, that as matters were now somewhat confused in England, where the minds of men were fluctuating after a civil war, it was good to lay hold of an opportunity which their neighbours are always ready to seize for their own advantage, whenever they had it in their power; and that, therefore, they ought themselves to try for once, to profit by the distractions of the enemy. These men went yet further, and even foretold a victory, from the preconception of their own minds, before they had put on their armour; grounding the expectation they had formed, upon the assurance that numbers of the English would co-operate with them in their enterprise. But they said, that, even if this should not happen, one or other of these two things must result, either the overthrow of Henry, and the settlement of the new king on the throne, who, as a recompense, would grant all they demanded; or the termination of the contest without a battle, in which case the reigning monarch, after quelling domestic troubles, would be obliged, from the unsteadiness of his seat, to comply with such terms as they pleased to impose; and that, if he refused, the continuance of hostilities would afford them many advantages.

Such was the opinion of the majority to which the king inclined, and his vote drew over the rest. After this, he treated Perkin more honourably than before, complimented him with the title of duke of York, and, as such, presented him to the people. Not content with this, he gave him Catharine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, a lady of as great beauty as nobility, for a wife; which affinity enlivened him with full confidence of success. James now, by the advice of his counsel, levied an army, and marched for England; but at first he conducted his operations cautiously, and kept his troops together, ready for an encounter, if any sudden assault should be made upon him. But when afterwards he understood by his scouts, that the enemy had no army in the field, he sent out parties to plunder, and, in a short time, pillaged almost the whole of Northumberland, and the adjoining counties. Notwithstanding this, and though he staid some days in those parts, not an Englishman stirred in behalf of Perkin; in consequence of which, and learning that an army was raising against him, the king thought it dangerous to oppose his soldiers, who were laden with booty, to these new and fresh forces. Accordingly, he resolved to return into Scotland, with the plunder already obtained; and, as soon as the time of the year would permit, to undertake another expedition. Neither did he fear that the English would follow him in his retreat; for he knew that new-raised soldiers could neither be long kept together, nor march after him through a country so lately harassed and made quite desolate by the wars, especially as they had no provisions in store. But besides this, Perkin was afraid, as none of the English came to him, that if he staid any longer in a hostile country, his deception would be discovered. He therefore seemed to approve of the king's resolution, and, coming to him with a prepared speech and countenance, expressing deep concern and compassion, humbly requested that he would not make such havoc in a nation endeared to him as his right; and that he would not so cruelly shed the blood of his subjects, which he valued more than all the kingdoms in the world, and would not, for the sake of such an acquisition, have his country wasted with fire and sword. The king began now to surmise and understand whither this unseasonable clemency tended, and therefore told him, that he feared he would preserve that country, in which not a man would own him as a subject, much less as a prince, not for himself, but for his capital enemy; and so, by common consent, they returned home, and the army was disbanded.

Henry being made acquainted with the invasion and retreat of the Scots, appointed an expedition against them for the following year, and in the mean time levied a great army. But that he might not be idle during the winter, he summoned a parliament, which approved of his design in making war upon

Scotland, and granted a small subsidy for its support. This tax kindled a greater flame of hostility at home, than that which he designed to quench abroad: for the common people complained, that their youth were exhausted by the number of wars and impressments, that had been within these few years; and that while their estates were impaired, and reduced to a very poor condition, the nobles and counsellors of the king, instead of being moved by their calamities, sought to create new disturbances in a time of peace, that so they might impose new taxes on them, who were already in great want and necessity; whereby those whom the sword had not consumed, would be destroyed by famine and poverty. These were the public complaints of the commons, but the people of Cornwall were more enraged than all the rest; though they, as inhabiting a country which is in great part barren, are wont to gain, instead of losing, by wars. This hardy race, having been accustomed rather to increase their estates by military spoils, than to lessen them by paying taxes and rates, first of all rose against the king's officers and collectors, and slew them; and then, being conscious that they had engaged themselves in an attempt so rash, that there was neither retreat nor hopes of mercy, they went on, and having multiplied their numbers, with arms in their hands, began their march towards London. But it is not my business to prosecute the story of this insurrection; it is enough for my purpose to tell you, that the king was so employed this whole year with the Cornish rebels, that he was forced to employ that army against them, which he had raised to invade Scotland.

In the mean time, James foreseeing that Henry would not let the injuries of the former year pass unrevenged, and being secretly informed that he was levying great forces against him, mustered an army, to the intent that if the English attacked him first, he might be in a posture to defend himself; and that if they did not, he himself might make an inroad into their country, and so waste and destroy the bordering provinces, that the soil, poor enough of itself, should not afford sufficient necessities, even for the very husbandmen. On hearing of the Cornish insurrection, he presently began his march, and entered England with a great army, dividing his forces into two parts: one going towards Durham to ravage that country; while the king, with the rest, besieged Norham, a strong castle situated upon a very high hill, near the river Tweed. But by neither was any thing considerable done; for Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, a very prudent person, anticipating that the Scots would make an incursion during the civil broils in England, had fortified some castles with strong garrisons, and taken care that the cattle, and all kinds of provisions, should be conveyed into places either safe by nature, or else made so by being guarded on the sides with moors and rivers. Moreover, he sent for the earl of Surrey, who had a large force in Yorkshire, to assist him; and therefore the Scots only plundered the country, and not being able to take Norham, which was stoutly defended, raised the siege, and, without any considerable action, returned home. Not long afterwards, the English followed them, and demolished Ayton, a small castle, seated almost on the very borders, having done which, they also returned out of the enemy's country, without performing any thing else worthy of notice.

Amidst these contentions, foreign and domestic, Peter Hialas, a man of great wisdom, and, as the times went, not unlearned, arrived in England, being sent thither by Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Spain. The purport of his embassy was, to conclude a marriage between Katharine, their daughter, and Arthur, the son of king Henry, that so the two kingdoms might be bound together in a new affinity and friendship. The English willingly embraced the proposed alliance, and, on that account, were desirous to bring the war with Scotland to a conclusion; but because Henry thought it beneath his dignity to court peace, he was willing to use Peter as a mediator. Peter willingly undertook the business, and came into Scotland; where he plied James with several arguments, and having at last made him inclinable to a reconciliation, he wrote to Henry, that he thought a good peace might be agreed upon without any great difficulty, if he would send down some eminent person of his council to settle the conditions. Henry, as one that had often tried the inconstancy of fortune, and knowing that the minds of his subjects

were grown fierce by these late tumults, so that they were rather irritated than humbled, commanded Richard Fox, who resided in his castle at Norham, to unite in counsel with Hialas. These two had many disputes about the business with the ambassadors of Scotland, at Jedburgh; but, after many propositions on both sides, they could agree in none. The chief impediment was the demand of Henry, that Perkin Warbeck should be given up to him; which requisition he judged to be the more reasonable, as he was but a counterfeiter, and had been already the occasion of so much mischief. James, however, peremptorily refused to comply; alleging, that it would be dishonourable in him to surrender up a man of the royal progeny, who came to him as a suppliant; and whom he had also made his kinsman by marriage; and that, in violating his faith, he should become the scorn and ridicule of his enemies. Thus the conference broke off; yet the hopes of an agreement were not altogether extinguished, as a truce was made for some months, till James could dismiss Warbeck upon honourable terms.

When, therefore, by a communication with the English, and other evident indications, it plainly appeared, that the tale concerning Perkin's state and kindred was a mere fabrication, the king sent for him, and told him what singular good-will he had borne him, and how many courtesies he had bestowed upon him, of which he was himself the best witness; as, first, that he had undertaken a war against a potent sovereign for his sake, and had now brought it to a second year, as much to the prejudice of his own subjects, as the inconvenience of his adversary; that he had refused an honourable peace, which was freely offered him, merely because he would not surrender him up to the English; whereby he had given great offence, both to his own people, and his enemy too; so that now he neither could nor would any longer withstand their desires. But that now, in regard to Perkin, whatever his fate might be, whether peace or war, he desired him to seek some other and fitter place for it, being himself resolved to conclude a treaty with the English, and that when it was once solemnly made, he should observe it religiously, and remove from him whatever might be an impediment to so great and good a work. He said also, that neither ought Perkin to complain of being forsaken, since the English had done so first, in confidence of whose assistance the Scots had begun the war. The king concluded with observing, that, notwithstanding all these circumstances, he was resolved to accommodate him with provisions, and other necessities, for his embarkation.

Though Warbeck was mightily troubled at this unexpected dismissal, yet he remitted nothing of his assumed lofty spirit, but in a few days sailed over to Ireland, with his wife and family, from whence, soon after, he passed into England, and there joined the Cornish rebels; but after many attempts, without being able to do any good, he was taken; and having confessed all the artifices and pageantry of his former life, ended his days in a halter.*

The seeds of war between England and Scotland being almost suppressed, and a great prospect of peace appearing, on a sudden there arose violent animosities of spirit, upon a very light occasion, which had very near broke out into a most bloody contest. Some Scottish youths went over to the town of Norham, which was near the castle, as they had been often accustomed to do in times of peace, there to recreate themselves in sports, pastimes, and feasting with their neighbours, as if they had been at home, for there was but a small river which divided them. The garrison of the castle, out of that incour which yet remained in their hearts since the former war, and being also provoked by some passionate expressions, accused these Scots as spies. Thus from words they came to blows; and many were wounded on both sides, but the Scots, being the fewest in number, were forced to return home with the loss of some of their company. This affair was often brought upon the carpet in the conferences between the lords of the marches; and at last, James,

* Buchanan has evinced more prejudice than judgment throughout this part of his story. Had Warbeck been an impostor, James IV. would hardly have given him a princess of the blood. Nor is it likely that Margaret, the duchess of Burgundy, would have supported a low-born youth, to the injury of her own niece, Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward the Fourth. That Warbeck, as he is called, was what he pretended to be, admits now of little doubt.

in an angry mood, sent a herald to Henry, to complain of the breach of truce, and of the inconstancy of the English in observing contracts; adding, that unless satisfaction was given, according to the just laws which were made by general consent, about restitution betwixt the borderers, he had commanded his herald to declare war. Henry, who had been exercised by the violence of fortune, even from his cradle, and was therefore more inclined to peace, answered, that whatever had taken place, was against his will, and without his knowledge; but that if the soldiers of the garrison had offended in this case by their temerity, he would give proper orders for an inquiry, and that to keep the league inviolate, the guilty should be punished. But the promised reparation went on so slowly, that James looked upon the answer in the light of purposed delay, in order to allow the resentment time to cool, by putting off the punishment, which was therefore rather a provocation than a satisfaction. Upon this, Richard Fox, bishop of Durham, who was owner of the castle, being much troubled that any of his tenants should give occasion to an infraction of the league, to remedy it, sent several letters to James, full of great submission, modesty, and civility, which so mollified the mind of the king, that in his reply he earnestly solicited an interview with him, not only about the late trespasses, but other matters conducive to the advantage of both kingdoms.

Fox having acquainted his sovereign herewith, obtained his consent to wait upon James at Melrose, where he then resided. There James made a grievous complaint of the injury at Norham; but by the prudent and grave discourse of Fox, he was so pacified, that for the sake of peace, of which he shewed himself very desirous, he remitted the offence. Other things were transacted privately betwixt them; but it appeared afterward that the sum of them was, that James not only desired a peace, but the formation of a nearer affinity with Henry, and a stricter bond of union. He said, that if Henry would bestow his daughter Margaret upon him in marriage, he hoped that the connexion would be for the benefit of both kingdoms; and that if Fox, whose authority he knew to be great at home, would endeavour to accomplish that object, he did not doubt but it would soon be effected. The bishop freely promised his assistance, and, going to the English court, acquainted the king with the proposition, after which he gave hopes to the Scottish ambassadors, that a peace would easily be settled betwixt the two nations. Accordingly, three years afterwards, that is, in 1500, Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry, was betrothed to James IV.; and Katharine, the daughter of Ferdinand of Spain, to Arthur, Henry's eldest son, and their marriages were celebrated with great pomp the year following.

After this alliance, all things were quiet, and the court turned from the study of arms to sports and pastimes; so that there was nothing but masks, spectacles, feastings, dancings, and balls. It was, in short, a continued jubilee, and, upon that account, every day was a festival. There were also frequent tilts and tournaments, mostly according to the French mode, betwixt which, as tragical acts, some who were wont to live by spoil, came upon the stage, and challenged one another; which sport the king was pleased to behold, because he judged that their mutual slaughter was a gain to himself. When the noise of these tournaments reached foreign nations, many strangers, especially from France, came daily over to shew their prowess, who were all liberally entertained by the king, and as bountifully dismissed. Neither did he rest in these exercises, for he laid out considerable sums of money upon public buildings at Stirling, Falkland, and several other places, but especially in the erection of monasteries. But he expended most upon ships, of which he built three very stately ones, of uncommon size, and many also of a smaller rate. One of his great ships was, to admiration, the largest that ever any man had seen sail on the ocean; it was also furnished with every kind of costly accommodation; but as our writers have given a minute description of it, I shall omit the particulars. The measure of it is kept in some places, but its magnitude appeared in this, that the news thereof stimulated Francis, king of France, and Henry the Eighth, king of England, to build each of them a ship, in imitation of it, one endeavouring to outvie the other. When, however, these vessels were finished, fitted with all kinds of necessaries,

and sent out to sea, they were found so unwieldy, as to lie like immoveable logs on the water, unfit for use.

These works, being very expensive, exhausted the treasury of James to such a degree, that he was forced to devise new ways and means to get money, one of which, originating, as it was thought, with William Elphinstone, bishop of Aberdeen, proved very displeasing to all the nobility. Amongst the tenures of land in Scotland, is one by which, if the owner of an estate that he has purchased or obtained in gift, dies, and leaves a son under age, the wardship of the heir shall rest in the king, or some superior lord, who, by virtue thereof, takes the whole income, till the party to whom it belongs, has attained his majority. There is also another badge of slavery annexed to this tenure, that if an owner sells above one-half of his estate, without the consent of the chief lord, the whole is forfeited. This law was introduced by parasites, to increase the king's exchequer, but as it was looked upon as unjust, it had lain dormant a long time; till the king, being informed that the money might be obtained from those who had broken it, commanded the statute to be put in execution; by the process called recognition. This way of raising money by the king, though it deprived no man of his whole estate, yet was a greater grievance to the country than his father's covetousness had been; for the wrong injured very many, and chiefly the worthiest people; because, under the two last kings, owing to their foreign and civil wars, the memory of that law was almost quite abolished; so that now, by reason of this new project, they were forced either to redeem their lands from the officers of the king's exchequer, or else to relinquish one part to secure the rest. Yet such was the love of his subjects towards their king, that, though they suffered great inconvenience by this measure, their reverence for his other virtues restrained them from venting their indignation in an insurrection.

But the king set no bounds to his expenses, and as there were not wanting flatterers, a perpetual mischief to courts, who covered this vicious excess under the plausible names of splendour and magnificence, he at last determined to undertake a voyage to Syria, that he might, by his absence, abridge his extravagance, which he could neither continue at home without ruin, nor retrench without shame. He made an honest pretence for his journey, which was, to expiate the fault he had committed in bearing arms against his father. And indeed he had given some evidence of his penitence, whether true or pretended, upon this account, from the very beginning of his reign, as I have already said, and he would often speak of it in his common discourse. He had fitted out a fleet for this voyage, nominated the chief of his retinue, and had acquainted the neighbouring courts by his ambassadors, of his intent. Many of his followers also, as if they had obliged themselves by the same vow, suffered the hair of their heads and beards to grow long, and it was thought that he would immediately have embarked, if some obstacles had not intervened, whilst he was most intent on his purposed pilgrimage. At this time there arose strong symptoms of an immediate war betwixt France and England; for Henry, besides being jealous at the successes of the French in Italy, was solicited by pope Julius II. and Ferdinand of Spain, his father-in-law, to join them; together with the Venetians, Swiss, and the emperor Maximilian. Henry commonly regulated his counsels according to events: and it was likely the junction of so many nations, in alliance against France, would almost swallow it up.

The English monarch, being in the prime of life, sensible and proud of the power of his kingdom, and in his nature also very forward for action, had a vehement desire to enter into this alliance, but then he wanted a fair pretence to fall out with France. Both sovereigns soon ascertained the views of each other, by their respective agents; and when France could not be persuaded to desist from carrying on a war against the pope, who was the friend of Henry, a herald was sent over, to demand Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou, as the ancient possessions of the English. But the French monarch, not being moved by these threats to suspend hostilities in Italy, Henry immediately declared war against him, and sent an army into Biscay, to join his father-in-law, Ferdinand; while he prepared to go himself on an expedition into France.

In the mean time, James of Scotland, though he resolved to take no open part with either side, yet as being more inclinable to the French, he offered the fleet already mentioned as a present to Anne, queen of France,* that so it might seem rather a mark of his friendship, than any real assistance for military purposes. Besides this, the Scottish clergy, who had been accustomed to the handling of French gold, were willing to shew their regard to that monarch; but as they durst not do it openly, they sought for proper occasions to alienate the king's mind from the English.

In order to this, Andrew Forman, then bishop of Murray, one of their faction, and a friend to the French king, was sent into England, to demand a vast sum of gold and silver. The greatest part of it consisted of women's jewels and ornaments, which it was said had been bequeathed by the will of Arthur, the elder brother of Henry VIII. to his sister Margaret, the wife of James, as I have already related. Henry, probably looking upon this demand only as a pretence for a quarrel, answered James very mildly, that if any thing was due to him, he would not only pay it, but if he wanted a greater sum, or any other assistance, he would not fail to supply him. James, on receiving this reply, resolved to assist Lewis in any other way than by invading England; and, therefore, sent over the same Forman into France, to acquaint him with it. Meanwhile, because he had heard that great naval preparations were making on both sides, he resolved to send the fleet to Anne immediately, that so it might arrive there before the war actually broke out. He made James Hamilton, earl of Arran, admiral, and ordered him to sail the first opportunity. But Hamilton, though a man otherwise of good character, yet being more skilled in the arts of peace than war, either through fear of danger, or an habitual backwardness, instead of hastening to France, turned aside to attack Knockfergus, a town in Ireland, situated over against Galloway; which place he pillaged and burnt, and afterwards, as if he had been a mighty conqueror, hoisted sail for Ayr, in Scotland, a port-town in Kyle. When the king heard of his return, he was very much exasperated against him, and could not forbear to threaten and upbraid him; being the more enraged against him, because he had received a letter from queen Anne out of France, the tendency of which was, to draw him into a war with England. He had besides other letters from Andrew Forman, informing him that he was generally reproached, for having promised to send a fleet, which, as it never came, the French believed was never intended. The king, to justify himself, immediately suspended Hamilton, for deviating from his appointed course, and destroying a town belonging to a friendly power, by which the Scots were involved in a war against their will, and without a formal declaration. Hamilton, therefore, was not only cashiered, but ordered to appear, and answer for his conduct. Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, was appointed to succeed him in the command, with whom Andrew Wood was sent to take the fleet into his care; but Hamilton, having notice by his friends, before their coming, of the king's displeasure against him, presently hoisted sail, and resolved rather to commit himself to the wide ocean, than an enraged king. He was a long time on his passage to France, his ship being tossed about with contrary winds and storms, so that he did not arrive there till all thoughts of naval preparations were laid aside, and then he landed in Little Britany, where the ship, which cost so much money and labour in building and equipping, had her tackle taken out, and she was laid up to rot in the harbour of Brest.

In the interim, other causes of discord arose at home, which wholly alienated the mind of James from the English king. In the reign of Henry VII. there was one Robert Ker, a worthy knight, so much in the favour of James, for his eminent virtues, that he made him chief cup-bearer, master of the ordnance, and lord warden of the middle borders or marches. He was a severe castigator of all robbers, which, while it raised him still higher in the king's affection, increased the hatred of the borderers; so that both English and Scots, whose licentiousness he alike restrained, by putting the laws in

* Anne of Bretagne, the second wife of Lewis XII. was the widow of Charles VIII. his predecessor. She died January 9, 1513.

execution against them, jointly sought all occasions to take away his life. At length, in a solemn meeting of Scots and English, which used to be kept, to adjust and recompense damages, a quarrel began, and three daring Englishmen, named John Heron, Lilburn, and Starhed, set upon Ker; one came behind, and ran him through the back with a lance, and when he was wounded, the other two despatched him.

This business had like to have created a war; but Henry, as he was just in other things, so at this foul deed he was as angry as James, and therefore caused the brother of John Heron, who was lord of Ford, and governor of the English borders, to be delivered up to the Scots, together with Lilburn, the other two having made their escape. They were shut up in Fast-castle, where Lilburn died; and, for the expiation of so glaring a crime, it was decreed, that in future assemblies of that kind, the English should first crave the public faith for their security, and then enter Scotland, to hold their meetings; and that the ambassadors of England, by many solemn protestations and a formal ceremony of words, should declare, that the public was not concerned in or guilty of that particular murder. The other two murderers meanwhile lurked in the inland parts of England, till the reign of Henry VIII. and yet they did not go unpunished; for finding they had gained a young king, fierce and potent, and saw that he was willing to shew the greatness of his power, they ventured out of their retirements. Heron, by the interest of his family, lived openly in his own house, and privately sent robbers into Scotland, to disturb the public peace, hoping, that if a war should once begin, he might obtain indemnity for his old offences, and even liberty to commit new ones with impunity. But Starhed got an habitation about ninety miles from the borders, thinking himself safe, by the remoteness of his abode. Andrew Ker, however, the son of Robert, who saw that the seeds of hatred, which would soon break out into a war, were then sown, and fearing that if once they entered into arms, he should lose the opportunity of avenging his father's blood, persuaded two of his tenants, of the family of the Tates, to disguise themselves, and kill Starhed. They undertook to do this, and so entered his house securely in the night, for, living so far from the borders, he thought that he had no need of a watch; where they killed him, cut off his head, and brought it to Andrew, who sent this trophy of his gratified revenge to Edinburgh, and set it up there, on a high and conspicuous place. Of Heron I shall speak in due time.

Just upon the footsteps of this old injury, succeeded a new one, which raised that anger in the Scottish king, that had hitherto rather been asleep than extinguished. At this time there was one Andrew Breton, a Scotch merchant, whose father was barbarously murdered and his ship plundered by the Portuguese. Andrew had the cause heard in Flanders, where the murder was committed, and the Portuguese were cast; but they not paying what was adjudged, and their king, though James sent a herald to him for that end, neglecting to compel them to do so, Andrew obtained a letter of marque and reprisal from James, to satisfy himself for the injury he had sustained. It was directed to all princes and maritime cities, requiring them not to account him as a pirate or robber, if, by open force, he revenged himself on the Portuguese, who were notorious violators of common right and equity. Thus furnished, he, in a few months, did much mischief to the Portuguese. Their ambassadors, at the time when there was every probability of a war between the French and the English, on account of pope Julius II. came to Henry, and persuaded him to cut off this bold and desperate pirate Andrew, who, they said, would otherwise prove a bitter enemy to him and his subjects in the apprehended contest. They told the king that Andrew was a common robber, and that therefore the destruction of him would be a public benefit. Henry being thus easily induced by the Portuguese to entrap Andrew, sent his admiral, Thomas Howard, with two strong ships of the royal navy, to waylay him in the Downs, as the heaps of sand are called, which appear dry when the tide is out, in his return from Flanders. It was not long before they espied him coming in a small vessel, with a lesser one in his company, and set upon him. Howard himself attacked Andrew, and between them there was a sharp fight; but although the former had all the advantage imaginable against his antagonist, he

had much difficulty in taking the ship; neither could he do it, till Andrew and many of his men were slain. This is certain, that Andrew was a man of that courage, even when his case was desperate, that though he had several wounds, and one of his legs was broken by a cannon ball, yet he took a drum and beat an alarm, and a charge to his men, to encourage them to fight valiantly; and this he did, till his breath and life failed him together. The lesser ship, not being able to cope with the enemy, endeavoured to escape, but was overtaken, and captured without much resistance. They who were not killed in the fight, were thrown into prison in London; from whence they were brought to the king, and humbly begging their lives of him, as they were instructed to do by the English, he, in a proud ostentation of his great clemency, dismissed the poor creatures and sent them home. Upon this, ambassadors were despatched into England by James, to complain that the ships of his subjects were taken in a time of peace, and their crews slain. They were answered, that the killing of pirates was neither a violation of a league, nor a justifiable cause for war. This answer, as it shewed the malignity of one, who was not only willing to excuse a plain murder, but desirous of an occasion for a war, so encouraged the English, who inhabited the borders, and guessed the mind of their king, that they began, according to custom, to plunder the neighbouring countries of the Scots.

At this period there was one Alexander Home, who had the sole command of all the Scottish borders, which formerly had been wont to be under the management of three persons. He was greatly beloved by James; but his disposition was more fierce than was expedient for the good of those times. The king being intent upon war, and solicitous how to wipe out the ignominy received by those incursions; Home promised him, that he, and some of his kindred and vassals, would, in a little time, make the English repent of the loss and damage they had done, and were resolved to turn their mirth into sadness. To make good his word, he gathered together about three thousand horse, entered England, and ravaged seven neighbouring villages, before they could obtain any relief; but in his return, the men, who were accustomed to pillaging, and were then laden with considerable booty, being unwilling to stay there any longer, divided the spoil, even in the enemy's country, and went their way severally home. Alexander with a few brought up the rear, to see that no assault might be made upon them in their retreat; but perceiving none to follow, he was the more careless, and so fell into an ambush of three hundred English, who, taking the opportunity, set upon them, and struck such a sudden terror into them, that they routed and put them to flight. In this skirmish many of the Scots were slain, and two hundred were taken prisoners; amongst whom was George Home, the brother of Alexander, who was exchanged afterwards for the lord Heron of Ford, that had been prisoner many years in Scotland, for the murder of Robert Ker; but all the booty came safe into Scotland, because they who drove it marched on before.

The king, whose mind had for some time been disquieted on account of what has been already related, being much irritated by this new offence, grew unruly and headstrong, and immediately called a convention, to consult concerning the war. The wiser party were against it; but La Motte, the French ambassador, earnestly pressed it by entreaties and promises; besides which, the letters of Andrew Forman urged it also; and the king himself shewing a good will to it, many, to gratify him, acceded to his opinion; while the rest, being the minority, fearing lest, by a fruitless opposition, they should incur the king's displeasure, gave at last their assent to the measure. A war therefore was voted against England, by land and sea, whether worse in resolution or event is hard to determine, and a set day was appointed for the army to be mustered. A herald was also sent into France to Henry, who was then besieging Tournay, to announce to him the commencement of hostilities, and the causes, which were these: that satisfaction for injuries had been required, but not given; that John Heron, the murderer of Robert Ker, appeared publicly; that Andrew Breton, in violation of the league betwixt the two crowns, had been pillaged and slain by the king's own command. James added, that setting aside any of those wrongs, he would never endure,

that the territories of the king of France, his ancient ally, nor of Charles duke of Guelderland, his kinsman, should be so miserably harassed with all the calamities of war; and, therefore, unless Henry desisted from these hostilities, he bade him defiance. As Henry was young, in the possession of a flourishing and puissant kingdom, and there was a general combination of almost all Europe against France alone; his mind, which was otherwise ambitious enough of glory, became more elated by this declaration, and therefore he gave the herald an answer too fierce for so young a prince. He said, "that he had heard nothing but what he had long before expected from such a violator of all divine and human laws, and therefore he might do as he thought fit; but that for his part, he was resolved not to be impeded by threats from proceeding in a war, wherein he had so well prospered hitherto; and that besides, he did not value the friendship of James, because he had already received sufficient proof of his levity."

This defiance, in answer to the declaration of war, was brought into Scotland as the king was going to the army at Linlithgow. Whilst at vespers in the church, as the manner was then, there entered an old man, his locks being red, and inclining to yellow, hanging down on his shoulders; his forehead was smooth through baldness; his head was bare, he was clad in a long coat, of a russet colour, girt with a linen girdle about his loins; and in the rest of his aspect he was altogether venerable. Having pressed through the crowd to approach the monarch, when he came up, he leaned upon the chair on which he sat, with a kind of rustic simplicity, and bespoke him thus: "O king! I am sent to warn thee not to proceed in thy intended design; and if thou neglectest this admonition, neither thou nor thy followers shall prosper. I am commanded also to tell thee, that thou shouldest not use the familiarity, intimacy, and counsel of women; which if thou dost, it will redound to thy ignominy and loss." Having thus spoken, he withdrew himself among the crowd; and when the king inquired for him, after prayers were over, he could not be found; which matter seemed the more strange, because none of those who stood next, and observed him, as being desirous to put some questions to him, were sensible how he disappeared. Amongst these persons, there was David Lindsay of the Mount, a man of approved worth and honesty, and of a liberal education, who, in the whole course of his life, abhorred lying; and if I had not received this story from him as a certain truth, I should have omitted it as a romance of the vulgar.

But the king, notwithstanding, proceeded in his march, and having mustered his army near Edinburgh, in a few days afterwards entered England, where he took the castles of Norham, Werk, Etal, Ford, and some others near the borders of Scotland, by storm, demolished them, and ravaged all the adjoining part of Northumberland. Meanwhile he fell in love with one of the ladies whom he had taken prisoner, namely, Heron's wife, of Ford; which made him neglect his present business, insomuch, that provision beginning to grow scarce, in a country naturally not very plentiful, and it being very difficult to fetch it from a distance, the greatest part of the army deserted, and left their colours very weakly supported; only the nobles, with a few of their friends, clients, and vassals, and those too far from being well pleased, remaining in the camp. The major part advised the king no longer to punish himself and his men by abiding in a country, which, even if it had not been wasted by war, was poor of itself; but rather to retreat, and make an attempt upon Berwick; the taking of which place would turn more to his account, than all the towns and castles in that quarter; neither, they said, would the capture be difficult, because the town and castle were unprovided for defence. The king, however, thought that nothing could withstand his arms, especially as the English were involved in the war with France; so that, some parasites of the court soothing him up in his vanity, he judged that he might easily reduce that town in his retreat.

Whilst he thus lay inactive at Ford, there came heralds from the English, desiring him to appoint a place and time for the battle. Upon this, he called a council of war; and the major part were of opinion, that it was best to return home, and not to hazard the state of the whole kingdom with so small a force, especially since he had abundantly saved his credit, gained

renown, and fulfilled the laws of friendship: neither was there any just cause, why he should venture his small army, which had been harassed by the taking of so many fortresses, against the more numerous forces of the English, who had lately received an addition of fresh men; for it was reported, that, at this very time, Thomas Howard had arrived in the camp with six thousand stout soldiers out of France. Besides, it was observed, if he retreated, the English army must of necessity disband; and could not easily be brought together again, from the distant places where they were levied, till the next year: but that if he would needs fight, it were better to do so in his own country, where place, time, and provision, were more at his command. But the French ambassador, and some courtiers whom the gold of that nation had bribed and brought over to his side, were of another mind, and easily persuaded James, who longed to fight, to make a stand where he now was against the enemy. In the mean time, as the English came not at the day appointed by the herald, the Scottish nobles again took the opportunity of waiting upon the king, to tell him, that it was the craft of the enemy to protract the time from day to day, by which means their own force was increased, and the Scots were diminished; and that therefore he should use the same art against them: that it was now no dishonour to the Scots to retreat, since the English had failed to keep the time appointed for fighting; or else would not fight, except when it suited themselves. The first advice they recommended in many respects as most safe; but, they said, if that did not please him, he had a fair opportunity to follow the latter. For seeing that the river Till had very high banks, and was hardly fordable any where, there was no passing an army over it within ten miles, but by one bridge, where a few men might keep back a great body: and that if some of the English should get over, he might so place his ordnance as to beat down the bridge, and so they who had passed over might be destroyed before they could be relieved by those on the contrary side. The king approved of neither advice, but answered resolutely, "that if the English were 100,000 strong he would fight them." All the nobility were offended at this rash answer; and Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, who was far superior to the rest in age and authority, endeavoured to appease the king's fury by a mild oration, and to open the nature and reason of the two former advices: "You have," said he, "sufficiently performed what you were bound to do by your alliance with France, in having called off a great part of the force of the enemy from thence, by which means they cannot overrun all that country, as, by their numbers, they hoped to do; neither can they do any great damage to Scotland, because they cannot long keep their army together in a cold country, already wasted by war, and otherwise not very fruitful; and moreover, the winter is now approaching, which in the northern parts is wont to begin betimes.—As for the French ambassador," said he, "I do not wonder that he is so earnest to press us to a battle; for he being a stranger, studies not the common good of his master's allies, but the private advantage of his own nation; and therefore his urging us on to fight, and to be prodigal of other men's blood, cannot be considered as a novelty. Besides, his demand is shameless; for he requires that of us, which his own king, though highly wise and prudent, doth not think fit to do himself for the defence of his kingdom and dignity. Neither ought the loss of this army to be accounted trivial on account of the smallness of the number: for all that are any way eminent for valour, authority, or counsel, in the whole kingdom of Scotland, are here collected in a body; so that if these are lost, the rest of the commonwealth will be an easy prey to the conqueror. Besides, to lengthen out the war is at present more safe, and more conducive to the principal object; for if it be La Motte's opinion, that the English are to be exhausted by expenses, or wearied out by delays, what can be more advisable, in the present posture of affairs, than to compel the enemy to divide their forces? Part of them must be kept upon their guard, in continual fear of our attacking them; which apprehension must take off the great stress of the war from the French, though with no small toil on our part. Besides, we have sufficiently consulted the glory and splendour of our arms, which these men, who, I am afraid, are more forward in words than actions, assume as a disguise and veil of their temerity; for what can be more splendid in the

king, than to have demolished so many castles, to have destroyed the country with fire and sword; and, from such extensive devastations, to bring home a great quantity of booty, that the peace of many years will not restore to the country that has been thus desolated? and what greater advantage can we expect in a war, than that, to our own great honour and renown, but to the shame and disgrace of our enemies, we have given our soldiers leave to refresh themselves with estates and glory besides? And this kind of victory, which is obtained rather by wisdom than arms, is most proper for a man, especially for a general, in regard the common soldiers can challenge no part of the fame belonging to it."

All that were present assented to what he spoke, as appeared by their countenances; but the king, who had taken a solemn oath that he would fight the English, heard his whole discourse with great impatience, and bade him "Get home again, if he was afraid." Douglas immediately burst into tears, as foreseeing the ruin of our affairs, and of the king himself, by his rashness; but, as soon as he was able to speak, he uttered these few words; "If my former life has not sufficiently vindicated me from any suspicion of cowardice, I know not what will. As long as my body was able to undergo hardship, I never spared it for the public good, and to maintain the honour of my king; but since now I am useful only for advice, and the royal ears are shut against it, I will leave my two sons, who, next to the nation, are most dear to me, with my other kinsmen and friends, as sure pledges of my fidelity to you and my country; and I pray God that my fears may prove vain, and that I may be rather accounted a false prophet, than what I dread, and do, as it were, foresee in my mind, should come to pass."

Having thus spoken, he took his convoy and retinue, and so departed. The rest of the nobles, finding they could not bring over the king to their opinion, endeavoured to make the best of their situation, and as they were inferior in number, for they had intelligence by their spies that the English were 26,000 men, they resolved to secure the most advantageous position of ground, and encamp upon a hill that was near them. This was where Cheviot hills gently decline into a plain, a small spot, with a narrow entrance into it, gradually sloping downwards. This passage they defended with brass guns. Behind them were the mountains; and at the foot of them lay a marshy piece of ground, which secured their left wing. On the right ran the river Till, whose banks were very high, over which there was a bridge for passage, not far from the camp. When the English had intelligence by their scouts, that they could not attack the Scots without great loss, or rather certain ruin, they marched off from the river, and made a show as if they intended to leave the enemy, and retire towards Berwick, and so directly into the neighbouring district of Scotland, which was the best part of the country; where they might injure the Scots more than these had done the English. And James was most inclinable to believe they would do so, because there was a rumour spread abroad, which either had an uncertain origin among the common people, or else the English pretended that their design lay that way, in order to draw the enemy down into the plain and champaign country. James would not endure this, and therefore set fire to the straw and huts, and removed his camp. The smoke occasioned by the fire, covered all the river, so that the Scots by means of it could not see the English. These marched farther from the river, through places more impassable; but the Scots had a level and open march near the side of it, till, hardly observing each other, they both came at last to Fluidon or Flodden, a very high hill. There the ground became more level, stretching itself out into a large field; and the river, besides having a bridge at Twissel, had a fordable pass at a place called Milford. The English commanded their forlorn first to draw their brass pieces over the bridge: but the rest marched across by the ford, and taking their ground, set themselves in battle array, so as to cut off their enemy's retreat. Their numbers were so great, that they divided themselves, as it were, into two armies, distinct from one another, either of which was almost equal to the entire force of the Scots. In the first brigade, admiral Thomas Howard, who a little before had come to join his father, with some of his sea-forces, commanded the front; Edward Howard led the right wing, and Marmaduke

Constable the left. Behind them the rest were placed as reserves, being divided into three bodies : Dacres commanded the wing on the right ; Edward Stanley that on the left ; and the earl of Surrey, general of the whole army, the main body. The Scots had not men enough to divide their army into so many parties, without weakening their front extremely ; and therefore they divided their forces into four bodies, at a moderate distance from one another ; of which three were to charge first, and the fourth was a reserve. The king led on the main body ; Alexander Gordon commanded the right wing, to whom Alexander Home and the men of March were joined. Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, and Gillespy Campbell, earl of Argyll, led on the third body. Adam Hepburn, with his clans, and the rest of the nobility of Lothian, were in the reserves. The Gordons began a very sharp fight, and soon routed the left wing of the English ; but, when they returned from the pursuit, they found almost all the rest of their brigades defeated ; for one of them, in which were Lennox and Argyll, being encouraged by the success of their countrymen, regardless of their ranks, fell upon the enemy in a very disorderly manner, leaving their colours far behind ; though La Motte, the French resident, cried out much against it, and told them, they would run headlong to their own destruction ; for they were received, not only by the English standing in array before them, but were set upon by another party in the rear, and so were almost all cut off. The king's body guard, and Hepburn's brigade, with the men of Lothian, still fought stoutly ; so that there was a great slaughter on both sides, and the dispute continued till night ; by which time both armies were weary. There were many slain of the king's main body. They who reckoned the full number of the killed, as their names were taken according to the several parochial registers, from whence they came, say, that there fell above five thousand of the Scots. The chief loss was of the nobility, and those too of the most valiant of them ; who chose rather to die upon the spot, than to survive the slaughter of their men. It is reported that the English loss as great a number, but that they were mostly common soldiers. This is the famous fight of Flodden, one of the most memorable of the few overthrows which the Scots have received from the English ; not so much on account of the number of the slain, for they had lost more than twice as many in former battles, as for the quality of the persons, the king, and the prime of the nobility, falling there ; so that few were left to govern the rabble, who, being fierce by nature, were now, lawless, in expectation of acting as they pleased.

Yet there were two sorts of men that profited by this calamity of others ; for the richer class of churchmen grew so insolent upon it, that, not content with their own function, they sought to engross all the offices of the kingdom in their own hands ; and the mendicant friars, which description of monks were then counted most superstitiously religious, had received large sums of money from those that were slain, to keep for them ; but the same being delivered without witnesses, they were mightily enriched by this booty, and in consequence remitted the severity of their ancient discipline. Nay, some there were amongst them, who counted that gain as a pious and holy fraud ; alleging, that the money could never be better bestowed than upon devout persons, that they might pray for the redemption of the souls of the donors out of purgatory.

The fight was carried on so obstinately, that, towards night, both parties were exhausted, and withdrew almost ignorant of the condition of each other ; so that Alexander Home, and his soldiers, who remained untouched, gathered up a great part of the spoil at their pleasure. But the next morning, Dacres being sent out with a party of horse to make a discovery, when he came to the place of fight, and saw the brass guns of the Scots without a guard, and a great part of the dead unstripped, he sent for Howard, and so collected the spoil at leisure, and celebrated the victory with great rejoicing.

Concerning the king of Scotland, there goes a double report. The English say he was slain in the fight ; but the Scots affirm, that, in the day of battle, there were several others clothed in the like coat of armour, with the habit of the king ; which was done for two reasons, partly, lest the enemy should principally aim at one man, as their chief opponent, on whose life the safeguard of the army, and the issue of the contest, depended ; and partly, if

the king happened to be slain, the soldiers might not be discouraged, by being made acquainted with their loss, as long as they saw any man armed and clothed like him, riding up and down in the field to witness their cowardice or valour. One of these, they say, was Alexander Elphinston, who, in countenance and stature, was so very like the king, that many of the nobility, perceiving him armed in regal habiliments, followed him in a mistake, and died resolutely with him. The king, however, according to this account, repassed the Tweed, and was slain by some of Home's men, near the town of Kelso; though it is uncertain whether it was done by their master's command, or by the forwardness of his soldiers, who were willing to gratify their commander; for they, being desirous of a change, thought that they should escape punishment if the monarch was despatched; but that, if he survived, they should be punished for their cowardice in the fight. Some other conjectures are added; as, that the same night after this unhappy conflict, the monastery of Kelso was seized upon by Ker, an intimate of Home, and the abbot of it ejected; which it was not likely he would dare to have done, unless the king were slain. Moreover, David Galbraith, one of the family of the Homes, some years after, when John, the regent, questioned them, and was troublesome to their family, is said to have blamed the cowardice of his fellows, who would suffer that stranger to rule so arbitrarily and imperiously over them; when he had himself been one of the six private men that had put an end to the like insolence of the king at Kelso. But these things were so uncertain, that when Home was afterwards tried for his life by James, earl of Murray, the king's natural son, they did not much prejudice his cause.

However the truth of this matter may be, yet I shall not conceal what I have heard Laurence Talifer, an honest and a learned man, report more than once, that, being then one of the king's servants, and a spectator of the fight, he saw the king, when the day was lost, set upon a horse, and pass the Tweed. Many others affirmed the same thing; so that the report went current for many years after, that the king was alive, and was gone to Jerusalem, to perform a religious vow which he had made, but that he would return again in due time. This rumour, however, was found to be as vain as another of the same broaching, which had formerly been spread abroad by the Britons, concerning their Arthur; and that which, but a few years since, was vented by the Burgundians, concerning their duke Charles. This is certain, that the English, having found the body of the king, or that of Alexander Elphinston, carried it into England, and out of an inexpiable hatred against the dead left it unburied in a leaden coffin. I know not whether the reason assigned for their cruelty was more foolish or more barbarous, that he had borne sacrilegious arms against pope Julius II. whose cause the English zealously espoused; or else, as some say, because he was perjured, in having, contrary to the oath and league between them, taken up arms against Henry VIII. Neither of these reproaches ought to have been cast upon him; especially by such a king, who, during his life, was not constant or true to any one religion; nor by a people who had taken up arms so often against the bishops of Rome. Not to speak of many of the kings of England, whom their own writers accuse as guilty of perjury; as William Rufus, who is charged with that crime by Polydore and Grafton; Henry I. by Thomas Walsingham, in his description of Normandy; king Stephen hath the like brand of infamy cast upon him by Newbury, Grafton, and Polydore; Henry II. by the same; Richard I. by Walsingham, in his *Hypodigma Neustriae*; Henry III. by Newbury, Grafton, and Walsingham; and Edward I. by Walsingham. I mention these few as mere samples, not out of the first kings of the Saxon race, of whom I might instance a great many; but out of those of the Norman family, whose posterity enjoy the kingdom to this day, and who lived in the most flourishing times of England's glory, to put them in mind not to be so bitter against foreigners, while with so much indulgence they bear the perjuries of their own kings; especially since the guilt of the crime objected lies principally on those who were the first violators of the truce. But to return to our narrative.

Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, would have acquired great renown for this victory over the Scots, if he had used his triumph with moderation, but

being a man almost intoxicated with his vast success, and little mindful of the instability of human affairs, he made his household servants, as the English custom is, wear a badge on their left arms, consisting of a white lion, his own crest, standing upon a red one, and rending him with his paws. God Almighty seemed to punish this insolent bravado of his; for there were scarcely any of his posterity, of either sex, that did not die in great disgrace or misfortune.

But king James, as he was dear to all whilst living, so he was mightily lamented in his end; and the remembrance of him took such fast hold in the minds of men, that the like was never known of any other king of whom we have heard or read. It is probable this was owing to a reflection on the evils that preceded his reign, and to the apprehension of those which seemed likely to follow speedily after it. But it is certain that he had many eminent accomplishments, and that his very vices were popular, and easily deceived vulgar minds, under a specious resemblance and affinity to virtue. He was of a strong constitution, perfect stature, a majestic countenance, and of a quick wit, which, however, through the fault of the times, was not cultivated by learning. He eagerly imbibed one ancient custom of the nation, and was very skilful in curing wounds; for, in old times, that kind of knowledge was common to all the nobility, as men continually accustomed to arms. The access to his presence was easy; his answers were mild; he was just in his decisions, and moderate in punishing; so that all men might see he was drawn to it against his will. He bore the malevolent speeches of his enemies, and the admonitions of his friends, with an even temper, which proceeded in him from the tranquillity of a good conscience, and the confidence of his own integrity, inasmuch that, so far from being angry, he never returned them a harsh word. There were, however, some vices which crept in among these virtues, chiefly through his too great love of popularity. For, in endeavouring to avoid the name of a covetous prince, which his father had incurred, he laboured to insinuate himself into the good-will of the vulgar, by sumptuous buildings and feastings, costly pageants, and immoderate grants, so that his exchequer was brought very low, and his want of money was such, that, if he had lived longer, the merits of the former part of his reign would have been obliterated, or at least outbalanced by the imposition of new taxes; and therefore his death seemed to have happened rather conveniently than unseasonably to him.

JAMES V. *the Hundred-and-sixth King, began his Reign, A. D. 1514.*

- When James IV. was slain, he left his wife Margaret, and two sons, behind him; the eldest of whom was not yet quite two years old. The parliament having assembled at Stirling, proclaimed him king, according to the custom of the country, on the 24th day of February, and then they applied themselves to settle the public affairs. In endeavouring at this, they first perceived the greatness of their loss, for those of the nobility who were esteemed for their authority and wisdom, being cut off, the major part of those who survived, were, by reason of their youth or inexperience, unfit to meddle with matters of state, especially in that troublesome time; and those of the superior rank who were left alive, and possessed some ability, were so ambitious and covetous, as to reject all good and pacific counsels. Alexander Home, lord warden of the marches, had got a great name, and a large estate, in the lifetime of the king, but when he was dead, he obtained almost a regal authority in the counties bordering upon England. He, out of a wicked ambition, did not restrain robbers, in order that he might more effectually engage those bold and lewd persons to his service, and by that means pave a way to greater power; but as the design was pernicious, so in the end it proved unhappy. The command of the country on this side the Forth was committed to him; and the parts beyond to Alexander Gordon, to keep those seditious provinces within the bounds of their duty; but the title of regent was vested in the queen. For the king had left in his will, which he made before he went to battle, that in case of his failure and death, his widow should have the supreme power, as long as she remained single. This was contrary to the law of the land, and the first example of any woman ever having the supreme rule in Scotland; yet the want of men made it seem tolerable, especially to

those who were desirous of peace and quietness. But her office continued not long, for, before the end of the spring, she married Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, one of the finest young men of Scotland, for lineage, beauty, and accomplishments in all good arts. The year had not closed, before the seeds of discord were sown, which took their rise from the ecclesiastics; for, after the nobles were slain, the major part of all public assemblies consisted of that order; many of whom made their private fortunes amidst the public calamity, gaining such large estates, that nothing hastened their ruin more than the inordinate power which they afterwards as arrogantly abused.

Alexander Stuart, archbishop of St. Andrew's, having fallen at Fledden, there were three who strove for that preferment, but upon different interests. Gawin Douglas, on account of the splendour of his family, and his own personal worth and learning, was nominated to the place by the queen, and accordingly took possession of the castle of St. Andrew's. John Hepburn, abbot of St. Andrew's, before any archbishop was nominated, collected the revenues of the place as a sequestrator, and being a potent, factious, and subtle man, he was chosen by his monks to the vacancy, alleging, that the power of electing an archbishop, by ancient custom, was in them; so that he drove out the officers of Gawin, and placed a strong garrison in the castle. Andrew Forman had obtained great favour in the courts both of Rome and France, by his former services, so that, besides the bishopric of Murray, in Scotland, which was his first preferment, Louis XII. of France gave him the archbishopric of Bourges, and pope Julius also sent him home covered with dignities and benefices; for he bestowed on him the archbishopric of St. Andrew's, the two rich abbeys of Dunfermline and Aberbrothick, and made him besides what is called his *legatè a latere*. But so great was the power of the Hepburns at this time, that the Homes being yet in amity with them, no man could at first be found hardy enough to publish the papal bull for the election of Forman to that dignity. At last, Alexander Home was induced, by great promises, and the donation of the abbey of Coldingham to David, his youngest brother, with other gifts, to undertake the cause, which seemed to be honourable, and especially because the Formans were in the clanship or protection of the Homes. So he caused the pope's bull to be published at Edinburgh, which was the original of many mischiefs that ensued; for Hepburn, being a man of lofty spirit, from that day forward studied day and night how to destroy the family of the Homes.

The queen, whilst she sat at the helm, did one thing worthy of remembrance, in writing to her brother, desiring him not to make war upon Scotland, in regard to her and her young children; adding also a request, that he would not invade with English arms his nephew's kingdom, which of itself was divided into so many domestic factions; but that he would rather defend him against the wrongs of others, in consideration of his age, and the affinity betwixt them. Henry answered very nobly, and much like a prince, that with peaceable Scots he would cultivate amity, and make war only upon such as came armed against him.

When the queen, on account of her marriage, lost the regency, the nobility were openly divided into two factions. The Douglas party desired that the chief power might still reside in her, and alleged that this was the way to have peace with England, which was not only advantageous, but even necessary for them. The other party, which was headed by Home, sheltered themselves under the pretext of the general good; saying, that it was against the old laws of the land, to choose a woman as regent; that with respect to the queen, they would be careful of her honour, as far as they legally might, and the public safety would permit; and that a sufficient proof had been given of it, in regard they had hitherto submitted to her government, though against the customs of their ancestors, not through compulsion, but out of mere good will; and that they were ready to endure it longer, if any honest and equitable plea could be advanced for it. But since she, by her marriage, had voluntarily descended from that dignity, she ought not to take it amiss, if they substituted another to enjoy the office which she had left, and which of right she could not hold; because the laws of Scotland do not permit women to have the supreme power, not even in times of peace, much less in such troublesome days

as those, when the most powerful and prudent man alive could hardly find remedies for the numerous and increasing evils of the times.

Thus, whilst each faction strove earnestly about the choice of a regent, they passed over all who were present, either on account of ambition, private grudge, or envy, and inclined to choose John, duke of Albany, then living in good repute in France. William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen, is reported to have burst into tears, in bewailing the public misfortune; and his speech affected many, especially when he came to reckon up what men were slain in the battle, how few like them were left behind, and that not one of them was thought fit to sit at the helm of government. He also set before them the empty state of the exchequer, which had been exhausted by the late monarch; how great a portion of it was the queen's jointure; how much must be necessarily expended on the education of the king, and how little of course would remain to maintain the charges of the public. He then said, that though none was more fit for the regency than the queen, yet, since concord could be had on no other terms, he yielded to that party who were for calling John, duke of Albany, out of France, to take the administration upon him, though he thought that the public misery would be rather deferred than entirely ended by it. Alexander Home was so violent for Albany, as to declare openly in the assembly, that if they all refused, he would himself go alone, and bring him over into Scotland, to take upon him the government. It is thought that he said this, not for any good, either public or private, but merely that, being an ambitious man, sensible that his interest in the people was more owing to his power than their love; and, therefore, despairing of obtaining the place himself, he was afraid, if the queen should have it, his neighbours of the Douglas family would grow too great, and his power be lessened. The men of Liddesdale and Annandale had already withdrawn themselves from him, and by degrees gone over to the clan of Douglas; besides which, he considered that the queen, when assisted from England, would easily be able to thwart all his designs. The majority of voices, therefore, carried it for John of Albany; and an embassy was appointed, the chief of whom was Andrew Wood of Laigs, a famous cavalier in those days, to call him into Scotland for the administration of the government, both on account of his own virtues, and his near consanguinity with the king; for he was the son of Alexander, brother of James the Third. When he was thus called to the regency by the Scots, Francis, king of France, thinking that his advancement would be favourable to the French interest, furnished him with money and a retinue at his departure. In the mean time, before his arrival, as there was no person appointed to administer the public affairs, many murders and rapines were committed; and, whilst the higher orders were busy in strengthening their private clans and factions, the poor and neglected common people were afflicted with every kind of misery. The chief robber of those times was Macrobert Stran, laird of Struan, who perpetrated outrages all over Athol, and the neighbouring parts, at his pleasure, having eight hundred men, and sometimes more, under his command. At length, when he was at the house of his uncle, John Crichton, he was waylaid, apprehended, and put to death. But more mischief was apprehended from the feud between Andrew Forman and John Hepburn; yet the nature of the two, and the discord rather of their manners than minds, deferred the mischief for a season, when it was on the point of breaking out. John was inordinately covetous; while Andrew was a great despiser of money, and profuse in his bounties. The designs and purposes of Andrew were open, and manifest to the view of all; neither was there any need that he should much conceal them, because his very vices were accounted virtues by the vulgar; and the simplicity of his nature did him as much kindness among them, as the sly concealed craft of Hepburn, together with his malicious dissimulation, his implacable remembrance of injuries, and desire of revenge, did him. And therefore, Forman, as he had no certainty of the coming of the duke of Albany, and could not be put into possession of his ecclesiastical preferment by Home, seeing Hepburn had his castle and monastery, which were strongly garrisoned, and at a great distance from those places where the power of the Homes was formidable, he determined, through the medium of a friend, to try whether he could, with money, either satisfy,

or in some degree abate, the avarice of the man. So at last they came to an agreement on these terms, that Forman should remit and relinquish the revenues of some years past, which John had received as a sequestrator; that he should surrender up to him the bishopric of Murray; and that he should pay him yearly 3000 French crowns, out of the ecclesiastical income, to be divided amongst his friends. And thus the implacable hatred of this man was a little abated, and matters were settled on that side.

BOOK XIV.

SUCH was the state of affairs in Scotland, when John, duke of Albany, arrived at Dumbarton, on the 20th of May, in the year 1515, to the exceeding joy of all good men; who, under his government, hoped for more quiet times, and an equal distribution of justice. In a full assembly of the nobility, summoned in his name, a large revenue was settled upon him, and he was declared duke of Albany, earl of March, and created regent till the king should be of age.

Moreover, James, the natural son of the late king, was made earl of Murray, being a young man of such virtuous endowments, that he far exceeded all the hopes men had conceived of him. There was also one circumstance which contributed much to increase the esteem the people had for the new regent; particularly as it was done almost in the face of the assembly; and that was, the punishment of Peter Moffat. He was a notable thief, who, after many cruel and wicked practices, committed by him in the two preceding years of misrule, arrived at length to that pitch of impudence, as to appear openly at court. His unexpected punishment made such a sudden change of things, that criminals began to withdraw for shelter; honest minds were set at ease, and the face of things began soon to be changed, and a stormy tempest was smoothened into a sudden tranquillity.

In the mean time, John Hepburn had so insinuated himself with the regent, first by the help of his friends whom he had privately secured by bribery, and afterwards by his obsequiousness, under the pretence of knowing the old customs of the country, that he gained a complete ascendancy over one, who, of himself, was ignorant of the Scottish affairs. None therefore was credited in matters of great moment but Hepburn, who was sent with a commission, by the regent, all over Scotland, to inquire into the offences of those that oppressed the common people, and treated them as their slaves. He obtained this office principally upon these grounds; first by acquainting the regent what new discords and old feuds there were in every country; and also what factions existed, and who were their respective heads; and indeed, so far his relations were true, for the things were known to all. But whenever any circumstance occurred to speak of Home, he stirred up some to complain of his exactions; so that by the imputation, partly of true, and partly of feigned crimes, the ears of the regent were shut against all the defence he could make. But when he had almost run over the entire kingdom in his discourse, and placed in a clear light the various alliances, affinities, and leagues of the several families, he persuaded the regent that no man of power, though a criminal, could be brought to justice without exciting the resentment of whole clans; and that therefore it was not the conspiracy of their kindred only that was so much to be dreaded, as the consequence of a punishment, by which, while a few were made examples, multitudes would be affected, whom the similitude of faults, and like fear of judgment, would unite, though they were at enmity before. Those great and wide-spreading factions he represented as too powerful to be curbed by the single force of Scotland; and therefore recommended the acquisition of an auxiliary strength from France, to break the bond of this strong and bold confederacy, which measure would be advantageous to both nations. In the mean time, the heads of the factions were to be kept under, and if possible taken off; but with such prudence, that they should not suspect the full extent of the design. The leaders of the parties who were the objects of this project were three. Archibald

Douglas, by far the most popular of them all, and the idol of the mob, was adored on account of the great merits of his ancestors; besides which, he was in the flower of his youth, and relied so much on his connexion with England, that he carried his spirit too lofty for a private man. With regard to Home, though formidable of himself, he was rendered more so, in consequence of the long retention of his power. But Hepburn did not stop here, for he made a most invidious statement of what the Homes had done against the father and uncle of the regent; of all which, though the Hepburns were partakers, yet he cast the odium upon the Homes alone. He often mentioned the cowardice of Alexander in the last battle against the English; and the reports that had been circulated about the king's death reflecting upon him, together with the repairing of Norham castle, which was done by his connivance. All these stories he dressed up in various turns of phrase, and repeated them zealously, over and over again, to the regent, that they might not fail to make the deeper impression on his mind. "As for Forman," said he, "it is true, he is not very much to be dreaded on account of his kindred, or any nobleness of descent; yet even he would make a great accession of strength to what party soever he inclined, because the wealth of the whole kingdom was gathered, as it were, into one house, and he was singly able, from his treasures, to supply the present wants of the party with whom he was associated; or else, by his promises, all things being then in his power, he could draw many into the same counsels, and thus form a general confederacy." Such was the discourse of Hepburn to the regent.

The notorious animosities between Hepburn and Forman made that part of the tale which related to the latter less credited; and besides, his estate was not so much to be envied, for he rather loved to lay it out, than to hoard it up; neither was he so munificent to any as to the French who waited on the regent. However, his desire was more to join all parties in a universal concord, than to fasten himself to any particular faction. But what was said of Home, the lord of the marches, sunk deeper into the regent's mind, as his reserved manner of treating him at all the public meetings, and forbidding looks, too openly betrayed. After a few months, therefore, Alexander perceiving that he was not entertained by the regent answerably to his expectation, began to have secret meetings with the queen and her husband. In these conferences, Home grievously lamented the state of the public; that the king, at an age when it was impossible for him to understand his own misery, should have fallen into the hands of a man born and bred in exile, and whose father, out of a wicked ambition, had endeavoured to dispossess his elder brother of the throne. It was obvious, he said, that the son, who was the next heir to the crown, directed all his designs to the same object, so that, after despatching the innocent youth to the other world, he might make the kingdom his own, and thus accomplish what his own father had projected. There was but one remedy, he said, in the case, and that was, for the queen to retire with her son into England, and there put herself and concerns under the protection of her brother.

These things were speedily brought to the ear of the regent, and as easily believed by him; but being a man of an active spirit, and of quick despatch in business, he presently frustrated the design with the forces which he had about him; for he took the castle of Stirling, and the queen in it. He next took an oath of allegiance to the king publicly; after which, the queen and the Douglas party were removed by a decree of the lords; and three of the nobility, of great estimation for their faithfulness and integrity, were joined with lord Erskine, governor of the castle, to preside over the education of the young monarch. They were to succeed one another by turns, and a guard was appointed for their security. Upon this, Alexander Home and his brother William fled into England; and Douglas and his wife staid no longer behind them, than to know the mind of Henry, who commanded them to stop at Harbottle, in Northumberland, there to wait his further pleasure.

John, the regent, being much concerned at their departure, immediately sent ambassadors into England, to justify himself to Henry, stating, that he had done nothing to make the queen fear him, or be in the least disaffected

towards him; neither had he acted any thing against those who accompanied her in her flight; but that they might still enjoy their country and freedom, as well as their estates. Thus he wrote publicly to the king; and at the same time he did not omit secretly to promote the return of the two Homes, and Douglas, by the mediation of their friends. He made them many large promises, till he had brought them over to his will. Whereupon the rest returned also; but the queen being pregnant, and near her delivery, was constrained to stay there, where she was brought to bed of a daughter, named Margaret; of whom in due place. As soon as she was able to travel, she obtained a royal accommodation and retinue from London to conduct her thither, where she was honourably and nobly received by her brother Henry, and also by her sister Mary, who, on the death of her husband, Lewis of France, had a little before returned to her own country.

And yet the suspicions before raised in Scotland were not much abated, either by the departure of the queen, or the return of some of her retinue; for Gawin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, Patrick Pantar, secretary of state to the former king, and John Drummond, chief of his family, were severally sent into banishment. Alexander Home was summoned to appear before the assembly of the states, on the 12th of July, 1516; but, as he did not appear, he was condemned, and his goods were confiscated. Enraged at what he considered a contumelious injury, and to drive out one fear by another, he either directly employed, or else encouraged, public robbers to commit great outrages in the neighbouring parts. Upon this, the states voted the regent ten thousand horse and foot, to repress the disorders; and to take Home, or drive him out of the country. But before hostilities commenced, Home, by the persuasion of his friends, surrendered himself to the regent, and so was carried to Edinburgh, there to remain a prisoner under James Hamilton, earl of Arran, who married his sister, and was now made responsible for his appearance, on penalty of being charged with treason if he suffered him to escape. But the event fell out otherwise than any one expected; for Home persuaded Hamilton to make a joint elopement with him, and by forming a party, to assume the government himself, as being the next heir after the children of the former king; for he was born of a sister of James III., and therefore it seemed more equitable that he should, in the line of succession, precede John, who, though the son of a brother, was born in banishment, and was besides in all things a perfect foreigner, not being able so much as to speak the language of the country.

When the regent heard of this, he went to take Hamilton's castle; and planting his brass guns against it, forced it to surrender in two days. In the mean time, Home made excursions out of March, pillaging the districts all round, and at length burning a great part of the country of Dunbar. These were the transactions of that year.

At the beginning of the spring, John Stuart, earl of Lennox, whose mother was the sister of Hamilton, assembled a number of his friends and vassals, and joined the rebels. These confederates seized the castle of Glasgow, and there, with Hamilton himself, waited the approach of the regent; but the latter called a council of the nobles of his party at Edinburgh, and having raised a sudden force, soon made his appearance, and entered the place. One gunner, a Frenchman, was punished as a deserter; but the rest were pardoned by the intercession of Andrew Forman, who was then a mediator for peace between the parties. The earl of Lennox, a few days afterwards, was received into favour, and, from that time, conducted himself with great fidelity and obsequiousness to the regent. Not long after this, Hamilton, followed by the Homes, returned to court, and had an amnesty for what was past. It was granted to Home, however, with greater difficulty than to the rest, on account of his frequent rebellions: and an express condition was added, that if he offended again, the record of his former crimes should be revived, and judgment executed. Peace being thus settled, the regent retired to Falkirk, where he staid some months; but hearing of great suspicions and reports of new intrigues on the part of Home, he returned to Edinburgh; and, on the 24th of September, held a council of the nobility, where he endeavoured by his friends to draw him to court. Large promises were made to entice

Home thither; and when many of his party failed in dissuading him from going, they said, that, if he was resolved, he should at least leave his brother William, who, by his valour and munificence, had almost obtained as great, or greater authority than himself, behind. Their reason for this advice was, that the regent would be afraid to use any excessive severity against one brother, as long as the other was alive. But he being, as it were, hurried on by a fatal necessity, slighted the counsel of his friends; and with his brother William, and Andrew Ker, of Fernihurst, went to court, where immediately they were all put into separate prisons; and, by the advice of the council, a few days after were tried for their lives, after the custom of the country, though no new crime was laid to their charge. Prince James, earl of Murray, accused Alexander of the death of his father, who came alive out of the field, as many witnesses testified. This fact was strongly urged; but the proofs were weak, so that they gave it over, and insisted only on his private offences, and the many former rebellions were objected; of all which, if Alexander was not the author, he was at least a partaker in them; and moreover, it was alleged, that he did not do his duty in the battle of Flodden.

In consequence of this, the Homes were condemned. Alexander was decapitated on the 11th of October, and his brother the day after; both heads being set up in the most conspicuous places, as a terror to others, and their estates were confiscated. Such was the end of Alexander Home, who was the most powerful man in Scotland in his day. He in his lifetime had drawn upon himself the hatred and envy of many men; yet when those prejudices in time abated, his death was variously spoken of; and so much the more, because he did not suffer for the perpetration of any new crime, but merely through the calumnies, as it was thought, of John Hepburn, the abbot; who being a factious person, and vengeful, bore an implacable hatred against Home; because, by his means alone, he had been disappointed of the archbishopric of St. Andrew's. Though Hepburn concealed his old resentments for a while, yet it was believed he pushed on the regent, who, in his own nature, was sufficiently jealous of and disaffected to the Homes, to the greater severity against Alexander, by telling him "how dangerous it would be to the king and all Scotland, if, on his departure to France, he should leave so fierce an enemy alive behind him; for what would he not attempt in his absence, who had despised his authority when present? So that unless the contumacy of the man, who could not be mollified by rewards, honours, nor frequent pardons, was subdued by the axe, Scotland could not remain quiet." These and similar insinuations, on pretence of consulting the public safety, being repeated to a man already prejudiced against them, contributed more to the destruction of the Homes, in the judgment of many, than any of their real crimes. When they were executed, Andrew Ker obtained the respite of one night, to prepare for death; but his friends, as was supposed, having bribed the Frenchman who was his keeper, he effected his escape.

Alexander Home left three brothers, who all met with various misfortunes in those days; George, for a murder he committed, became an exile privately in England; John, abbot of Jedburgh, was banished beyond the Tay; David, the youngest, prior of Coldingham, about two years after the execution of his brothers, being called by James Hepburn his sister's husband, to a pretended conference, fell into an ambush laid purposely for him, and was slain, being generally pitied, that an innocent young man, of great hopes, should be betrayed so unworthily and without cause. When judgment had thus ranged over the family of the Homes, at last it fell to the lot of their enemies, especially to John Hepburn, who had been so severe in contriving the unjust punishment of others; but the destruction of one family, once so powerful infused such a panic into all the rest, that matters remained more quiet for a long time afterwards. In December following, the regent having brought the king from Stirling to Edinburgh, desired leave of the nobility of Scotland to return into France. Every one almost was against the motion; so that he was forced to stay till late in the spring, and then took shipping, promising speedily to return, in case any commotion more than ordinary should arise to require his presence. The government of the kingdom was left to the earls of Angus, Arran, Argyle, and Huntley; with the archbishops

of St. Andrew's and Glasgow; to whom was added Anthony D'Arey, a Frenchman, governor of Dunbar, who was enjoined to correspond with him, and inform him of all occurrences in his absence. To prevent any discord that was likely to arise out of an ambitious principle, between such great and noble personages, on account of their parity in the government, he allotted to each of them their several provinces. D'Arey the foreigner, with the consent of the rest, had the chief place amongst them, March and Lothian being appointed for his government. The other provinces were distributed to the rest, according to each man's particular conveniency. Meanwhile, the queen, after she had been in England about a year, returned to Scotland at the end of May, being attended by her husband from Berwick: but they did not live together with the same affection as formerly.

The regent, at his departure, to prevent the budding and growth of sedition in his absence, carried along with him, either the heads of the noblest families, or else their sons and kindred, under the pretence of doing them honour, but in reality to keep them as pledges, in France: while others of them he sent into different and remote parts of the kingdom, where they lived, as it were, only in a larger prison. He also placed French governors in the castles of Dunbar, Dumbarton, and Garvy; yet a commotion arose, upon a slight occasion, where it was least apprehended.

Anthony D'Arey managed his government with great equity and prudence, especially in restraining robberies. The first tumult in his province, which had a warlike tendency, was made by William Cockburn, uncle to the lord of Langton. He had driven away the guardians of the young ward, and seized upon the castle of Langton, relying principally on the power of David Home of Wedderburn, the brother of his wife. Thither D'Arey marched with a sufficient guard; but they within refused to surrender the castle: and moreover, David Home, with some few light horse, riding up to him, upbraided him with the cruel death of his kinsman Alexander. The Frenchman, partly distrusting his men, and partly confiding in the swiftness of the horse he rode upon, fled towards Dunbar; but his horse falling under him, his enemies overtook and slew him, and set up his head in a public place in the castle of Home. He was slain on the 20th of September, in the year 1517.

Upon this, the other governors had a meeting, and fearing a greater combustion, after this terrible beginning, they made the earl of Arran their president, and committed George Douglas, brother to the earl of Angus, on suspicion of being privy to the murder, prisoner to Inchgarvy castle. They also sent to the regent in France, to call him back into Scotland as soon as ever he could. About the same time, some seeds of discord were sown between the earl of Angus and Andrew Ker of Fernihurst, owing to a contested right of jurisdiction over some lands which belonged to the former; but in which Andrew alleged he had power to hold courts. The rest of the family of Ker took part with the earl, and the Hamiltons with Andrew; which they did more out of hate to the Douglas clan, than for any justice Ker had in his pretensions: so that both parties provided them, elves against the court-day, to run a greater hazard than the matter they strove about was worth. John Somerville, a noble and high-spirited young man, of the Douglas party, set upon James, the natural son of the earl of Arran, on the highway, killed five of his retinue put the rest to flight, and took above thirty of their horses.

An assembly having been summoned to be held at Edinburgh, April the 20th, 1520, the Hamiltons alleged that they could not be safe in that city, where Archibald Douglas was governor; upon which the latter, that he might not obstruct public business, about the end of March resigned the government of his own accord; and Robert Long, a citizen of Edinburgh, was substituted in his place. The nobility of the west part of Scotland, of whom there were very many, had frequent meetings in the house of James Beaton, the chancellor. Their design was to apprehend the earl of Angus; for they alleged that his power was too great and formidable to the public: and that, as long as he was at liberty, they should have no freedom for debate or resolutions. An opportunity seemed to favour their design; for as he now had but a few of his vassals about him, it was easy to surprise him before his kindred could come to his assistance. When he perceived what was in agitation

against him, he sent his uncle Gawin, bishop of Dunkeld, to pacify them, saying, that he had provoked none of them by any injury, and desiring them to terminate the dispute without force of arms; assuring them also, that if they could produce any just complaint against him, he was willing, in equity, to give them all satisfaction. But his speech availed him nothing, being made to men proud of their numbers, powerful, and greedy of revenge. Gawin, therefore, finding he could obtain no good terms from them, returned to Angus, and having acquainted him with the arrogance of his enemies, he caused the whole of his own family to follow the earl; while himself being a priest, and infirm through age, quietly retired to his lodging. Some think he did this by way of reproaching the unseasonable pride of the chancellor, who, instead of being a promoter of peace, ran armed up and down, like a firebrand of sedition. Douglas, seeing there was no hope of an agreement, exhorted his men rather to die valiantly, than, like dastardly cowards, to hide themselves in their lodgings, from whence, it was certain, they would soon be forced to an ignominious end; for their enemies had so stopped up all the avenues and passages, that not a man of them could get out of the city. All that were then present assented to what he had spoken; and immediately he and his party, having buckled on their armour, sallied into the main street of the town. He had about four-score in his train, who were all stout and resolute men, and of known valour. They divided, and posted themselves in the most convenient places, and so set upon their enemies as they came out of several narrow alleys at once; the first they slew, and drove the rest back headlong, tumbling them one upon another in great confusion. The earl of Arran, who commanded the opposite party, and his son James, got to a ford, and made their escape by the North Loch; the rest ran several ways for shelter, to the convent of the Dominicans. Whilst these things were in agitation, there was a great combustion all over the city; and, in the midst of the confusion, William, the brother of Angus, entered the place, with many of his clan. Douglas having gained this accession to his former strength, though his enemies were still numerous in the town, yet made proclamation by a trumpeter, that none should dare to appear in the streets with arms about them, but his friends and party. Those who desired passes to depart quietly, obtained them easily. There went out in one company about eight hundred horse, besides those who had taken their flight before, with greater ignominy than loss, for there fell not above seventy-two; but among them were some men of note, as the brother of the earl of Arran, and the son of Eglington. This happened on the 30th of April, 1520; and to revenge the disgrace, the Hamiltons besieged Kilmarnock, a castle in Cunningham. Robert Boyd, a friend of the Douglas family, commanded it, but the enemy soon left it, without effecting any thing. The next year, Douglas came to Edinburgh, on the 20th of July, bringing with him the Homes, who had been banished, and there he took down the heads of Alexander and William, which had been set upon poles. The whole five years, during which the regent was absent, were very full of tumults. There was no end of pillaging and killing, till his return, which was on the 30th of October, 1521. Upon his arrival, he resolved to reduce the power of the Douglas party, in order to prevent, for the future, such seditious movements as had occurred in his absence. He accordingly sent the earl of Angus, the head of that family, to France; he caused the pope to call his uncle, the bishop of Dunkeld, to Rome, to purge himself there from some crimes imputed to him; but the year following, in his journey thither, the prelate fell sick of the plague in London, and there died. His virtues were such, that he was very much lamented; for, besides the splendour of his ancestry, and the comeliness of his person, he was master of a great deal of learning, as times then went, and being also a man of considerable prudence, and singular moderation, in a troublesome age, he was much esteemed in point of faithfulness and authority, even by the contrary factions. He also left behind him some distinguished monuments of his ingenuity and learning, written in his native language. The year after the return of the regent, a parliament was held, and an army levied, which last was appointed to rendezvous at Edinburgh, on a fixed day; whither they came accordingly, and pitched their tents in the fields near Roslin, none knowing upon what service they were to be employed;

but at last a herald proclaimed that they were to march towards Annandale, and that a severe punishment would be inflicted upon such as refused to obey the orders. The rest of the army marched obediently enough to the river Solway, the boundary of Scotland; only Alexander Gordon and his party staid behind three miles farther from England. When the regent heard of this, he came back to him the next day, and brought him up to the camp, where he called the nobles and chief commanders together, and shewed them many great and weighty reasons why he invaded England on that side. But a great part of the nobility, by the instigation of Gordon, who was their elder, and of greater authority than all of them, wholly refused to set foot on English ground, either out of disaffection to the regent, or else, as they pretended, that it was not for the interest of Scotland so to do, which pleas, when circulated among the soldiers, gave them pleasure. It was observed, that if an army was levied in favour of France, to hinder the English from sending their whole strength against that power, it was sufficient for the purpose only to make a show of war: but that if the interest of Scotland was considered, matters not being well settled at home, and their king a mere child, it was most advisable for them, at that juncture, only to be on the defensive, and to maintain their ancient bounds, for should they march forward, the blame even of a fortuitous miscarriage might be laid to their charge, and an account of their misconduct be required at their hands in a short time. Lastly, though they had been ever so willing to advance against the enemy, and to slight the common danger, as well as to overlook their own concerns at home; yet they were afraid the Scots would not be obedient to their commanders when in an enemy's country; and therefore great heed was to be taken, lest, through ambition, or emulation, or late disgust, they should come off with dishonour.

The regent, perceiving it in vain to oppose, was forced to yield; but, that he might not seem to have performed an idle piece of pageantry, after such vast preparations, in marching his army as far as the Solway, he secretly procured a fit and proper agent, who had frequent negotiations in England, to acquaint Daeres, then lord warden of the English marches, that some good might be done, by treating with John, the regent of Scotland. He willingly hearkened to the proposal, because he was unprovided for defence, never conceiving that the Scots would have made an irruption into England, at least on that side. Accordingly he sent a herald, and obtained a passport to come with safety into the Scottish camp. The next day, accompanied by Thomas Daeres and Thomas Musgrave, with about eighteen more cavaliers, he came to the regent's tent, where they had private discourse together, each having his interpreter. Daeres being taken unprepared, was glad to be quiet, and the regent, not being able to effect any thing without the consent of the army, concluded a truce, as a promising introduction to peace, and so they parted. Those Scots who were the greatest opposers of the action, to throw off the blame from themselves, spread abroad reports, that Daeres had bought an armistice of the regent for a sum of money, of which part was advanced immediately, and the rest engaged for, but never paid. Thus they endeavoured to disparage the conference amongst the common people.

The regent, on the 25th of October, went again into France, but promised to return before the first of August, in the ensuing year; yet he kept not the time, being informed that the English had a fleet ready to intercept his passage. However, he sent five hundred French foot, in the month of June, to encourage the Scots with the hope of his speedy arrival. These troops never saw the face of an enemy in all their voyage, till they came near the isle of May, which lies in the Frith of Forth, where they fell among the English ships, then lying in the channel to interrupt their passage. They had a sharp fight, and the French boarded the ships of the enemy, but with the loss of their admiral. When he was slain, the seamen refused to obey the military officers, and the soldiers being ignorant of naval affairs, could not command the mariners, so that, after a great slaughter of the English, the French were scarcely able to regain their own ships.

In the absence of the regent, Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, was sent from England with ten thousand regulars, and a great number of recruits,

into Scotland. His advantage arose from the discord that prevailed amongst the Scots themselves, whose chief governor was absent, and they under no certain command; so that the English overran March and Teviotdale, and took the castles of both countries, to the great loss of the nobility, and of the commons too, who were wont, upon sudden invasions, to secure themselves and their goods in those fortresses. But Scotland then laboured under such intestine disorders, that no man thought he had any concern in his neighbour's calamity. The English roved about at pleasure for several months, without any opposition; but when, at length, they retreated, the bordering Scots endeavoured, in some sort, to revenge themselves for their losses; and accordingly daily incursions were made by them into Northumberland, and great plunder was carried out of that country. Upon this, Howard was sent against them a second time, and took Jedburgh; but though the town was unfortified, as the Scottish custom is, the capture cost him great pains and loss of men. Whilst these things were taking place in Teviotdale, the horses of the English army were so terrified in the night, by some unknown cause, that about five hundred of them broke their bridles, ran up and down the camp, and overturned all that were in their way; some of the soldiers were trampled down and trod upon, and then the animals broke into the open field, as if they had been mad, and so became a prey to such of the Scottish peasantry as could catch them. This caused a great consternation through the whole camp, all crying out, "Arm, arm;" neither could the tumult be appeased till the next morning. Three days after this, the English, without making any further attempt, disbanded their army, and returned home.

The duke of Albany, finding that all the ports on the French coast were blockaded by the English, to intercept him in his return, and that he was inferior in strength, resolved to effect his escape by stratagem. Accordingly, instead of collecting his fleet together in one harbour, he dispersed it, in very small numbers, at different places, so that there was no appearance at all of any warlike preparation. Besides this, he quartered his soldiers in the interior, that no one could imagine he designed to embark them, so that the English admiral, who waited to impede his passage till the 13th of August, became tired of cruising any longer to no purpose, and, understanding by his spies, that there was neither fleet nor army on all the French coast, he withdrew his fleet, thinking that John would not stir till the next spring. The duke of Albany, being informed of the departure of the English, lost no time in collecting his ships, to the number of fifty, on board of which were three thousand foot, and one hundred cuirassiers, with whom, after the autumnal equinox, he set sail from France, and arrived safe at the Isle of Arran, in Scotland, on the 24th of September, being the same day on which the English burned Jedburgh.

I have already stated how miserable the state of affairs in Scotland was during the preceding summer. The nobles were at variance one with another; the English not only wasted all the countries near them, but were masters of the sea; and consequently all hopes of foreign aid were cut off. The design of the enemy in this, was, to humble the pride of the Scots, and make them, by suffering, incline to a pacification. Neither were those Scots who were averse to the French interest, less ardent for a perpetual peace with England; of whom the queen was the chief. For, when Home was removed by death, Douglas by banishment, and the other nobles were judged rather fit to follow than lead, in the management of affairs; all those who were not favourers of the French party, applied themselves to the queen. She, to gratify her brother, and also to draw the power into her own hands, dissembled her private ambition, and exhorted them by saying, "That now was the time to free their young king, who was almost of age, from the bondage of a stranger; and also to deliver themselves from the same yoke." The queen likewise laboured to strengthen her party against her husband, to whom she had long before conceived a great dislike; besides all this, the king of England sent frequent letters, filled with large promises, to the nobles of Scotland, desiring them to promote his sister's designs. He told them, "It was not his fault that there was not a perpetual amity between the two kingdoms;

which, as always, so especially at this time, he very much desired, not for any private ends of his own, but to make it appear that he bore a true respect to his sister's son, whom he resolved to support and gratify as much as he was able; and that, if the Scots would be persuaded to break their league with France, and join with England, they should quickly find his aim was neither ambition nor power, but love and concord; that Mary, his only daughter, being married to James, the Scots would not, by that affinity, come over to the government of the English, but the English to that of the Scots; that enmities as great as their's had intervened betwixt nations, which yet, by alliances, mutual commerce, and interchangeable kindnesses, had been wholly abolished and extinguished." Others reckoned up the advantages or inconveniences which might accrue to either kingdom, by this union with each other, rather than with the French; as, that "they were one people, born in the same island; brought up under the same climate; agreeable one to another in their language, manners, laws, customs, countenance, colour, and in the very make of their persons; so that they seemed rather to be one nation than two; but that, as for the French, they differed from them, not only in climate and soil, but in the whole manner of life. Besides, they said that if France was an enemy, she could do no great damage to Scotland; and that, as a friend, she could not be very advantageous; that the assistance of England was near at hand, while French aid was more remote; that, as there was no passage for it but by sea, therefore it might be prevented by enemies, or else hindered by storms. They were therefore desired to consider, how inconvenient it was for the management of affairs, and how unsafe for the public, to place their hopes of their individual safety, and that of the kingdom, upon so inconstant and changeable a thing as a blast of wind. What was to be expected from absent friends against present dangers, might easily be perceived by the actions of the last summer, where the Scots not only felt, but even saw with their eyes, how the English ravaged them, when forsaken by their allies, and fell upon them with all their strength, ready to devour them; while the French aid, so long looked for, was blocked up by the hostile fleet in their own harbours."

These were the arguments for an alliance with England; and not a few, being convinced by them, were inclined to it; but others were no less strenuous on the other side; for the greatest part of the assembly were bribed by the French, and some who had been considerable gainers by the public losses, abhorred the very thoughts of peace. There were yet others again, who suspected the readiness and facility of the English, in making such promises; especially since matters in that kingdom were managed, for the most part, at the will and pleasure of Thomas Wolsey, a cardinal, and a man both wicked and ambitious, who laid all his designs for his own private advantage, and for the enlargement of his power and authority; and therefore he accommodated them to every turn of the wheel of fortune. All these persons equally favoured the alliance with France, though induced to the same end by different motives. They alleged, that the sudden liberality of the English was not free and gratuitous, but the effect of design; and that this was not the first time they had used such arts to entrap the unwary Scots; for the first Edward, said they, when he had sworn, and obliged himself by all the bonds of law and equity, to decide a matter in dispute, and therefore was chosen arbitrator by the Scots, had most injuriously made himself their monarch; and that, of late, Edward the Fourth had betrothed his daughter Cicely to the son of James III.; but when the young princess grew up to be marriageable, and the day of consummation was on the point of being fixed, he took the opportunity of a war, which arose upon the account of the private discords in Scotland, to break off the match; and that the English king aimed at nothing else now, but to cast the tempting bait of dominion before them, that so he might make them really slaves; and, when they were destitute of foreign aid, surprise them at his pleasure with all his force. Neither was the position true, wherein the contrary party prided themselves, "that an alliance near at hand was better than one farther off;" for causes of dissension would never be wanting among those who were neighbours; which were oftentimes produced even by sudden chances, and sometimes great men would promote

them upon every light occasion ; and then the laws of concord would be prescribed by him who should have the longest sword. That there was never such a firm and sacred bond of friendship between neighbouring kingdoms, which, when occasions offered, or were sought for, was not often violated ; neither could we hope that the English would refrain from violating us more now than they did formerly, towards so many kings of their own blood. " It is true," said they, the " sanctity of leagues, and the religion of an oath, for the faithful performance of pactions and agreements, are firm bonds to good men ; but among those who are bad, they are only so many snares and traps, calculated for an opportunity to deceive ; which fraudulency is most visible where the parties are related, and their habitations border on each other, where the language is common, and the manners are similar. But," added they, " if all these things were otherwise, yet there were two things to be regarded and provided for ; first, that they ought not to cast off old friends without a hearing, who had so often merited their good-will. The other, that they should not spend their time in quarrels and disputes, especially about a business which could be determined only in an assembly of all the estates of the kingdom." Such were the inclinations and reasonings of the French faction ; and they succeeded so far, that no determination should be made till certain news arrived of the French reinforcement.

When the return of the regent was made known, it greatly rejoiced his friends, strengthened the wavering, and kept back many who favoured the league with England, from complying with it. He sent his warlike provisions up the river Clyde to Glasgow, and there mustered his army. He also published a proclamation, that the nobility should attend him at Edinburgh, where he made an elegant speech to them, commending their constancy in maintaining their ancient league, and their prudence in rejecting the peridious promises of the English : he highly extolled the good-will, love, and liberality of Francis, the French king, towards the Scots ; and exhorted them to lay aside their private animosities and feuds ; and, seeing foreign aid was now come, to revenge their wrongs, and to repress the insolence of their enemy by a signal enterprise. Accordingly, after his soldiers had refreshed themselves, and the Scotch forces had joined them, he marched towards the borders, whither he came on the 22d of October. But when on the borders, and part of the forces had passed over a wooden bridge at Melross, the Scots made the same excuses as in the former expedition at Solway, and refused to enter England ; so that the regent was forced to recall the advanced party, and to pitch his tents a little below, on the left side of the Tweed, where he endeavoured to storm the castle of Werk, situated over-against him on the right side of the river. In the mean time, a party of horse that had been sent across, intercepted all the passages, so that no relief could come to the besieged ; and they likewise carried fire and sword round all the adjacent country. This is the description of Werk castle. In the inner court is a very high tower, well fortified ; encompassed with a double wall ; the outward one encloses a large space of ground, whither the country people were wont to fly in time of war, and to bring their corn and cattle with them for security ; the inner wall is much narrower, but entrenched all round, and better fortified with towers than the other. The French took the outward court by storm, but the English set fire to the barns, and the straw therein made such a smoke, that they soon drove them out again. During the two following days, they battered the inner wall with their great guns ; and, after making a breach wide enough for entrance, the French attempted an escalade ; but those in the inner castle, which was yet entire, cast down all sorts of weapons upon them, so that, being completely exposed, and having lost some of their men, they were driven back to their army, and retreated across the river. The regent, perceiving that the minds of the Scots were averse to action, and being also assured that the English were coming against him with a numerous army, which, according to their own writers, amounted to not less than 40,000 fighting men ; and that 6000 more were left to defend the neighbouring town of Berwick, he, on the 11th of November, removed to a nunnery called Eccles, about six miles distant from his former encampment ; whence, at the third watch, he marched by night to Lauder ; both horses and men being much

incommoded in their route, by the sudden fall of a great storm of snow; which occasioned the English also to disband and return home, without effecting any thing. The remainder of the winter passed away quietly.

In spring, the regent held an assembly of the nobles, when he laid before them the causes which compelled him to go again to France, but promising to return before the 1st of September following. He further desired them, that, during his absence, the king might remain at Stirling; and that they would neither make a peace nor truce with the English, or introduce any innovations in the government, before his return. They promised him faithfully to obey his commands; and thus, on the 20th of May, he and his retinue set sail for France. In his absence, however, the reins were again let loose; every man's will was his law, and a great deal of havoc was made, and mischief done, without the least punishment. Upon this, the king, though a mere child, by the advice of his mother, and the earls of Arran, Lennox, Crawford, and several others of the principal nobility, came from Stirling to Edinburgh; where, on the 29th of July, by the counsel of the chiefs, whom he had convened at his palace of Holyrood-house, he took upon him the government of the kingdom, and the next day caused them all to swear fealty to him a second time; and, to shew that he had actually assumed the administration of matters into his own hand, he discharged all public officers; but, within a few days, he restored them to their places again.

In a great assembly of the nobles, held on the 20th day of August, that the king might abrogate the power of the regent, and exercise it wholly by himself, he went in great pomp, according to ancient custom, into the public hall of the town; only the Bishops of St. Andrew's and Aberdeen dissented, alleging, that they ought to stay till the 1st of September, when the regent had promised to return; for which they were imprisoned. But they revenged themselves with their own ecclesiastical weapons, and laid their dioceses under interdict. However, in about a month or two they were reconciled to the king, and restored to the same degree of favour which they had before enjoyed.

About this time, Archibald Douglas, who, as I have already said, was banished into France, sent Simon Penning, an acute man, and much trusted by him, to the king of England, to obtain from him the liberty of returning home through his dominions, which was granted; for Henry was pleased at the diminution of the authority of so active a person as the duke of Albany, and at the change which had been made in Scotland; so that he entertained the earl courteously, and dismissed him honourably. His return made very different impressions on the minds of the Scots; for, seeing all public business was transacted under the direction of the queen and the earl of Arran, a great part of the nobility, at the head of whom were John Stuart, earl of Lennox, and Colin Campbell, earl of Argyle, taking great distaste that they were not admitted to any part of the administration, received Douglas with strong expressions of joy, as hoping, by his aid, either to gain over the power of the adverse faction to themselves, or at least to abate their pride. On the other side, the queen, who, as I said before, hated her husband, was much troubled at his coming, and sought by all means to undermine him. Moreover, Hamilton, feeling some remains of his old resentment, was none of his fast friends, for he feared lest Douglas, who he knew would not be content with a second place, would supplant him, and become pre-eminent; so that he strove to maintain his own dignity, and opposed him with all his might. They kept themselves within the castle of Edinburgh; and though they knew very well that many of the nobility affected alterations, yet, trusting in the strength of the place, and the authority of the royal name, though it was but a sorry defence in those circumstances, they thought themselves secure from violence. The adverse party had a great meeting of the nobles, where they chose three of their number to be the guardians of the king and kingdom; namely, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, John Stuart, earl of Lennox, and Colin Campbell, earl of Argyle. Then, in great haste, they proceeded to business; first, they passed the Forth, and caused James Beton, a prudent man, to join with them, who, perceiving the strength of the party, durst not resist: from thence they went to Stirling, and there conferred all offices and employments on the men of their own fac-

tion only; and next they came to Edinburgh, which they entered without force, for it was wholly defenceless. They then cast up a small trench against the castle, and invested it; but as those within had made no provision for a siege, they soon surrendered up both it and themselves. All but the king being sent away, the whole weight of the government lay upon the three associates, who agreed among themselves that they would manage it by turns, each attending four months on the royal person. But as this conjunction was not sincere, it did not last long. Douglas, who attended the first four months, brought the king to the palace of the archbishop of St. Andrew's, and made use of all the prelate's household furniture, and other accommodations, as if they had been his own, for he had a little before revolted from their faction. To bind the king to him the more, Douglas let him take his fill of all unwarrantable pleasures; and yet he was far from obtaining his end, for the domestics were all corrupted by the adverse party, at the head of whom were the queen and Hamilton.

The first animosities at court were occasioned by the distribution of ecclesiastical preferments, for the Douglas party engrossed all to themselves; George Crichton was translated to the bishopric of Dunkeld; and the abbey of Holyrood, in the suburbs, which he thereby vacated, Douglas gave to his brother William, who had for five years forcibly held that of Coldingham, about six miles from Berwick, from the time of the murder of Robert Blackader, the former abbot, whose cousin-german, Patrick Blackader, obtained a grant of the same preferment from the pope, with the consent of John the regent. Douglas also commenced a suit against John Home, an intimate friend of the earl of Angus, and husband to his sister's daughter, about the whole ancient estate of the Blackaders. Patrick, therefore, being unable to cope with the Douglas family, suffered his estate to be made a prey to his enemies, and reserved himself for better times, amongst his mother's kindred, at a considerable distance from those countries which were exposed to the dominant faction. They, on the other side, though they did not much value Patrick, yet, having the supreme power in their hands, and being unwilling to lie under the stigma of having invaded other men's rights by mere force, employed friends to proffer him some kind of amends and satisfaction. He, shewing himself inclinable to an agreement, even though he remitted much of his right, had a pass granted him, and the public faith given him by Douglas, to come to Edinburgh, which he did with a small retinue, and unarmed; but when a little way from the gates of the city, he was set upon by John Home, who lay in ambush for that purpose, and so was murdered. As soon as the noise of the fact was spread over the city, many mounted their horses, and pursued the murderers some miles, in order to apprehend them; but perceiving that George Douglas, brother to the earl, had joined their company, with many more of the same faction, and some of the kindred of Home, they desisted from the pursuit, not knowing with what intent those persons went out, whether to catch or to defend the murderers, which occasioned strange reports to be divulged abroad, concerning the Douglas family.

With regard to Colin Campbell, he had already withdrawn himself from the triumvirate, as we may call it; and the earl of Lennox, though he followed the king, yet because the Douglas faction had secured all public offices of importance into their own hands, he gave many testimonies of his dislike, and substantial proofs that his mind was quite alienated from them. But being confident of their power, they slighted alike the reports, envy, and ill-will of others. Meanwhile, the king, though used more indulgently than was proper, that so his weak spirit might be kept longer in subjection to them; yet notwithstanding by little and little he grew weary of their government, being also weaned from them by his domestics, who accused them of actions, some of which were true, and others false, while those which were doubtful, they construed in the worst sense. Upon this, he secretly communicated with such as he could trust, about the attainment of his freedom and liberty. The only man among his nobles, to whom he opened his mind without reserve, was John earl of Lennox, who, besides his other virtues of mind and body, was an honest and well-spoken man, and admirably qualified to reconcile and win the good opinion of men, by a natural sweetness of manners and deport-

ment. Having made him privy to his design; whilst they were consulting about the time, place, and manner of its accomplishment, Douglas was engaged in many expeditions against the bands of robbers, but with little success. At length, he resolved to carry the king into Teviotdale, as supposing that his presence would be advantageous there, by striking a terror into the licentious people. Here an assembly being held at Jedburgh, the king called together all the heads of the chief families in that district, and commanded them to apprehend those criminals, every one within his own precinct, of whom he then gave them a list. They set themselves very actively to obey his command; so that many of the thieves paid with their heads for the robberies they had committed, but others were spared, in hopes of amendment. Thus, whilst the minds of all were cheerful, they who had a design to free the king from the guardianship of the Douglas party, thought this a good opportunity to effect it; because one Walter Scott, living not far from Jedburgh, had great clanships in the neighbouring counties. To accomplish their project, they laid the following plan:—Walter was to invite the king to his house, and there he was to remain with him during his own royal pleasure, till the report spreading abroad, greater forces should come in. But the design being discovered, either by chance, or upon some private intimation, the king was carried back to Melrose. Walter, instead of being discouraged, proceeded on straight in his journey to the king. When he was a little way off, an alarm was brought to the people of Douglas, that Walter was at hand, armed, and a great troop of others as well appointed, accompanying him; so that there could be no doubt, but that he, being a factious man, and withal good at his weapon, intended some mischief, insomuch that they all presently put themselves in a posture of defence. Douglas, though inferior in number, yet knowing that his own men about him were to be relied on; and besides, that he had several valiant persons of the family of the Kers and Homes in his train, with George Home and Andrew Ker, their principals, resolved to venture a battle. At this crisis, George Home had like to have spoiled all, for when Douglas commanded him to alight from his horse, and manage his part in the fight, he answered, that he would only alight at the command of the king. They fought eagerly and courageously on both sides, as men who had their king for the price of their combat, as well as their spectator. But John Stuart all the while stood near the king, without striking a blow, and contenting himself with beholding the battle.

After a sharp encounter, Walter was wounded, and then his men gave ground; but the joy of the victors was much allayed by the loss of Andrew Ker, who, for his singular virtues, was much lamented by both parties. His death produced a long feud between the families of the Kers and the Scotts, which was not terminated without blood. From that time forward, John Stuart, who had acted a neutral part in the late fray, and had been before suspected by the Douglas faction, was now accounted their open enemy; so that he departed from the court. These things occurred on the 23d of July, in the year 1521.

The Douglas party, perceiving that they were now the objects of envy to whole multitudes, endeavoured to strengthen their interest by new recruits and converts; and therefore they made up the old breach between them and the Hamiltons, a family great in wealth, power, and numbers. These persons, after having been removed from court, Douglas not only admitted, but invited to a share in the government. On the other side, John Stuart had the advantage of being highly favoured by most people: and, having privately obtained the king's letters to the chief of the nobility, who, he thought, would have kept his counsel, he thereby greatly strengthened his party. Therefore, in a convention of his associates at Stirling, where also were present James Beton, some other bishops, and many heads of the noblest families, he propounded to them the design of asserting the king's liberty. This was unanimously agreed to; and though the day for mustering their forces was not come, yet, on hearing that the Hamiltons were assembled at Linlithgow to intercept their march, Stuart judged it most advisable to attack them before they should be joined by the Douglas party, and accordingly, with the present force which he had, he marched directly towards them. But the Hamiltons, having intelligence that

John intended to leave Stirling on that day, and that very early in the morning, took care beforehand to call the people of Douglas from Edinburgh to their assistance. But the king, besides other obstacles, retarded them in some measure, by pretending that he was not well; so that he rose later from his bed that day than ordinary; besides which, he travelled very slowly; and by the way, would often turn aside on frivolous excuses. When George Douglas, in vain, by fair speeches and flatteries, tried to persuade him to make more haste, at last he broke forth into this menacing expression: "Sir," said he, "rather than our enemies should take you from us, we will lay hold on your body; and, if it be rent in pieces, we will be sure to take one part of it." These words struck a deeper impression into the king's mind, than might have been expected in one of his age; insomuch that many years after, when he had some inclination to recall the rest of the family of Douglas from exile, he could not endure that any one should speak of a reconciliation with George. The Hamiltons, betwixt the fear of the enemy, who were on the advance, and the hope of approaching aid, took up a position near the bridge of the river Avon, which is above a mile from Linlithgow. Here they placed a small guard at the bridge, while the rest of their forces occupied the brow of the hills, by which they knew the enemy must come. Lennox, finding that the passage over the bridge was stopped, ordered his men to cross a small stream a little above, by a nunnery, called Manuel, and so to beat the Hamiltons from the hills, before the forces of Douglas should arrive and join them. The forces of Lennox accordingly made towards the enemy, but were much annoyed by stones, which were rolled down in abundance from the heights upon them; and, when they came hand to hand, the word was given, that the troops of Douglas were very near, and indeed they ran hastily from their march into the fight, and soon gained the day, so that Lennox's men suffered severely, and were put to flight. The Hamiltons, especially James the bastard, used their victory with great cruelty; and, among the rest, William Cunningham, son to the earl of Glencairn, received many wounds, but his life was saved by his relationship to the Douglas family. John Stuart was killed, and his death was much lamented by the earl of Arran, his uncle, as also by Douglas himself, but most of all by the king; who, as soon as he heard of the fight, by the clashing of the weapons, sent on his favourite, Andrew Wood, of the Largs, to save the life of Lennox, if possible; but unluckily he came too late, for the business was done, and the battle over.

After this exploit, the victors, to keep down the faction of their enemies, and make them submissive to their will, proceeded in a form of law against those who had taken up arms against their king, as they termed it; so that, for fear of a trial, many were forced to compound with them for money; while some joined themselves to the clanship of the Hamiltons, and others to that of Douglas. The most obstinate, however, were called to the bar, amongst whom was Gilbert, earl of Cassilis, who, when pressed by James Hamilton the bastard, to shield himself under the protection of his clan, answered in the boldness of his spirit, "That there was an old league of friendship made between both their grandfathers; in which his own was always named first, as the more honourable of the two, and that he would not now so far degrade the dignity of his family, or the glory of his ancestors, as to put himself under the patronage, which would be but one degree from plain slavery, of that line, whose chief, in an equal alliance, was always content with the second place." So when Gilbert was called to his answer on the day appointed, Hugh Kennedy, his kinsman, made answer for him, that he had not taken up arms against the king, but for him, having been commanded to be at the fight; and if necessary, he offered to produce the royal letters to that purpose. The Hamiltons were much troubled at his boldness; for it was true that the king had written to Gilbert, when he came from court, as well as to others, saying, that he should take part with John Stuart; but, as the battle was at hand, insomuch that he could have no time to call together his clanship and kindred, while he was upon the way, he turned aside, with those of his family that were with him, to Stirling.

The violence of the Hamiltons was somewhat abated by this trial; but James the bastard, fired with a mortal hatred against Kennedy, caused him,

a few days afterwards, as he was returning home, to be murdered on the road, by the means of Hugh Campbell, laird of Ayr. This Hugh, on the same day the murder was committed, which he had commanded his vassals to execute that so he might avert all suspicion of the horrid fact from himself, went to the house of John Erskine, whose wife was sister to Gilbert Kennedy's wife. She, as soon as she heard of this cruel murder, ceased not to upbraid him with it to his face, and that in a most grievous manner. Thus the noble family of the Kennedys was almost extinguished. The son of the earl, after his father was slain, being but a child, fled to his kinsman Archibald Douglas, who was then lord treasurer, and put himself and his family under his protection. He received him very lovingly; and such was the great ingenuity of his promising years, that he designed him for his son-in-law. Hugh Campbell was summoned to appear, but his crime being too plain, he made his escape out of the kingdom. Neither did the Douglas faction exercise their revenge and hatred less fiercely upon James Beton; for leading their forces to St. Andrew's, they seized, pillaged, and ruined his castle, deeming him to have been the author of all the projects the earl of Lennox had undertaken; but by assuming frequent disguises, because no man durst entertain him openly, he effected his escape. The queen herself also retired alone with the like artifice of dissimulation, that she might not fall into the hands of her husband, whom she detested and abhorred.

At the beginning of the spring following, Douglas made an expedition into Liddesdale, where he destroyed many of the thieves, by falling upon them unawares in their huts, before they could put themselves in order for a defence; twelve of them he executed, and twelve more he kept as hostages; but as their relations did not forbear the old trade of robbery, in a few months afterwards he put them to death also. At his entrance on this expedition, there happened a matter very remarkable, which, for its novelty, I shall here relate. There was an under-groom, or helper, belonging to the stables of John Stuart, a man of mean descent, and therefore used in the servile employment of dressing horses. When his lord and master was killed by the Hamiltons, he wandered up and down for a time, not knowing what course to pursue, till at last he became desperate, and resolved to attempt a deed, far superior to the rank and condition in which he had been born and brought up. This was, to take a journey to Edinburgh, with the intention of revenging the death of his lord, and there he casually lighted upon a man of the same family and fortune as himself. He demanded of him whether he had seen James Hamilton, the bastard, in the city, who answered him, he had. "What," said he, "thou most ungrateful of men, hast thou seen him, and wouldst thou not kill him, who slew so good a master as we both had? Go, get thee gone, and may misery be thy companion." This said, he presently hastened on his designed journey, and went directly to court. There were then in a large square before the palace in the suburbs, about two thousand armed men of Douglas's and Hamilton's dependants, ready prepared for the expedition I have already mentioned. On seeing them, he passed by all the rest, and fixed his eye and mind on Hamilton only, who was then coming out of the court-yard in his cloak, but without his armour. As soon as he perceived him in a pretty long gallery, which was over the gate, and somewhat dark, he flew at him, and gave him six wounds, one of which was almost in the vitals, but the others were less dangerous, owing to the sudden shifting of his body, and his warding off the weapon with his cloak, which he held before him. This done, the groom presently mixed himself among the crowd. Immediately a great clamour arose, and some of the Hamiltons suspected that the people of Douglas had committed the horrid deed, on account of some old grudges, in consequence of which the two parties had nearly come to blows. At last, when their fear and surprise subsided, they were all commanded to stand in single ranks, by the walls which were round about the court-yard; and there the murderer was discovered, still holding the bloody knife in his hand. Being demanded what he was, and whence, and for what he came thither; he made no ready answer: upon which he was dragged to prison, and put to the rack; when he confessed immediately, that he had undertaken the fact to revenge his

good lord and master; and that his only sorrow was, that so famous an attempt did not take effect. He was tortured a long time, to discover his accomplices; but in vain, for he declared that no person was privy to his design. At last he was condemned, and while conveyed round the city, every part of his naked body was pinched with red-hot irons; and yet, neither in his speech nor in his countenance, did he discover the least sense of pain; for when his right hand was cut off, he said, that it was punished less than it deserved, because it had not obeyed the dictates of his heart, which was so eager to have executed its bloody purpose.

Moreover, the same year, Patrick Hamilton, son of a sister of John duke of Albany, and of a brother of the earl of Arran, a young man of great judgment and singular learning, was by a conspiracy of the priests burnt at St. Andrew's. Not long after his suffering, men were much terrified at the death of Alexander Campbell. He was of the order of the Dominicans, a man of considerable talent, and accounted one of the most learned of all those who followed the opinions of Thomas Aquinas. Patrick had frequent conferences with Alexander concerning the meaning of the holy scripture, and at last he brought the man to confess and acknowledge, that almost all the articles which were then counted heterodox, were divine truths. Notwithstanding this, Alexander, being more desirous to save his life than to hazard it for the sake of the gospel, was persuaded by his friends to prefer a public accusation and charge against Hamilton as a heretic. Patrick, being a man of a zealous spirit, and indignant at the worldly mind and vain glory of his accuser, broke forth into this expression openly: "O thou vilest of men," says he, "who art convinced that the tenets which thou now condemnest, are most certainly true, and didst confess to me that they are so: I cite thee to the tribunal of the living God." Alexander was so astonished at this challenge, that he never recovered the shock from that day forward; and not long after died in a fit of madness.*

All this time, and for a great part of the year ensuing, the party of Douglas, being severally intent upon other matters, were secure as to the king's departure from them; because they believed that now his mind was fully reconciled to them, on account of the immoderate pleasures in which they indulged him; and besides, they thought if he had a mind to remove, there was no faction strong enough to oppose them; neither had he any strong garrison whither to retire, except Stirling castle, which was allotted to the queen for her residence, but was deserted by her officers, when she hid herself from Douglas; and though on the abatement of the tumult it had been somewhat fortified, it was rather for show than defence. The king, however, having obtained a little relaxation, saw that this must be his only refuge; and therefore agreed privately with his mother to exchange that castle and the land adjoining, for other estates equally convenient to her; and then having provided all other requisites as secretly as he could, the Douglas party not being so intent as formerly in their watch over him, he retired by night, with a small company, from Falkland to Stirling; where, on his arrival, he sent for many of the nobles to come to him, while others hearing the news, resorted thither of their own accord; so that now he seemed sufficiently secured against all force. There, by the advice of his nobles, he published a proclamation, that the Douglas family should abstain from all administration of public affairs; and moreover, that none of their kin by blood or marriage, or any of their dependants,

* Patrick Hamilton was abbot of Fern. He imbibed the protestant doctrine, while travelling in Germany, where he contracted an acquaintance with Luther, Melancthon, and other distinguished reformers. On his return home he propagated the principles which he had learned abroad, with such zeal and success, that the clergy became alarmed; and, under the pretence of a conference, drew him to St. Andrew's, where Alexander Campbell was appointed to keep him company. Whether, however, this man was a real or only a pretended convert, cannot be determined. That he affected to yield to Hamilton's arguments is certain; and when the latter was condemned shortly after, Campbell was so busy in persuading him to recant, that the martyr reproached him as an apostate, and summoned him to the tribunal of Christ. His death, which happened, as Buchanan has related, within the year, contributed very much to shake the minds of the people; and even some of the friars themselves began to each against the superstitions of popery.—*Spotswood's Church History*, p. 62.

should come within twelve miles of the court, on forfeiture of his life. When the decree was served upon them, as they were coming to Stirling, many were of opinion that they should go on in their journey; but the earl and his brother George thought it best to obey. Accordingly, they went back to Linlithgow, resolving to stay there till they should obtain some more favourable intelligence from court. In the mean time, the king sent messengers with great diligence, to the remotest parts of the kingdom, summoning all the nobles, who had a privilege of voting, to the assembly, which was to be held at Edinburgh, on the third of September next ensuing. Till that time, the king at Stirling, and the Douglasses at Edinburgh, gathered forces about them; though rather for defence than hostility. At length, on the second of July, the latter departed out of the city; and the king, with his forces and banners displayed, entered into it; but by the intercession of friends, conditions were offered to the Douglasses, which were, that the earl of Angus should be banished beyond the Spey; and that George his brother, and Archibald his uncle, should be kept in custody in the castle of Edinburgh. On submitting to these terms, and on no other, hopes of the royal clemency were held out. These conditions being rejected by them, they were commanded by a herald to attend the parliament, appointed to meet at Edinburgh, on the third of September. In the mean time, their public offices were taken from them; and Gavin Dunbar, lately the king's tutor, was made chancellor instead of the earl. He was a good and learned man, though some thought him a little defective in politics. Robert Cairncross, at the same time, was made treasurer in the place of Archibald, a man more known for his wealth than his virtue. The Douglasses being now driven to their last shifts, endeavoured to seize upon Edinburgh, which was left unprotected at the king's departure; and accordingly they sent Archibald thither with some troops of horse. Their design was to keep out the king, and so to dissolve the parliament. But, on the 26th of August, Robert Maxwell, with his vassals, and a great number of all sorts of people, by the royal command, prevented them, and kept them from entering the city: besides which, the guards and sentinels were so carefully mounted and disposed in all convenient places, that things were kept there in great tranquillity, till the meeting of the great national assembly. Douglas being thus disappointed in his views, retired to his castle of Tantallon, about fourteen miles distant from the city. On the day that the king came out of Stirling, there fell such mighty showers of rain from the heavens, and the brooks and rivers overflowed their banks to such a degree, that the royal train was scattered into many parties, so that they came much harassed, and late in the night, to Edinburgh. They were so much beaten with the violence of the storm, that had a very few horse charged them, they might have done them a great deal of mischief. In that parliament, the earl of Angus, George his brother, Archibald his uncle, and Alexander Drummond of Carnock, who was their intimate friend, were outlawed, and their goods confiscated. This edict or clause was also added to their sentence of condemnation, that whoever harboured them in their houses, or gave them any other assistance, should incur the same punishment. What principally moved the court to condemn them was, it appears, the declaration of the king upon oath, that as long as he was in their power he was afraid of his life. He also professed that this apprehension became mightily increased, and sunk with a deeper impression into his mind, after the menaces which George had expressed to him, and of which I have already given an account. There was only one man found in this assembly, named John Bannatyne, a vassal of Douglas, bold enough to make a public protestation against all that was acted in opposition to the earl, whose non-appearance at the time appointed he justified on the plea that he was kept away by a well-grounded cause of fear.

A few days after this, William, another brother of the earl, abbot of the monastery of Holyrood, died of sickness, aggravated by grief, on account of the troubled state of affairs. Robert Cairncross, a man of mean descent, but wealthy, bought this preferment of the king, who then wanted money, and eluded the law against simony by a new kind of fraud. The law then was, that ecclesiastical preferments should not be sold; but Cairncross laid a

great wager with the king, that he would not bestow upon him the next preferment of that kind which should become vacant; and by that means lost his wager and gained the abbey. The Douglas family now seeing that all hope of pardon was cut off, betook themselves to open force, and the only satisfaction they had left, was revenge, which they indulged to excess; for they committed all sorts of outrages upon the lands of their enemies; burned Cousland and Cranston, and rode every day up to the very gates of Edinburgh, so that the city was almost besieged, and the innocent poor were made to suffer for the offences of the great.

During these commotions, on the 21st of November, a ship, called the *Martina*, a brave vessel in those days, and richly laden, was driven by stress of weather upon the shore of Inverwick; where part of the lading was pillaged by Douglas's horse, who ranged up and down in those districts, and the rest was carried away by the country people, who were so ignorant of its value, that they took the cinnamon in it to be only a thin bark, and so sold it to make fire with. The whole blame of this outrage, however, fell upon the Douglas party. In consequence of this change of affairs, the robbers, who for a long time had been restrained from their predatory practices through the fear of punishment, came out of the places in which they had lain concealed, and grievously infested all the circumjacent countries. But though many disorders were committed also by others in various parts, yet all these murders and robberies, wherever perpetrated, were attributed to the Douglasses by those courtiers, who not only thought to please the king in so doing, but likewise to make the name of that family, which was otherwise popular, invidious to the common people. At the beginning of winter, the king marched to Tantallon, a castle belonging to Douglas, on the sea-coast, in order that, by taking it, no refuge might be left for the exiles. To reduce this place with little labour and cost, he was supplied with brass guns and powder from Dunbar, the castle being distant from thence only six miles. The fortress was garrisoned by the soldiers of John the regent, because it was part of his patrimony. The siege lasted some days, during which some of the assailants were slain, others wounded, and some were blown up with gunpowder; but none of the garrison suffered; so that the king thought it necessary to break up and retreat. In his return, David Falconer, who was left behind with some soldiers, to carry back the brass ordnance, was set upon and slain by Douglas's horse, who were sent out to surprise the stragglers in the rear. His death so enraged the young king, who was incensed enough before, that he solemnly swore in his passion, never, as long as he lived, to revoke the sentence of banishment which had been passed on the proscribed family. And as soon as he came to Edinburgh, to straiten them the more, by advice of his council, he ordered that a flying party of soldiers should be continually kept up at Coldingham, for the purpose of securing the country from pillage. Bothwell, one of the greatest persons of authority and influence in Lothian, was appointed by the king to take this post upon him; but he refused the employment, either dreading the power of the clan of Douglas, which, not long since, all the rest of Scotland was not able to cope with; or because he wished to repress the violent disposition of the young monarch, and prevent him from totally destroying so noble a family. As the king had no great confidence in the Hamiltons, on account of their friendship with his enemies, and the part they had taken in the slaughter of John Stuart, earl of Lennox; and as there were none of the nobility of the adjacent country, that had power or interest enough for the service; he resolved to send Colin Campbell, with an army, against the rebels; a person living in the further parts of the realm, but prudent, valiant, and, on account of his justice, very popular. The Douglasses, on being forsaken by the Hamiltons and the rest of their friends, were reduced to great straits; so that they were compelled by Colin, and George, the chief of the Homes, to become exiles in England.

In the month of October, two eminent knights came on an embassy from the king of England, to negotiate a peace; which, though earnestly desired by both sovereigns, yet they could scarcely find the means of accomplishing for Henry, being upon the point of making war against Charles the emperor,

was willing to leave all safe nearer home ; and with the same labour to procure the restoration of the Douglas family. As for James, he greatly desired to have Tantallon castle in his power, but his mind was very averse to restore the owners of it to favour ; for which reason the matter was warmly discussed on both sides for some days, and no mode of accommodation could be found out. At last they came to this resolution, that Tantallon castle should be surrendered by Douglas, and a truce concluded for five years ; the king promising, under his signet, to grant the other demands separately. The castle was given up accordingly, but the other articles were not so punctually performed, save only Alexander Drummond had leave given him to return home, for the sake of Robert Brittain. Some months before this, James Colvil and Robert Cairncross, on suspicion of taking part with Douglas, were removed from court, and their offices bestowed on Robert Brittain, who then was in high favour there, and had great command. After this, though matters were not perfectly settled abroad, the English having burnt Arne, a town in Teviotdale, before their ambassadors returned, yet the rest of the year was more quiet ; but the insolence of the banditti was not quite suppressed. The king therefore caused William Cockburn, of Henderland, and Adam Scott, two notorious robbers, to be apprehended at Edinburgh, and, by way of terror to the rest, they were put to death. The next year, in the month of March, the king sent James, earl of Murray, whom he had made deputy-governor of the whole kingdom, to the borders, there to have a meeting with the earl of Northumberland, in order to conclude a peace, and to treat about a mutual compensation for losses ; but a contention arose betwixt them, which broke off the conference, the one pleading, that, according to the laws made on account of the murder of Robert Ker, the congress ought to be in Scotland ; while the other would have it in England. In the mean time, each party sent messengers to their respective monarchs, for instruction how to act in the case.

On the 15th of April, there was held a council of the nobility ; where, after a long debate, which lasted till night, the king ordered, that the earl of Bothwell, Robert Maxwell, Walter Scott, and Mark Ker, should be committed prisoners to Edinburgh castle. He also banished the chief men of March and Teviotdale to other places, on suspicion that they were privately disseminating the seeds of war against England. In July, the king having levied about eight thousand men, marched against the robbers, and quickly pitched his tents by the river Euse. Not far from thence lived one John Armstrong, the chief of a faction of thieves ; who had struck such fear into all the neighbouring parts, that the English themselves, for many miles round, purchased their security by paying him a regular tribute ; and even Maxwell was so afraid of his power that he attempted his destruction by all possible ways. This John Armstrong was enticed by the king's officers to have recourse to the king ; which he did, unarmed, with about fifty horse in his company ; but, neglecting to obtain the royal passport and safe-conduct for his protection, he fell into an ambuscade, and was brought to the king, as one that had been taken prisoner, so that he and most of his followers were hanged. They who were the cause of his death, gave out, that he had promised to bring that part of Scotland, for some miles, under the obedience of the English, on condition of being well rewarded for the service. In opposition to this, however, it appeared that the English were very glad of his death, as it freed them from a dangerous enemy. Six of his surviving associates the king kept as hostages ; but their companions at large being not at all deterred by this, from committing the like insolencies, they also were in a few months sent to the gallows. The king then took new hostages of those who staid at home ; for the Liddesdale men left their habitations, and passed over in troops to England, making daily incursions, and taking a great deal of plunder in the neighbouring parts.

Not long after this, the king restored the noblemen to their liberty, having first taken hostages from them ; of these was Walter Scott, who, to gratify the king, slew Robert Johnston, a robber of notorious cruelty amongst them ; which bred a deadly feud between the two families, to the great loss and injury of both.

The next year, which was 1531, there happened a very remarkable circum-

stance, that excited a curiosity which was rather increased than abated by inquiry, notwithstanding the obscurity of the author. One John Scott, a man of no learning, nor of any great experience in business, neither had he a subtle wit of his own, to impose tricks upon others, being cast in a lawsuit, without having the ability to pay damages, hid himself some days in the sanctuary of the monastery of Holyrood house, without eating or drinking any thing. When this became known, and was related to the king, he commanded that his apparel should be changed, and diligently searched; and so caused him to be kept close from all company, in the castle of Edinburgh, where every day bread and water was set before him; but he voluntarily abstained from all human food for thirty-two days. After that time, as if he had been sufficiently tried, he was brought forth naked into public view, where the people flocking about him, he made them a long incoherent speech, in which there was nothing memorable, except the affirmation, that he was assisted by the Virgin Mary to fast as long as he pleased. As this answer savoured of simplicity, rather than craft, he was released from his imprisonment, on which he went to Rome, where he was also imprisoned by pope Clement, until he had fasted long enough to convince him of the miracle. Then they clothed him with the habit in which priests say mass, and gave him a testimonial under the papal seal, which is of great authority among the Romanists. Thus sanctioned, he went to Venice, where he gained general credence by his miraculous fasting; and on alleging that he was obliged, by a vow which he had made, to visit Jerusalem, he received fifty ducats of gold to bear his charges. On his return, he brought back some leaves of palm-trees, and a bag full of stones, which he said were taken from the pillar to which Christ was fastened when he was scourged. In his way home to Scotland, he passed through London, where he mounted the pulpit in Paul's churchyard, and, in a large audience of people, preached, at great length, about the divorce of king Henry from his queen, and of his defection from the see of Rome. His words were so bitter, that if he had not been looked upon as a simpleton, he would have been forced to eat them up again; but after being imprisoned, and having abstained from food for almost fifty days, he was dismissed without farther hurt. On his return to Scotland, he would have joined one Thomas Doughty, who, about this time, had come from Italy, and built a church dedicated to the Virgin Mary, out of the alms given him by the people, having obtained great gain by his feigned miracles. Though the life of this Thomas was sufficiently known to be very wicked, and the cheats of his pretended miracles were discovered; yet no man durst openly oppose him, for fear of the bishops, who, by this their new Atlas, sought to prop up the tottering pile of their purgatory; and he, to requite them for their courtesy, when any of the richer sort of priests came to the place where he was to say mass, had still a beggar ready at hand, to counterfeit himself mad, or diseased in body, that so, by saying his masses, he might be recovered and healed. Thomas having rejected John Scott, because he was not willing to admit any other into the partnership of his gain, the latter hired an obscure garret in the suburbs of Edinburgh; where he erected an altar, and furnished it according to his ability, after which he set up his own daughter, a young and beautiful girl, with wax tapers lighted about her, to be adored as the Virgin Mary. But this way of trade not answering his expectation, he returned to his old course of life, having gained nothing by his dissimulation of sanctity, except to let all men know, that he wanted not the will, but the ability, of an impostor.

At the beginning of the following year, January the 16th, 1532, the earl of Bothwell was committed prisoner to Edinburgh castle, for having taken a private journey into England, and there held a secret conference with the earl of Northumberland. Then also, sir James Sandeland, for the great prudence, integrity, and authority, which he had amongst all good men, even beyond his state and degree, was sent to the Hermitage, a castle of Liddesdale, to restrain the incursions of thieves and robbers.

In ancient times, there had been no fixed days, nor any set place appointed for trying causes respecting property, before the judges in Scotland, until John, duke of Albany, obtained from the pope an order that a yearly sum of money, as much as was sufficient to pay a salary to a few magistrates, should

be charged on the ecclesiastical body; and levied on every one, according to the value of his benefice. Upon this, Gavin Dunbar, bishop of Aberdeen, made his appeal to the pope, in behalf of himself and other priests. The controversy continued from the 11th of March to the 24th of April, and then there was a college of judges settled at Edinburgh. At their first sittings, they devised many advantageous plans for the equal distribution of justice; yet the desired object did not follow. For, seeing in Scotland there are almost no laws, but decrees of the estates, many of which, instead of being made for perpetuity, are temporary; and the judges hinder the enacting of statutes, as far as they can; the property of all the subjects was committed to the determination of fifteen men, who had a perpetual power, and even a tyrannical government; their will being the only rule of conduct which they acknowledged.

Much severity was now used against the Lutherans, in favour of the pope, who, on the other hand, to gratify a king so well deserving his favour, gave him the tithes of all parsonages for the three following years.

In the present year, the English, perceiving that the state of affairs in Scotland grew every day more settled than they had been; but thinking still that their neighbours were destitute of foreign aid, because they had themselves joined with the French against the emperor Charles, sought new occasions for a war. Accordingly, in April, making an incursion from Berwick, they burnt and plundered Coldingham, Douglas, and many other neighbouring towns, where they procured a great booty. They had no apparent provocation, neither did they previously issue a declaration of war. Their eagerness for it, however, appeared in their king's proclamation, which was soon after published, and wherein it was said, "That the garrison of Berwick had been insulted by some licentious and contumelious words which the Scots had uttered." But the words mentioned in the proclamation have no degrading sense at all: therefore, as this cause did not seem just enough for a war, they next demanded Cannoby, a small village on the borders, with a poor monastery in it, alleging that it belonged to them, though they had never before pretended to it; and they likewise insisted on the recall of the Douglas family. For the king of England, perceiving that his aid was so absolutely necessary to the French king, that he could by no means do without it; and also knowing, that he had him fast in a league, wherein the interest of Scotland was not considered, thought it no hard matter to bring that nation to whatever conditions he pleased. Moreover, because the emperor was alienated from him, on account of his peace with France, and the divorce of his aunt; and that the pope of Rome stirred up wars among all Christian princes, he thought, if he sat still now, he should lose a great opportunity at home for bringing about his desired innovations. The king of the Scots, that he might not be unprovided against this storm, by a public proclamation made all over the kingdom, appointed his brother, the earl of Murray, his viceroy; and, because the borderers of themselves were not able to cope with the English, who had a great number of hired troops with them, he divided the kingdom into four parts, and commanded each of them to send out the ablest men amongst them, with their clans, and provision for forty days. These forces, thus succeeding one another by turns, made great havoc in the towns and castles of those parts, so that the king of England, who had now other concerns to demand his care, being frustrated in his expectation of the Scottish war, which he had reason to believe would extend to a great length, became inclinable to a peace; but had a mind to be sure for it; deeming it beneath his dignity either to offer, or seek it of himself. Therefore it seemed most convenient to negotiate the matter through the king of France, who was the common friend to both nations. Accordingly, that prince sent his ambassador, Stephen d'Aix, into Scotland, to inquire which of the two neighbouring potentates was the aggressor in the present contest. The king of the Scots having clearly acquitted himself from being the cause of the war, complained of the long detention of his ambassadors in France, without receiving an answer. He also, at the French envoy's departure, sent letters by him to his master, desiring him to observe the ancient contract that had been renewed by John the regent, at Rouen. He likewise sent David Beton into France, to

refute the calumnies of the English, and to treat about the better maintenance in future of the old league, and to contract a new affinity between France and Scotland. He also sent letters by him to the parliament of Paris, full of bitter complaints, concerning those matters which had been transacted and agreed upon between Francis, their king, and John, the regent of Scotland; stating, how that the ancient friendships, covenants, and agreements, between the two nations, were slighted, to favour those who were once their common enemies. His ambassador, Beton, was commanded, if he saw that the things which he had in commission should not succeed well in France, to deliver those letters to the council of the judges, and presently to withdraw himself into Flanders, with an intent, as it might be conjectured, to make a league, agreement, and affinity with the emperor.

At the same time, war was waged in Britain, and debates were carried on at Newcastle, concerning the lawfulness of it; but when the ambassadors of both nations could not agree on terms of pacification, Guy Flory was sent over by the king of France, to compose their differences. The Scottish king told him, that he would gratify his master as far as he was able, and he had also some communication with him, as much as was seasonable at that time, concerning the matrimonial alliance, about which he had sent over his ambassadors, and who were still in France. Flory, being thus acknowledged as umpire, the garrisons were withdrawn on both sides from the borders, and a truce was made, which was afterwards followed by a peace. The king, who had for some time been engaged in negotiations, both with the French monarch and the emperor, by his ambassadors, about a matrimonial contract, being now, on the restoration of peace, freed from other cares, bent his mind more that way than ever. For, besides the common causes that naturally inclined him to form a potent alliance, his thoughts were turned to the perpetuation of his family by a lineal issue, he being the last male of the stock alive; a circumstance that inspired the next heirs with the flattering hope of possessing the throne; which did not a little trouble him, who was otherwise of his own nature suspicious enough. There were, indeed, many things that very much concurred to nourish such hopes on their part; as, for instance, their own domestic power; the king's single life; his adventurous and enterprising disposition, which slighted all danger, to such a degree, that he would not only stoutly undergo any hazards, but often court and invite them; for, with a small party he would march against the fiercest thieves; and though they were superior in number, yet he would either overtake them by his speed, or terrify and restrain them by the power of his name, and force them to a surrender. He would sit night and day on horseback, while engaged in this employment; and if he took any refreshment or food, it was but little, and only that which he met with by chance.

These circumstances made the Hamiltons almost confident of the succession; but as it seemed to them a long way about to wait for either the fortuitous or natural causes of mortality, they studied to hasten his death by treachery. A fair opportunity to effect this was offered them, by the nocturnal visits of the king to his mistresses, for, on such occasions, he had but one or two attendants. But, being disappointed herein, they resolved to cut off his hope of a regular succession, by hindering his marriage what they could; although John, duke of Albany, when he was regent, seemed to have made sufficient provision against that inconvenience; for when he renewed the ancient league between the French and Scots, at Rouen, he took care to insert the article, that James should marry the eldest daughter of Francis. At present, however, there were two impediments in the way, that almost cut this league asunder. For Francis, being delivered out of the hands of the Spaniards, principally through the activity of Henry VIII. had entered into so strict an alliance with the English, that the Scottish league was much weakened by it. Besides this, the eldest daughter of Francis was just dead, notwithstanding which, James being desirous of the alliance, demanded her next sister for his wife, and sent ambassadors over for the purpose; but her father made an excuse, alleging, that his daughter was of so weak a constitution, that there were little hopes of children by her, and hardly any likelihood that she would herself live long.

About the same time, a similar negotiation was carried on with the emperor Charles, by ambassadors; and at length, on the 24th of April, 1534, that monarch sent over from Toledo, in Spain, Godescalco Eric, who, for the greater secrecy, passed through Ireland to the court of James. After declaring the commands which he had in charge from the emperor, concerning the wrongs offered to his aunt Katharine, and her daughter, by king Henry; the calling of a general council; the rooting out the sect of the Lutherans; and the confirmation of an alliance—the emperor, by his letters, gave the king his choice of three Marys, who were all of his blood. These were, Mary, sister to Charles, and who had been a widow ever since the death of her husband, Lewis, of Hungary, who was slain in battle by the Turks;* Mary of Portugal, the daughter of his sister Leonora;† and Mary of England, his niece, by his aunt Katharine. And because Charles knew that James was more inclinable to this last match than the others, he also shewed a greater desire for it; that so he might draw the king off from his partiality to the league with Francis; and, at the same time, set him at variance with Henry. James made answer, that the marriage with England was, indeed, in many respects, most advantageous, but that it was a business of such uncertain hope, as well as of great danger and toil, and would besides be encumbered with so many obstacles, that his single life, he being the last of his family, could hardly endure the delay; wherefore, of all the nieces of the emperor, he told him, that the daughter of Christiern, king of Denmark, by Isabel, the sister of Charles, would be the most suitable and convenient match. Some time afterwards, Charles wrote from Madrid, in reply to this demand, saying, that she was already promised to another; and though the emperor, by offering conditions, seemed rather to prolong the matter, than really to intend the accomplishment of it, yet the treaty was not wholly laid aside. Matters being settled and tranquil at home, James resolved to take a voyage round all his dominions, in order to curb the stubborn spirits of the islanders, and make them more obedient. Accordingly, he first sailed to the Orkneys, where he corrected all disorders, by apprehending and imprisoning a few of the chiefs. He also garrisoned two castles there, his own, and that of the bishop. Afterwards he visited the rest of the islands, and sent for the chief men to him, seizing such as refused, by force. He laid a tax on them, took hostages, and carried away with him those who were most likely to prove incendiaries; and putting some of his own people into their fortresses, he sent their leading men, some to Edinburgh, and others to Dunbar, as prisoners; for, about that time, John, duke of Albany, had surrendered the latter place to the king, which, till then, had been held by a French garrison. In the month of August, great severity was used against the Lutherans; some were compelled to make a public recantation; and others, for refusing to appear upon summons, were banished. Two were burned, of which one, named David Straiton, was free enough from Lutheranism; but he was accused of it, only because he was a little refractory in paying tithes to the collectors, and so was put to death only for a supposed crime. In an assembly which the king caused to be convened at Jedburgh, for the suppression of the robbers in that vicinity, Walter Scott was condemned on a charge of high treason, and sent prisoner to the castle of Edinburgh, where he remained during the whole of this reign. In the same month, when Francis, as I said before, had excused his daughter's marriage, on account of her health, but withal had offered the king any other of the royal blood, James sent, as his ambassadors into France, James earl of Murray, viceroy of the realm, and William Stuart, bishop of Aberdeen,

* Leonora, or rather Eleanor, sister of Charles V. married, in 1519, Emanuel, king of Portugal, who left her a widow, with one daughter, in 1521. In 1536, she married Francis I. king of France; and in 1547, became a widow the second time. She died at Badajoz, in Spain, 1568. Her daughter, Mary, here mentioned, remained single till her death, in 1578.

† Mary, of Austria, the second sister of Charles, born in 1503, married, in 1521, Louis Jagellon, king of Hungary, who was killed at the battle of Mohatz, in 1526. She made a vow of perpetual widowhood, and kept it to her death, in 1558. She was a learned woman, and the friend of Erasmus, who complimented her in his elegant tract entitled "*Vidua Christiana*."

both of whom went by sea; and John Erskine by land, because he had some commands to deliver to Henry of England by the way. To them was added a fourth, namely, Robert Reid, who was a good man, and of consummate wisdom. There Mary of Bourbon, the daughter of Charles, duke of Vendosme, a lady of the blood, was offered to them as a fit wife for their king. Other points were easily agreed upon; but the ambassadors, fearing that this marriage would not please their master, declined a formal espousal, till they had acquainted him with it. In the mean time, Henry of England, to embarrass a concern which was upon the point of being concluded, sent, in November, the bishop of St. David's* into Scotland, who brought the king some English books, containing several points of the Christian religion, desiring him to read them, and diligently to weigh the contents; but James, instead of perusing them himself, gave them to some of his courtiers, who were most favourable to the ecclesiastical order, to inspect. They had scarcely looked upon them, before they condemned them as heretical; and moreover, highly congratulated the king, that he had not polluted his eye, as they phrased it, with such pestiferous books. This was the cause of the mission, according to report; but some aver, that these ambassadors brought certain secret communications to James. Afterwards, the same bishop, together with William Howard, brother to the duke of Norfolk, came so unexpectedly to Stirling, that they almost surprised the king, before he heard any news of their approach. The purport of their errand was, that Henry desired James to appoint a day of interview, when they might confer together; for he had things of high moment and importance, and of great advantage to both nations, to propound to him personally. In this message, he held out great hopes, that if other matters could be well settled, he would bestow his daughter in marriage upon James, and leave him king of all Britain after his demise; and, to give more credit to these promises, he offered to make him, for the present, duke of York, and viceroy of England. James, allured by these large and flattering promises, gave his consent, and fixed a day for the meeting. But there were two factions that resolved to oppose his journey into England; the first were the Hamiltons, who, being next heirs to the crown, laboured privily to keep the king from marrying, that he might have no children to exclude them from the succession. In the next place, the priests were mightily against it, and their pretences were seemingly just and honest: for, first, they alleged the danger he would run, if, with a small retinue, he should put himself into the power of his old enemy; who would oblige him to comply with his will, though it should prove ever so much against his own inclination and interest. They enumerated the examples of his ancestors, who, either through their own credulity, or the perfidiousness of the enemy, had been drawn into a snare; and by giving way to flattering promises of friendship, had brought home nothing but a sense of their ignominy and loss. They also urged the unhappy mistake of James the First, who, in a time of truce, landed, as he thought, in a friendly country, and was there kept a prisoner eighteen years; and when, at last, he obtained his liberty, it was upon such conditions, as he neither lawfully could, nor ought to, have accepted; besides which, said they, he was most sordidly sold to his own subjects. Moreover, first Malcolm, and after him his brother William, kings of Scotland, were brought on the stage, who were enticed to London by Henry II. and then carried over into France, to make a show of assisting in a war there against the sovereign of that country, who was their old ally. But, added they, if it be objected that Henry VIII. will do none of these things: the answer is, "How shall we be assured of that? Next, is it not a great point of imprudence to venture fortune, life, and dignity, which are now in our own power, into the hands of another?" Further, the priests, thinking that all their concerns were at stake, and that they must, now or never, stand up for them, obliged James

* This was William Barlow, D.D. who had been prior of the order of St. Augustin, at Bisham Abbey, near Maidenhead. He was, at this time, bishop of Asaph, and in 1536 was translated to St David's, from whence he was removed, in 1547, to Bath and Wells. In the reign of Mary he went abroad, and, on the accession of Elizabeth, was made bishop of Chester. He died in 1568.

Beton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and George Crichton, bishop of Dunkeld, two old infirm men, to go to court, and there proclaim, "That religion would be betrayed by this interview, even that faith which had been kept for so many ages by their ancestors, and which had all along preserved its defenders till that very day; but the ruin of which would be attended with the total destruction of the kingdom." They added, "that to forsake their religion upon every slight occasion, especially at such a time, when the whole world united with arms in their hands for its defence, could not be done without great danger to the present times, and infamy to the future; and, moreover, that it would be a thing of the greatest wickedness and impiety." With these engines did they assail the mind of James, who of himself was inclined enough to superstition; and they also corrupted those courtiers, who could the most prevail with him, desiring them, in their names, to promise him a great sum of money; so that, by these artifices, they completely alienated his thoughts from the promised meeting. Henry took this disappointment in great disdain, as indeed he had reason to do, and thus the seeds of dissension were again sown between the two monarchs.

In the mean time, the Scottish king was weary of a single life; and by reason of foreign embassies, and the distraction caused by court factions at home, was variously agitated in his mind. All parties made the public good their pretence, but some aimed at their own private advantage under that specious plea: and though most men persuaded the king to an affinity with Charles, on account of the flourishing state of the empire at that time, yet he rather inclined to an alliance with France. And therefore, seeing the matter could not be settled by ambassadors, he himself resolved to sail over to that country; and accordingly, fitting out a small fleet, the best he could equip in so short a time, he on the 26th of July departed from Leith, none knowing his destination. Many were of opinion, that his design was for England, to visit his uncle, and make an apology for breaking off the appointed interview in the preceding year. But when, during the violence of a storm, the pilot asked him what course he should steer, he said, "If there be a necessity, land me anywhere but in England," his mind was understood. He might have returned home, but was willing rather to sail round Scotland, and so venture into the western ocean. There, too, very bad weather was experienced, so that by the advice of a few of his domestics, while the king was asleep, he was carried back again. When he awoke, he resented this conduct so indignantly, that for ever after he bore an implacable hatred against James Hamilton, with whom he was highly offended before on account of the death of the earl of Lennox. Neither was he ever after well pleased with the rest of the authors of this counsel; and there were some who, in compliance with the king's angry humour, were continually insinuating, that Hamilton, under the pretence of private attendance and duty, accompanied him on purpose to defeat his object. Notwithstanding this, he put to sea again with a great train of nobles on the first of September, and in ten days arrived at Dieppe in Normandy. From thence, that he might prevent the news of his arrival, he went in disguise, with great speed, to the town of Vendosme, where the duke then was, and saw his daughter, who, happening not to please his fancy, he hastened on to court. Though he came unexpectedly upon Francis, as well as upon the whole court, yet he was honourably received by him; and on the twenty-sixth of November, almost against his will, he bestowed in marriage his daughter Magdalene upon him; for her father, as I related before, judging the eldest of the two sisters, by reason of her sickly nature, unfit to bear children, offered him his youngest, or any other woman of the French nobility, for a wife; but James and Magdalene having conceived an affection for each other by correspondence, which was now confirmed by approaching, seeing, and discoursing together, neither of them could be diverted from their purpose.

The marriage was celebrated on the first of January, in the year 1537, to the great joy of all; and they both arrived in Scotland on the 28th of May, being escorted by a French fleet. She, however, lived not long after, but died of an hectic fever on the seventh of July following, to the great grief of all except the priests; for they feared that her life would put an end to their

luxury and licentiousness, because they knew she was educated under the discipline of her aunt the queen of Navarre. As for others, they grieved so much for her death, that then it was, as I think, mourning-apparel was first used in Scotland, though it is not much worn at present, although fashions commonly grow to an excess in such a space of time, which is now about forty years. Ambassadors were soon after sent into France, being cardinal David Beton and Robert Maxwell, to bring over Mary of the house of Guise, widow to the duke of Longueville; upon whom, the king foreseeing that he should soon be a widower, had fixed his mind, in expectation of that event. The same year, the earl of Bothwell having gone secretly into England, and held private cabals there with the people, was banished both out of that kingdom, Scotland, and France. Moreover, about the same time, many persons were accused of high treason, amongst whom, John Forbes, an active young man, and the head of a great family and faction, was brought to an unfortunate end, as was thought through the jealousy of the Huntleys. One Strahan, a man fit for any wicked enterprise, who had been long very familiar with Forbes, and was either privy to, or else partaker or author of, all his bad actions, conceiving that he was not so much respected by him as he thought he deserved, applied to his enemy Huntley, and to him accused Forbes of treason, or, as many think, he there plotted the accusation with Huntley himself, that Forbes, many years before, had formed a design to kill the king. The crime was not sufficiently proved, nor were the witnesses unexceptionable; neither was the plot of his adversaries, the Huntleys, against his life, stated in the process; yet on the 13th of July, the judges, who were most of them bribed by Huntley, condemned him, and he was beheaded. His punishment was the less lamented, because, though men believed him guiltless of the crime for which he suffered, yet they counted him worthy of death, on account of the dishonesty of his former life. Strahan, the discoverer, because he had concealed for a long time this heinous offence, was banished Scotland, and lived many years after at Paris, but in so lewd and debauched a manner, that men thought him a fit instrument to bring about any wicked purpose. The king, not long after, as if he had repented of his severity against Forbes, took a brother of his into his family; and not only advanced another to a wealthy marriage, but restored to him the estate which had been confiscated.

A few days after this there was another trial, which was indeed very lamentable, on account of the accused parties, the new kind of wickedness charged on them, and the dreadfulfulness of the punishment. Joan Douglas, sister of the earl of Angus, and widow of John Lyons, lord of Glamis, with her son, and also her second husband, Gillespie Campbell, John Lyons, kinsman to her former husband, and an old priest, were accused of endeavouring to poison the king. All these, though they lived continually in the country, far from court, and their friends and servants declared nothing upon their examination against them which could hurt them, yet were they put upon the rack to make them confess, and so were shut up in Edinburgh castle. The fifth day after the execution of Forbes, Joan Douglas was burnt alive, amidst the great commiseration of all the spectators, who were much affected by the nobleness of herself and her husband; besides, she was in the prime of her youth, much commended for her rare beauty, and in her very punishment displayed an heroic fortitude. But that which most moved the feelings of the people, was the persuasion that the enmity against her banished brother, did her more prejudice than the crime of which she was suspected. Her husband endeavoured to escape out of the castle of Edinburgh, but the rope being too short to let him down to the foot of the rock, he broke almost all the bones of his body in the fall, and so ended his days. Their son, a youth of more innocent simplicity, than to have the suspicion of such a wickedness justly charged upon him, was shut up a close prisoner in the same castle; but after the king's death he was released, and recovered the estate which had been taken away from his parents. Their accuser was William Lyons, who was nearly related to the family. He afterwards perceiving that so eminent a race was likely to be ruined by his false infor-

mation, repented when it was too late, and confessed his offence to the king : notwithstanding which he could not prevail to respite the punishment of the condemned, or to hinder their estates from being confiscated.

The next year, on the 12th of June, Mary of the house of Guise arrived at Balcomie, a castle belonging to James laird of Lermont ; from whence she was conveyed by land to St. Andrew's ; and there, in a great assembly of the nobility, was married to the king. At the beginning of the following year, which was 1539, many persons were apprehended on suspicion of Lutheranism ; and, about the end of February, five were burned, and nine recanted, but many more were banished ; amongst which last class of sufferers was George Buchanan, who, when his keepers were asleep, made his escape out of the window of the prison in which he was confined. This year the queen was delivered of a son at St. Andrew's ; and the next year of another, at the same place. Both this year and the former, matters were rather hushed a little, than entirely composed ; some men wanting a leader, more than an occasion to rebel : for though many desired it, yet no man durst openly avow himself as the head of an insurrection. And now, because the king had children of his own to succeed him, he became more confident of a settled establishment, which made him despise the nobility as an inactive and unwarlike race, who were not likely to attempt any thing against him and his family, that was thus riveted and confirmed by male issue. He therefore applied his mind to extravagant buildings ; in consequence of which he stood in so much need of money for his works, that, being as covetous as he was indigent, both factions of nobles and priests were equally afraid, and each endeavoured to divert the tempest from one to the other. Accordingly, whenever the king complained of the lowness of his exchequer amongst his friends, one party would extol the riches of the other, as if the same were a prey ready for seizure ; and the king, by hearkening sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other, kept both in suspense between hope and fear. At this time, ambassadors came out of England to court, desiring the king to meet his uncle at York, promising him great advantages by the interview, and making a long harangue concerning the love and good-will of their master towards him. Upon this, the faction that opposed the priests, persuaded him, by all means, to resort thither at the time appointed ; which, when the ecclesiastical body heard, they thought their order would be ruined, if they did not, by hindering the proposed meeting, disturb the union of the two kings, and sow the seeds of discord betwixt their own sovereign and his nobles. On considering the various ways for effecting their object, no course seemed more expedient for the prevention of the threatened evil, than to avail themselves of the king's desire of money, and to make him offers of large subsidies. Accordingly, they placed before his eyes the greatness of the danger, and the doubtful and uncertain credit of the promises of an enemy ; adding, that he might obtain a greater sum of money at home, and in an easier manner. In the first place, they promised to give him of their own, thirty thousand pieces of gold yearly, and that all the rest of their estates should be at his service, in case of future emergencies. They observed also, that out of the goods of those who rebelled against the authority of the pope, and the majesty of the king ; and who, by troubling the peace of the church by new and wicked errors, would subvert all piety, overthrow the rights of magistracy, and abrogate ancient institutions ; he might bring above one hundred thousand pieces more yearly into his exchequer, if he would permit them to nominate a chief justice, to determine in cases of delinquency, as they could not themselves, by law, sit in capital cases, to condemn any man. They stated, that, in the management of the process, there would be no danger, nor any want of proof against offenders, since thousands of men were in the habit of reading the books of the Old and New Testament ; of discoursing concerning the power of the pope ; of condemning the ancient rites of the church ; and of detracting from the reverence and observance due to religious persons, who were consecrated to the service of God. This they urged upon him with such energy, that he appointed them a judge according to their own hearts ; who was James Hamilton, natural brother to the earl of Arran. He was a man who already lay under great obligations to the priesthood, for the gratuities

which he had received from them ; and as he had incurred the royal displeasure, he was now desirous of recommending himself to favour, by the perpetration of some act, however cruel, as an atonement.

About the same time, his cousin-german, James Hamilton, sheriff of Linlithgow, who had been long in exile, obtained permission to return into Scotland, where he had commenced a suit against James the bastard ; but, on learning what danger the favourers of the reformed doctrine ran, he sent his son with a message to the king, just as he was going over into Fife. The young man having very opportunely met him before he went on board, filled his mind, which was naturally suspicious, with fearful presages, that the commission granted to Hamilton would be of serious consequences, and pernicious to the whole kingdom, unless he prevented the sophistry by another stratagem. The king, who was then on his passage into Fife, sent young Hamilton back to Edinburgh, with orders to the exchequer court, for the immediate assembling of James Lermont, James Kirkaldy, and Thomas Erskine, of whom the first was master of the household, the second lord-high treasurer, and neither of them averse to the reformed religion ; but the third, who was firmly attached to the popish faction, was the king's secretary. These were all ordered to meet ; and the king commanded them to give the same credit to the messenger as they would do to himself, if he were present ; and so took the ring off his finger, and sent it them as a known token between them. Having consulted together, they caused James to be apprehended, while he was preparing himself for his journey, after dinner, and committed him prisoner to the castle. But, understanding by their spies at court, that the king was pacified, and that Hamilton would in consequence be released, they became alarmed on account of the public danger, as well as their own ; fearing that a man equally factious and powerful, would be provoked to exercise a bitter and cruel revenge, for the ignominy and affront which he had received. To avert this, they repaired immediately to the king, and laid before him the perilous consequences of suffering so crafty and fierce a person to be set at liberty, without a legal inquiry. The king, upon this, came to Edinburgh, and from thence removed to Seaton, where he caused James to be brought to his trial, and in a court duly constituted, according to the custom of the country, he was condemned, and had his head struck off ; while his body was dismembered after execution, and the quarters were hung up in the public places of the city. The crimes objected against him, in the name of the king, were, that, on a certain day, he had broken open the royal bedchamber, with a design to kill him ; and that he had carried on secret designs with the Douglas faction, who were declared public enemies. Few grieved for his death, because of the wickedness of his former life, save only his own kindred, and the ecclesiastics, who, in a manner, had placed all the hopes of their fortunes upon him alone.

From this time forward, the king increased in his suspicions of the nobility ; and, besides, his mind was so distracted with cares, that he could not enjoy any quiet sleep, being continually tormented with dreams ; of which one, more remarkable than the rest, made a great noise. It was reported, that, in his sleep, he saw James Hamilton running at him with his drawn sword ; and that he first cut off his right arm, then his left, and threatened him shortly to come and take away his life, and then disappeared. When he awoke in a fright, and was much perplexed about the event of his dream, word was brought him, that both his sons died, almost at the same moment, one at St. Andrew's, and the other at Stirling.

Meanwhile, there was neither a certain peace, nor yet an open war, with the king of England, who had been long since offended ; insomuch, that, without any formal declaration of hostilities, ravages were committed, for the sake of plunder, on the borders of Scotland. When restitution was demanded for these aggressions, the English refused to return any favourable answer ; which made all men see, that Henry resented, with great indignation, the refusal to meet him at York. James, though assured that war was certain, for which he made the necessary preparations, by raising recruits, appointing his brother, the earl of Murray, general-in-chief, and putting the country into a complete state of defence ; yet he sent an ambassador to the English, for the

purpose of composing matters, if possible, without blows. In the mean time, George Gordon was sent to the borders, with a small force, to prevent the pillaging incursions of the enemy. The English, despising the inconsiderable number of their opponents, under Gordon, hastened to burn Jedburgh; but George Home, with four hundred horse, encountered, and charged them so briskly, that, after a short fight, on seeing the Gordons approach, they were dismayed, and sought their safety in flight. There were not many slain, but several were taken prisoners. James Lermont, who had been sent to negotiate about a peace, at Newcastle, could obtain no answer; and, in order that the war might be carried on more covertly, he was commanded to return with the English army. Moreover, John Erskine and another, who were sent ambassadors from Scotland, met that army at York, where they were detained by Howard, the general, and never dismissed till they came to Berwick. James, being assured by his spies, before the return of his ambassadors, that the English forces were approaching, formed his camp at Falkirk, about fourteen miles from the borders. Here he rested, and sent George Gordon before, with ten thousand men, to keep the enemy in check, and prevent their plunderings; yet he did nothing very considerable, and had not so much as a slight skirmish with the English. The king of Scotland was mighty earnest to give battle, but the nobility resisted it with such vehemence, that he was full of wrath, and burst out in a rage against them, calling them cowards, and unworthy of their ancestors, every now and then telling them, that, since they betrayed him, he and his own family would do that which they had basely refused to perform. Neither could he be appeased, though they came about him, and told him that he had done enough for his honour; that he had not only kept the English army, which was long in raising, and had invaded Scotland with great boasting, from roving about for plunder, but that also, for the space of eight days, during which it had remained in the country, it was so pent up, as never to be able to march above a mile from the borders. For, after the English came out of Berwick, they went as far as Kelso, up against the stream; and there being informed of the march of the Scottish army, they passed over the ford, being so fearful of engaging, that they rushed into the river with the utmost precipitation and disorder; every one, on crossing over, leaving his colours, and making the best of his way home. Gordon, in the mean time, who saw all this at a distance, neither stirred, nor made any attempt upon their rear, for which the king conceived an implacable hatred against him. Maxwell, to appease his anger as much as he could, promised, if allowed ten thousand men, to march into England by the Solway, and perform some considerable service. And he would have been as good as his word, if the king, who was exceedingly angry with the nobility, had not given secret letters and a commission to Oliver Sinclair, brother to the laird of Rosslyn; but which he was on no account to open till a certain time. The purport of the commission was, that the whole army should acknowledge Sinclair for their commander-in-chief; and the motive of James in granting the authority, was, that in the event of his troops gaining the day, the glory of the victory might not redound to the nobles. When they came into the hostile country, where about five hundred English cavalry appeared on the hills, Sinclair caused himself to be lifted up on high by those of his party, and the royal mandate to be read aloud; upon which, the whole army was so offended, and especially Maxwell, that the soldiers broke their ranks, and fell into confusion, intermingling promiscuously with each other.

The English, on the elevated ground, perceiving the advantage which this confusion afforded them, and which was so contrary to their experience of military affairs, immediately seized the opportunity, and rushed down, according to their wonted manner, with a great shout, upon their opponents, who were taken by surprise, and knew not whether to fight or fly. In consequence of this sudden attack and disorder, horse, foot, and baggage, were indiscriminately driven into the adjoining marshes, where numbers were made prisoners, and many afterwards fell into the hands of the Scottish moss-troopers, who sold them to the English.

When the fatal intelligence of the loss of his army was brought to the king, who was at no great distance, his mind became much agitated by the con-

tending passions of indignation, anger, and grief; so that he was distracted between the desire of punishing what he termed the perfidiousness of his own people, and the necessary consideration of retrieving the public affairs. But so desperate was the state of things, that it seemed most advisable to conclude a truce with the English; and to recall, on the best terms that could be adopted, Archibald Douglas, earl of Angus, from exile. Amidst this perplexity, the king, being exhausted with watching, fasting, and anxiety, died a few days after, on the 13th of December, leaving a daughter as heiress to the throne, though a child only eight days old.

He was buried on the 14th of January, in the monastery of Holyrood, near his first wife Magdalene. In his lifetime, his countenance and personal form were very comely; his stature indifferently tall, but his strength exceeded the proportion of his body; his wit was sharp, but not sufficiently cultivated with learning, which, however, was the fault of the times. In his diet he was sparing; he seldom drank wine; and he was most patient of labour, cold, heat, and hunger, for he would often sit on horseback, night and day, in the coldest winter, that so he might catch the thieves in their retreats, unawares; and his activity struck such a terror into them, that they abstained from their evil practices, as if he had always been present among them. He was so well acquainted with the customs of his country, that he would give just answers concerning weighty matters, while travelling on the road, with great readiness and exactness; and he was also easy of access, even to the poorest. But his virtues were almost equalled by as many vices; yet they had this alleviation, that they seemed rather to be imputed to the times in which he lived, than to his own natural disposition. For such an universal licentiousness had overrun all, that public discipline could not be retrieved, but with excessive strictness and severity. What made him so covetous of money, was the circumstance, that when he was under the guardianship of others, he was educated with great parsimony; and when he came of age, he entered into an empty palace, where he found all the moveables embezzled; so that every room was to be new-furnished at once, while his trustees had expended the royal revenue on uses which he wholly disapproved. Those who had the instruction of his youth, instead of teaching him virtue, indulged his inclination to women, because, by that means, they hoped to have him longer under their management. A great part of the nobility did not much lament his death, because he had banished some of them, and kept others in prison; while many again, being disgusted with his conduct and severity, chose rather to surrender themselves to the king of England, though an enemy, than commit themselves to the anger of their own sovereign.

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